

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE *of* SOCIAL WORK

[FORMERLY NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION]

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AT THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL SESSION HELD IN
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
MAY 15-21, 1932

PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS
82 NORTH HIGH STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO



PUBLISHED FOR
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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PUBLISHED FEBRUARY 1933

COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

FOREWORD

THE Executive Committee presents to its membership this volume containing the *Proceedings* of the 1932 Conference. The Editorial Committee, which assisted in the process of preparing the material for publication, consisted of H. L. Lurie, New York City; Katharine D. Hardwick, Boston; Jessie Binford, Chicago; and the following persons serving ex-officio: C. M. Bookman, president of the 1932 Conference; Howard R. Knight, editor of the *Proceedings*; and Mrs. Bertha Freeman Hooper, assistant editor.

The publication of the *Proceedings* imposes upon the Editorial Committee the task of selection with the condensing or abridging of some of the material presented. It should, however, be made clear that publication of a manuscript does not imply that the views set forth have been indorsed either by the Conference or by the Editorial Committee, since the Conference is not a legislative body but serves primarily as a forum for the presentation of the varying viewpoints and changing developments in the field of social work.

The manuscripts which were submitted and which have not been included in the *Proceedings* are available for examination at the Russell Sage Foundation Library, New York; the University of Chicago Library, Chicago; the University of California Library, Berkeley; and the Conference office.

The Editorial Committee wishes to express its appreciation to the authors who submitted their manuscripts and to the division chairmen who assisted in the selection of papers for this volume.

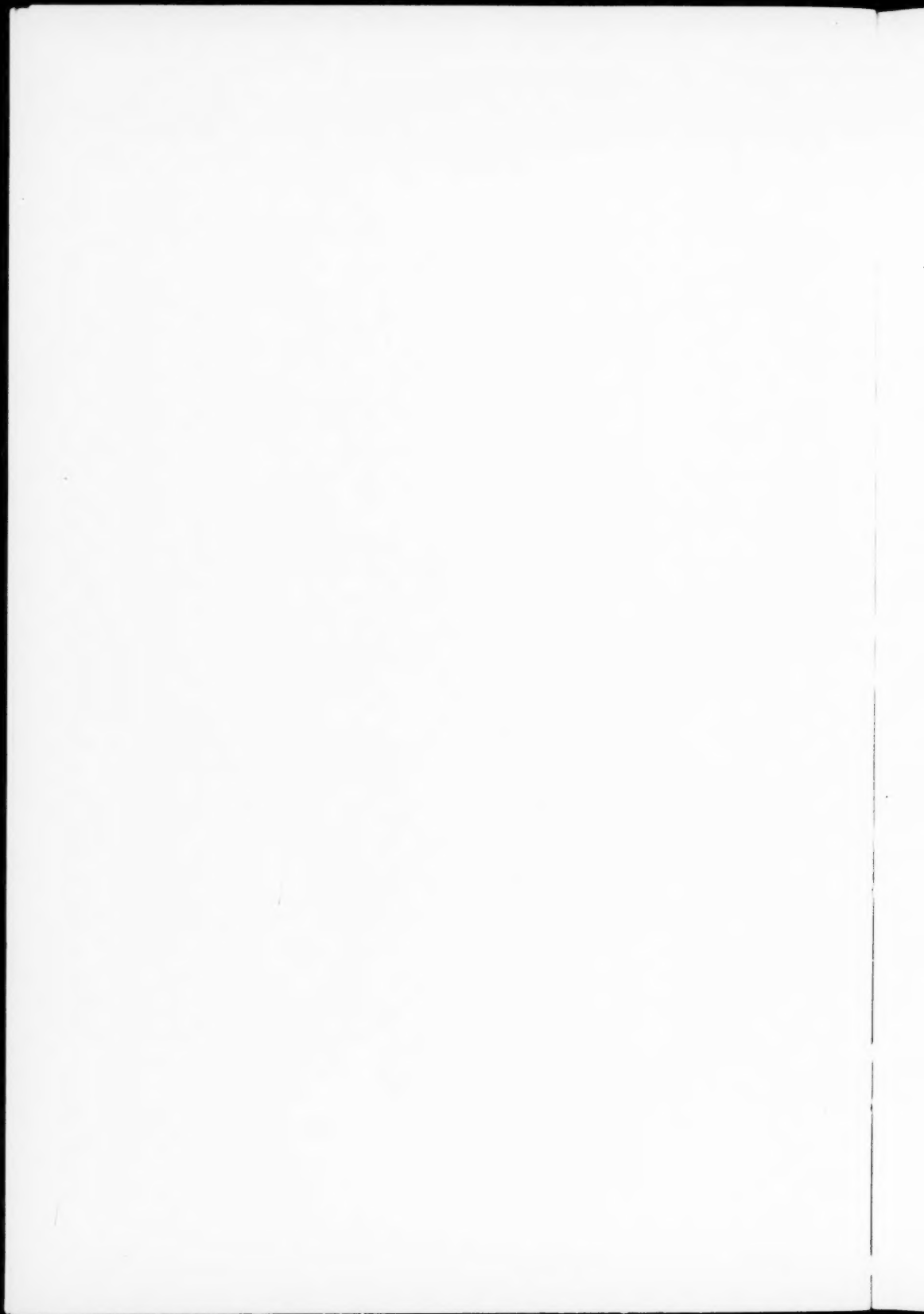


TABLE OF CONTENTS

GENERAL SESSIONS

	PAGE
The Social Consequences and Treatment of Unemployment (Presidential Address), <i>C. M. Bookman</i>	3
Children in National Emergencies, <i>Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.</i>	25
Conference Dinner:	
<i>Lillian D. Wald</i>	33
<i>J. Prentice Murphy</i>	40
<i>Grace Abbott</i>	45
The Crisis in Social Work, <i>Rev. Abba Hillel Silver</i>	53
The Partnership of Public and Private Agencies, <i>C. A. Dykstra</i> . . .	65
England's Experience with Unemployment Insurance and the Dole, <i>R. C. Davison</i>	82
The Opportunity of Social Work in View of the Trend from Private to Public Relief, <i>Gifford Pinchot</i>	90
Social Workers Face a New World, <i>Owen R. Lovejoy</i>	97

DIVISION MEETINGS

The Functions in a Community Child Welfare Program of Private Child Caring Institutions and Agencies, <i>Edwin D. Solenberger</i>	111
Integration of the Various Phases of Institutional Care for Children (Report of Group Discussion)	122
Children and the Depression, <i>Sophonisba P. Breckinridge</i>	126
County Jails, <i>Nina Kinsella</i>	136
A Plan for Establishing Health Departments in Smaller Industries, <i>Harvey Dee Brown</i>	145
Hidden Problems in Hard Times, <i>Valeria H. Parker, M.D.</i>	156
To What Shall We Hold Fast in Nutrition during Periods of Lower Income? <i>Adelaide Spohn</i>	167
Community Relationships Involved in 100 per Cent Registration in Social Service Exchange:	
From the Standpoint of Hospital Social Service, <i>Ida M. Cannon</i> . .	180

	PAGE
From the Standpoint of Hospital Social Service, <i>Mrs. Charles W. Webb</i>	186
From the Standpoint of Nursing Organizations, <i>Katherine Tucker</i>	193
From the Standpoint of Family Welfare Organizations, <i>Helen Wallerstein</i>	198
The Case Worker's Rôle in Treatment, <i>Eleanor Neustaedter</i>	204
Contribution to Psychological Factors in Anti-social Behavior, <i>Franz Alexander, M.D.</i>	215
Application of Psychology to Case Work, <i>Grace F. Marcus</i>	226
The Unknown Future:	
Poverty and Plenty, <i>Walter Lippmann</i>	234
<i>M. Antoinette Cannon</i>	239
<i>Joseph H. Willits</i>	246
Developments in the Public Welfare Program, <i>Harry L. Lurie</i>	253
A Cooperative Experiment between Public and Private Agencies, <i>Elizabeth McCord</i>	266
Unemployment Insurance:	
The Wisconsin Unemployment Compensation Law, <i>Paul A. Raushenbush</i>	275
Ohio Takes Stock, <i>Elizabeth S. Magee</i>	285
Social Planning and Social Work, <i>Mary van Kleeck</i>	294
New Trends in Community Control, <i>Eduard C. Lindeman</i>	301
"When Leisure Palls," <i>Helen Hall</i>	309
The Negro's Contribution in Art to American Culture, <i>Alain Locke</i>	315
Enriching Community Life through Art, <i>Erwin O. Christensen</i>	323
Mental Hygiene and Hard Times: Out from Confusion, <i>Frankwood E. Williams, M.D.</i>	338
Mental Hygiene Work with Children: Direct Treatment, <i>Hyman S. Lippman, M.D.</i>	353
The Time Element in Mental Hygiene Therapy as Applied to Social Case Work, <i>Jessie Taft</i>	368
How Can We Interpret More Effectively to the Public the Rôle Played in the Community's Welfare Program by Social Settlements, Recreation Agencies, and National Program Agencies? <i>Louise Clevenger</i>	382
Questions To Be Faced in the Use of Funds, Local and National, in This Emergency Period, <i>Howard Braucher</i>	395
The Council of Social Agencies and Community Planning, <i>A. W. McMillen</i>	402

TABLE OF CONTENTS

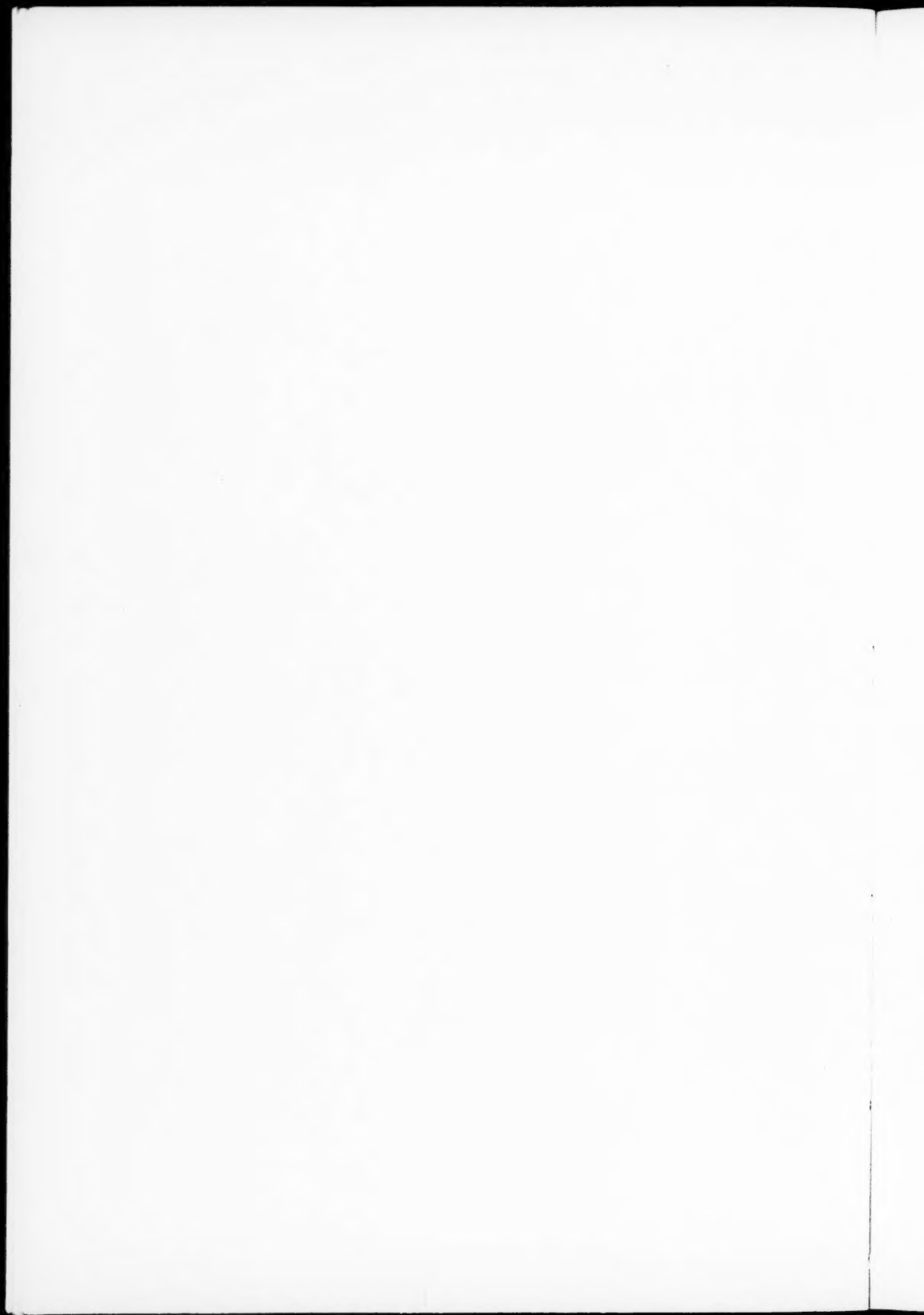
ix

	PAGE
The Growing Importance of State Welfare Work—in Financial Support for Local Welfare Services, <i>Mrs. I. Albert Liveright</i>	416
The Need of Trained Personnel in Public Service: Working Toward One Professional Standard, Public and Private, <i>Stanley P. Davies</i>	427
The County As a Public Welfare Unit:	
What Is Happening in County Organization? <i>Mary Ruth Colby</i>	439
Coordination and Development of Welfare Service in the County, <i>Ellen C. Potter, M.D.</i>	450
Leadership in Public Relief in the Unemployment Emergency: Coordinating Private and Public Relief Work in our Cities, <i>Arthur Dunham</i>	459
Penological Research in a State Welfare Department, <i>Thorsten Sellin</i>	469
Present Status of Immigration and Naturalization Legislation, <i>Read Lewis</i>	475
International and Interstate Aspects of Desertion and Non-Support Legislation, <i>Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich</i>	482
International and Interstate Conflicts in Divorce, <i>Charles Zunser</i>	497
The Police and the Immigrant, <i>Ernest Jerome Hopkins</i>	509
Social Work against a Background of the Other Professions, <i>Esther Lucile Brown</i>	520
The Effect of the Depression on Professional Standards, <i>William Hodson</i>	533
Registration or Certification of Social Workers, <i>Walter West</i>	537
Utilization of the Wickersham Reports on Law Observance and Enforcement, <i>Winthrop D. Lane</i>	546
What Shall We Tell the Public? A Critical Examination of Social Work Publicity, <i>Arch Mandel</i>	565
Creative Writing for Social Work, <i>Viola Paradise</i>	575
The Content of a Social Work Educational Program, <i>Charles C. Stillman</i>	589
The General Administration of Indian Affairs, <i>Charles J. Rhoads</i>	602
The Place of the Social Worker in the Indian Service Program, <i>Robert T. Lansdale</i>	609
The Needs in Human Relationships, <i>Mary Louise Mark</i>	617
Needs in Administration of Indian Property, <i>John Collier</i>	627

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PROGRAM		PAGE
Program		643
BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS		
Business Organization for 1932		657
Business Organization for 1933		665
Business Sessions of the Conference: Minutes		673
Constitution and By-Laws		679
INDEX		
Index		689

GENERAL SESSIONS



THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES AND TREATMENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

*C. M. Bookman, Executive Director, Community Chest,
Cincinnati*

WE LOOK forward to our fourth winter of serious unemployment in the light of what we have learned from the past three. We know now only too well that we cannot change unsound conditions by ignoring them, or build safely for the future unless we recognize the weaknesses of our present economic and social system and work earnestly to profit by our mistakes.

The only way to correct the economic processes that cause these periods of depression and to cope with their social waste is to plan now. Unless government, business, and social groups assume such leadership toward prevention, there is grave danger that when business recovers, as it undoubtedly will, we shall promptly forget the losses we have suffered and the causes which brought them about. Then, repeating our habits of the past, we will delegate to social agencies the sad and costly task of trying to salvage the human wreckage, while neglecting to provide safeguards against another such storm.

This must not be permitted to happen; and for this reason, with all the force and clearness at my command, I purpose to lay bare the social consequences of unemployment. It is time for plain speaking. We cannot afford to be frightened by words. While people cower at mention of doles, unemployment insurance, and wise economic planning, millions of men, women, and children go hungry; fortunes are wiped out overnight; and the whole world is shaken by uncontrolled factors which new conditions of life have created.

We have been shown with startling clearness the interde-

pendence of nations, classes, and individuals. We have seen that no one group can be prosperous while another is in want. Some way must be found to give both labor and capital greater security and more adequate returns. Enlightened leadership recognizes this new state of interdependence. Can we build upon this recognition?

Social workers alone cannot control the large fundamental causes of unemployment or bring about a more stable economic order. The ultimate stabilization of employment and business will depend not upon one group but many. Educators, financiers, laborers, business men, legislators, and statesmen—not only of this country, but of the world—all must play their parts and that wisely. However, this does not release social workers from serious responsibility not only in relieving distress but in bringing to the realization of the world the serious consequences of unemployment and in offering guidance as to the best ways of dealing with it.

Social work as a profession, especially during the past two years, has added a new chapter to the world's social history in the story of its skilful and effective methods of assisting the victims of unemployment, individual by individual and family by family. This difficult work has in such large measure been turned over to social workers that the public at large is now, more than ever before, in danger of not understanding the detrimental psychological, physical, and moral effects of unemployment, nor the many ways in which it undermines the very foundation of our social and economic life. It is therefore of great importance that this new professional group of ours not only see to it that distress is relieved, so far as possible, but also that we educate the public on the real social consequences of workless days. Social work has in the main been more successful in developing its case work technique than it has in its task of public education and social engineering. More attention must be given to these latter phases of the work in the years just ahead.

The social worker sees, perhaps more clearly than any one else, the human costs of unemployment and the repercussion of

this blasting of human values on the very foundations of the economic and social structure. The banker, the business man, the employer, and the politician are all busy with their own troubles and, through lack of opportunity and experience, envisage but poorly what is happening in the families of the unemployed and the extent to which unemployment is undermining our social life.

It may therefore be worth while to pause here to trace the ravages of this social and economic disease, as well as some of the methods for its control and treatment.

SOCIAL COSTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Economic costs.—While we do not have accurate knowledge of the number of unemployed in this country—whether there are seven million or twelve million—we do know something of the social costs of unemployment. The data of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate a decline of 40 per cent in the total wages paid to industrial workers in the United States in June, 1931, as compared with June, 1929.¹

The National Bureau of Economic Research estimated the income of all employes, including agricultural and other workers and salaried groups in the United States, in 1926 at approximately 50 thousand millions of dollars.² The corresponding income in 1929 was approximately 55 thousand million dollars. A decline of 40 per cent applied to this sum would mean a loss in wages in 1931 over 1929 of 22 thousand millions of dollars. If we apply the 40 per cent loss to the income of wage earners in manufacturing, mining, construction, mercantile pursuits, and transportation exclusively, the loss would have amounted to 9 thousand, 5 hundred millions. However, salaried and other workers, as well as wage earners, have lost heavily; and some students have applied the 40 per cent loss to them also, which,

¹ *Bradstreets*, March 5, 1932, p. 289.

² W. I. King, *Income and Its Purchasing Power* (National Bureau of Economic Research), p. 74, Table VIII.

if correct, would make the total loss first stated; i.e., 22 thousand millions.

The enormity of such a loss is quite beyond our comprehension. It will, perhaps, help us to realize what it means if we can compare this loss with the amount of relief that was given in the United States in the year 1931. A special bulletin of the Bureau of Census³ shows that in incorporated places constituting about 57 per cent of the entire population of the United States, a total of approximately 74 million dollars was given in the first quarter of 1931 in relief to families and homeless men. If we multiply this by four, to get the figure for the entire year, we have the sum of approximately 300 million dollars for relief. If the remaining 43 per cent of the population, mostly rural, gave relief on one-fourth the scale that was given in the cities, 50 millions more are added, making an estimated total of some 350 millions.

In addition to this vast sum given by regular relief agencies, a great deal was given through other channels, such as relatives, friends, neighbors, and employers, which cannot be estimated with any accuracy. We have, however, quite definite data from many of the labor unions.

The unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the years 1930 and 1931 gave in relief and benefits to their members the sum of 52 million dollars.⁴ Assigning 30 millions to this for 1931, our estimate of relief has reached the total of 380 millions. Let us add, say, 70 millions for relief given by churches, fraternal orders, and voluntary groups. The total will then have reached 450 millions. Incidentally, this is approximately the amount paid out by the British Unemployment Insurance Fund during the same year.⁵ Huge as this sum of 450

³ *Relief Expenditures by Governmental and Private Organizations in 1929 and 1931* (U.S. Bureau of the Census, January, 1932).

⁴ Edward F. McGrady, "Unemployment Relief," *Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Manufacturers*, U.S. Senate on S-174 and S-262, December 28, 29, 30, 1931, and January 4-9, 1932, p. 146.

⁵ *Unemployment-Benefit Plans in the United States and Unemployment Insurance in Foreign Countries*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bull. No. 544, p. 287, Table 29.

millions may seem when viewed by itself, or as compared with relief during prosperous periods, it is only about 2 per cent of the 22 thousand millions estimated loss to all wage and salaried earners in 1931 and less than 5 per cent of the loss suffered by wage earners alone engaged in the leading industrial occupations.⁶

If we use the latter figure as a basis and consider for our purpose that all the 450 millions of relief went to wage earners in these industries, how was the remaining 95 per cent of their losses met? Lower prices absorbed part of it. The cost of living index in June, 1931, as compared with June, 1929, showed a decline of 12 per cent.⁷ Thus, if relief by organized agencies of all kinds took care of 5 per cent and the fall in prices 12 per cent, 83 per cent of the loss remains to be accounted for. An important share of this has been borne by business and professional men who have extended credit and by landlords and building and loan associations who have allowed families to stay on, although the rent or payments could not be met.

Most of this enormous burden, however, has been carried by the workers and their families. Savings have been exhausted, insurance policies have lapsed, standards of living have gone down, less food and less clothing have been purchased, milk has not been furnished the children, recreation and entertainment have been greatly curtailed. Those articles that lie on the border line separating the absolutely necessary from the minor luxuries, but which nevertheless express some purpose in life and keep up the morale, were of necessity given up. Wholesale loss of homes has occurred in some communities, and overcrowding in tenements has greatly increased.

Unemployment, even in prosperous periods, has come to be such a serious problem to our wage earners that many of them hesitate to buy their own homes on the instalment basis, for the simple reason that over the period of twelve or thirteen years,

⁶ King, *op. cit.*, p. 56, Table IV; p. 74, Table VII.

⁷ *Prices, Wholesale and Retail and Cost of Living*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, June, 1931, p. 47, Table 1.

commonly necessary to purchase a home on the building and loan payment plan, the worker is very likely to be subjected to a long period of unemployment.

The past two years have demonstrated with telling force the fact of the interdependence of economic classes. The tremendous economic loss to business men and manufacturers generally, through the loss of purchasing power of the unemployed and partly unemployed workers and through reduced wage rates, is common knowledge. Stocks listed on the New York Exchange are reported⁸ to have declined in value from October, 1929, to October, 1931, to the extent of 21 thousand millions of dollars, or approximately the same amount as the loss in wages. If the workers, because of low wages or unemployment, have small purchasing power, employers will have no orders, their plants will stand idle, dividends cannot be paid, and stocks will become well nigh worthless. These statements but emphasize the fact that unemployment is the greatest source of economic loss and waste in the world today.

Health losses.—Social case workers are well aware of the health hazards of unemployment. A great deal depends upon the adequacy of relief which can be given; but unfortunately during serious general depression, relief is always inadequate. A study covering the unemployed in families visited by one hundred field nurses of the Visiting Nurse Society of Philadelphia in March, 1930, showed that 70 per cent of the illness was among adults who had been unemployed from two to six months before sickness began.⁹

The great decrease in the sale of milk in our cities and the lack of a balanced diet generally in the homes of the unemployed have their effect in lowering the vitality of many children. Definite information is lacking; but there can be no doubt that rickets, tuberculosis, dulled minds, stunted growth, and

⁸ Editorial in *World's Work*, February, 1932.

⁹ *Information Service*, Federal Council of Churches, New York City, July 25, 1931, p. 4.

warped dispositions among children follow inevitably these unemployment periods.

The general death rate is affected by many things, but it is well known that the rate has increased sharply following many former unemployment periods. During the past two years we have had the good fortune to be free from any great epidemics, and general mortality rates have not been high; but this does not justify the conclusion that the health of the people has not suffered.

Psychological costs.—May we just mention a few of the many psychological losses due to unemployment: loss of the habit of steady work, mental conflicts, and inferiority complexes in the unemployed due to inability to find work and complicating circumstances growing out of workless days. There is the loss of confidence in the breadwinner on the part of the wife and children, and sometimes actual estrangement because of his inability to secure work; the discouragement of thrift through the loss of homes, upon which payments have been made for years; the using up of savings accumulated painfully over long periods; the growth of radicalism and the loss of confidence in all aspects of our present economic and social order, including our financial institutions and our government; general mental depression and discouragement, and the humiliation and loss of morale due to enforced acceptance of charity. These great psychological losses are widespread among the unemployed during such a depression as the present.

Loss of wholesome family life.—One of the heaviest costs of unemployment is its blighting of family life. The families of the unemployed have been forced to move to cheaper quarters and crowd two or three families in space that should be occupied by one. This has serious results, not only from a health standpoint but also from a psychological standpoint. The family does not have a fairchance under such conditions. Family discord is inevitable, and broken homes too often result.

Social workers frequently see cases in which the man out of a job deserts his home with the double purpose of finding a job

and of making one less mouth to feed. These men often have the thought that the relief agencies will more readily care for the wife and children if they are abandoned. The result too often is that the father becomes one more recruit for the army of destitute homeless men and the children are neglected and frequently become delinquent.

One of our agencies dealing with desertion and failure-to-provide cases shows an increase of more than fivefold in case load. In brief, the most fundamental institution of society, the family, is destroyed by unemployment in thousands of cases, and saved in other thousands only by the timely and skilful work of social agencies.

SOCIAL TREATMENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT

How was the United States organized to meet this far reaching evil of unemployment which has become so intensified in the present emergency? The answer is—we were *not* organized. Despite the experience of regularly recurring periods of depression, and with unemployment increasing even in normal times, we were practically without a plan or a program. This condition puts the burden of unemployment largely upon the unemployed, their families and friends. Private and public social agencies soon add their resources; but, as our data shows, in 1931 they replaced at most but 5 per cent of the wage loss.

There are, in the United States, thousands of private social agencies depending for their income on the generosity of our citizens. Most of the money secured to finance these agencies is now raised through community chest and other campaigns. If veterans' relief, mothers' pensions, and old age pensions are excluded from the picture and general family relief and work relief only included, we find that in the 81 cities reporting to the Russell Sage Foundation in December, 1931, approximately 49 per cent of the relief was administered by private agencies and 51 per cent by public agencies. It is true that these figures do not credit the public or government agencies with tax funds contributed by them but administered through private agen-

cies. Nevertheless, it is apparent that this country has, even in the present emergency, depended to a larger extent than any other great nation on private local subscriptions for relief of the unemployed.

These private agencies were never organized for the purpose of handling a great emergency. They have neither the resources at their command nor the personnel at their disposal to carry any but a small share of the social deficit arising from such an emergency as the present one. When earning power goes down and the need is greatest, their financial stability becomes uncertain. Never, except during the war, have such great efforts been made to raise money for private agencies as last fall. The President's Organization on Unemployment Relief lent effective assistance in mobilizing the generosity of the people for the support of private relief giving agencies, yet only about 17 million dollars' increase was raised by community chests in comparison with the most prosperous years when the need was least.

The President's Organization on Unemployment Relief was valuable as an emergency effort. The unusual public awareness of the need of supporting both public and private social agencies evident during the past year may be credited in no small measure to the creation and efforts of this committee. It wisely emphasized the importance of the preventive as well as the relief aspects of social work, although naturally the relief aspects predominated. But however effective its work under the existing conditions, this committee came upon the scene after the deluge of the depression was upon us and therefore suffered great limitations. The same limitations were experienced by local and state unemployment committees. The very existence of these temporary committees emphasizes the fact of our unpreparedness—our lack of foresight and social planning for depression periods.

The national policy for financing unemployment relief has been to place the responsibility upon state and local communities. Many of the local leaders face to face with the necessity of securing sufficient funds soon experienced the inadequacy of the

local support possible from private gifts or from public sources under existing statutes. They also recognized the unsoundness of such a method, since business is so largely organized on a national scale and absentee ownership is not, in the main, liberal in its giving, and cannot be reached adequately by local taxation. They have found that back of the local community must stand the state and back of the state, the nation, if the emergency is to be met. A few states have assumed a reasonable measure of responsibility and have provided funds by special taxation. The federal government has made extra appropriations for public work, but has thus far refused to act in granting money for straight relief, or in making loans to states, or in any way placing the resources of the nation back of those states which might find themselves unable to cope with the relief situation.

Within the past week, however, President Hoover's loan and credit program for unemployment relief and business revival has been announced. It is to be hoped that the president and Congress may come to an agreement and that an effective measure may be passed without delay.

It is apparent that we were again unprepared in this, as in past, depressions to handle unemployment. If anything has come home to us with clearness as a result of the past three winters' efforts to cope with the situation, it is that this country should never again face such an emergency with such inadequate machinery. The securing of sufficient funds to feed and clothe thousands who, through no fault of their own, are without the opportunity of helping themselves, must not be left to emergency measures. We must know with definiteness upon whom the burden of meeting the situation shall rest, to what extent upon local, state, or federal government, in what measure relief funds shall be public or private, and to what degree insurance or reserve funds may play a part. Certainly we must have reserves ready to throw into the unequal battle that is sure to be waged when the next unemployment period comes, as it is sure to come regardless of any changes that may reasonably be expected in our economic system in the next ten years.

It is not my purpose to deal with unemployment from the standpoint of fundamental remedies. Social workers, however, along with all other groups, must accept the obligation of thought and study along the broad lines of social and economic reconstruction. We can scarcely respect ourselves if we are content to limit our activities entirely to the ameliorative and case work aspects of the social program. We must, for example, do what we can as individuals in the direction of improving present international relations, for they have a tremendous bearing on the matter of unemployment. We must be interested in the problem of a better organized and controlled economic system in which depressions may be minimized. Social work can never hope to cope successfully with the disastrous social consequences arising out of an economic structure so lacking in control that prolonged unemployment descends upon a fourth of our workers; nor can we be unconcerned over a financial structure that so heavily mortgages future income, discourages thrift, and allows the savings of the people to go down in a welter of destruction with 2,298 bank failures in a single year, as in 1931.¹⁰

This age of machines, mass production, and business efficiency, with its potential benefits to all mankind, too often results in technological unemployment. How can this be avoided?

Various interesting attempts have been made in recent months to formulate plans for a more intelligent ordering of our economic system. Individuals like Mr. Swope, Stuart Chase, Professor Beard, and others; organizations like the National Chamber of Commerce, and the American Federation of Labor, and many others, have presented plans. Several European nations have established economic councils. The need is evident for a more intelligent ordering of our productive forces so that they may be fully and continuously used for the progressive well-being of the whole people. Is the time not ripe for the president of the United States to appoint a representative commission of the highest caliber, composed of experts in the social sciences, finance, scientific management, labor relations, economics, and

¹⁰ *U.S. Federal Reserve Bulletin*, XVIII, No. 2 (February, 1932), 134.

social work for the purpose of studying the various suggestions that are available and such limited experience as has been had with a view to making recommendations upon which united and positive action can be based?

Surely social workers will have the breadth of vision to interest themselves in these matters of fundamental economic and human import and will find occasion to contribute some quota to the progressive and sound solution of these great economic problems out of which directly or indirectly a myriad of social difficulties arise. The problems are complicated. Time will be required to work them out. Other unemployment periods will be upon us before complete solutions can be reached. In the meantime, what can be done to bring the maximum help to the millions of workers who depend for their livelihood and the welfare of their families upon their ability to secure and hold a job?

Unemployment reserve funds.—An important means of meeting the needs of the unemployed which has been widely adopted abroad and is receiving serious consideration in this country is unemployment insurance. This device has in fact been the subject of legislation and is now in operation in various forms in eighteen foreign countries. Wisconsin during the past winter enacted an unemployment insurance law, the first of the states of this union to do so. It is more properly and generally known as an "unemployment reserve law."

Whatever may be said against unemployment insurance, let us not be influenced by the popular term "dole." This term has no value whatever as an argument either for or against social insurance, federal relief, or anything else. Unemployment insurance proper is not a dole, but rather a payment made in part, at least, on an actuarial basis and in part as a legitimate cost of production. Some European governments, because of emergency conditions, have gone beyond the actuarial basis and have more or less indiscriminately given relief through "extended benefits," "uncovenanted benefits," etc., which have extended the unemployment insurance payments beyond the time and conditions under which they were originally supposed to have

been paid. These "extended benefits" may be said to have been doles, but in the same sense a large part of the relief which has been given in our country may also be called a dole.

An involuntarily unemployed person should not be forced to the point of starvation before his right to assistance is recognized. Future generations will undoubtedly look back upon our treatment of the unemployed as one of the strangest and cruellest aspects of our present civilization. In justice to our self-respecting workers, and indeed to ourselves, we must devise some means by which those who are subjected to enforced unemployment will receive help from reserves which have been set up for that purpose. This would make it possible for the unemployed to have help before they have suffered the strain and stress of using up all their slender savings and credit, before they have lost their homes, their self-confidence, and their self-respect.

It has come to be recognized as good business for corporations and other economic enterprises to build up financial reserves or surpluses in times of prosperity, so that during periods of depression losses may be covered and dividends paid. If reserves for the protection of capital are sound business and social policy, is it not equally sound to accumulate reserves for the protection of labor? Granted that such unemployment reserves would not take care of the entire need in a time like this, might it not be an important help, not only for labor, but incidentally for business and the public generally, in that it would help to sustain the purchasing power of the great mass of workers? Indeed, it would seem that the principle involved here is so simple as to be axiomatic.

The size of the unemployment reserves that might easily be built up if the principle were uniformly applied in this country is not generally realized. Let us suppose that all the states should pass unemployment reserve legislation similar to that of Wisconsin and embodying the principles of the Governor's Interstate Commission on Unemployment Insurance.¹¹ These

¹¹ *American Labor Legislation Review*, March, 1932, pp. 19-23.

American plans provide for the deposit by the employers of 2 per cent of the pay roll in a reserve fund to be administered by the state. As soon as any employer's reserve amounts to \$50 per employe, the payments drop to 1 per cent, until the total reaches \$75 per employe, when all further payments are discontinued until the reserve drops again below this sum. According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, the total wages bill in this country in 1926 for the leading industrial occupations—in other words, for these workers to whom unemployment reserves might apply—was approximately 24 thousand millions of dollars.¹² If all employers had been paying 2 per cent of their pay rolls into a reserve fund, a payment which would have amounted to only 70 cents per week for a worker getting a weekly wage of \$35, these small payments in the aggregate in the one year, 1926, would have amounted to approximately 475 millions of dollars, or 25 millions more than all the relief, both public and private, administered by organized agencies in the United States last year.

If in a prosperous period of three or four years employers accumulated an average reserve of \$60 per employe, the total for 18 million wage earners would amount to well over 1,000 million dollars, or enough to pay one-fourth of these workers' unemployment benefits of \$8.00 per week, for a period of seven months. During such period, with three fourths of the workers employed, approximately 210 millions additional reserves would have been added.

The American plans seem superior to those of Europe in that they limit insurance benefits strictly to the reserves created. Some European governments have supplemented extensively these reserves and so confused the issue of insurance and relief. The American plans are also superior in giving a financial incentive or advantage to those employers who stabilize their employment. The administration of unemployment reserves re-

¹² King, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 and 57, Table IV, and pp. 146 and 147, Table XXVI. The industries included in the foregoing calculation were manufacturing, mining, construction, mercantile, and transportation. There were approximately 18 million wage earners in these occupations.

quires an adequate system of public employment exchanges and this in itself would be a great advantage. It is to be hoped that a national movement will get under way to provide suitable protection to the unemployed in all of our states. Experience and experiment will gradually determine the principles best adapted to American conditions.

The action taken by various business groups has been sufficient to indicate that the principle of unemployment reserves is being quite generally accepted in this country. There is still considerable debate over the method that should be used—whether these reserves should be paid entirely by employers, as in the Wisconsin plan, or by employers and employees, as in the German plan, or by employers, employees, and the state, as in the English system. But, in whatever way the money is to be secured, let us hold fast to the principle and seek legislative action that will insure the setting up of reserves on a nation wide scale, so that we may not again enter on a great unemployment period without this safeguard. The movement must be made general through legislation if the few progressive employers who have already adopted, or who will adopt, such protection for their own employees are not to be placed at a disadvantage in competition with the majority who will not, or cannot, of their own initiative take such action.

Treatment of the immediate situation.—But what are the immediate steps? What shall we do next to meet the present situation? We have passed through three winters of distress. Regardless of any possible business recovery, social work will face during the next winter certainly as serious a relief problem as it has faced during the past winter. There is not enough time to set up the complete machinery that we should have had before this crisis appeared. What, then, are the emergency measures that should be developed?

The speeding up of public works during time of depression seems to hold some real possibilities for helpfulness, although it must be recognized as only one item in a program for helping the unemployed and modifying the severity of depressions.

Practically all local and state governments are always far behind in their programs of permanent improvements. Public improvement projects as a means of assisting the unemployed, however, cannot be used to any great extent until the ideal of continuous, careful planning several years in advance for public work of sound economic and social value, becomes a general practice on the part of our local, as well as state and federal, governments. It is apparent that governmental units, as well as business units, must develop a capacity for creating financial reserves during times of prosperity, either in the form of paying off indebtedness and building up sound credit or by creating financial reserves which will be available when needed—or better, perhaps, by both methods. We have here a difficulty of the first magnitude, for it is bound up with the entire problem of improving local government. However, all government units, including the federal government, which can possibly finance useful public works should be moving along this line in a larger way than they have so far done.

Work relief has been widely used in the present depression, and more successfully than ever before. Fortunately, we have had careful study going on which will enable us to evaluate this experience and to ascertain the principles by which it can be made most useful. The Russell Sage Foundation deserves special mention in this connection. During the past year it has been making a study of work relief as a means of meeting the needs of certain groups of the unemployed, in various cities; and we may, I am sure, look forward to a valuable publication which will make this study permanently and widely available.

Practical considerations which cannot be discussed here place limitations on the extent to which this form of relief can be used. Nevertheless, work relief is a useful device, and every community should develop it in so far as it can be well handled and made a constructive part of the emergency program.

Government must come to the rescue.—It is clear that, since we made no preparations for meeting unemployment before this depression, we must now depend largely on straight relief. Little

immediate help can come from unemployment reserves or insurance, and only a limited assistance seems available in the form of public works and work relief. Where are the funds for straight relief to be found? There are signs that private giving is reaching the limit of its possibilities. Private agencies have thus far in this country administered nearly half the unemployment relief. This does not count mothers' aid, veterans' relief, old age or blind pensions, which are paid from public funds. The total public and private relief funds have been and still are dangerously inadequate for the millions of unemployed. This inadequacy is forcibly brought out by calculations, showing that if the total of 450 millions of relief last year had been distributed regularly and evenly to the unemployed, it would have furnished only \$1.44 per week to each of 6 million jobless workers. This, of course, is not the way unemployment relief in this country is distributed, but it serves further to bring home to our minds the fact that we are scarcely beginning to meet the emergency.

The question may well be raised as to how long our government and our institutions can remain safe in such a situation. For this, among other reasons, unemployment relief is necessarily a concern of all government both local and national. Furthermore, taxation is the one major emergency resource available for further relief. Much as we prefer to keep taxes as low as possible, we are forced to the conclusion that taxation must bear a larger proportion of the relief load than it has borne up to the present time. Most states must take a more decisive position in meeting unemployment relief needs than they have up to the present. The federal government must be ready to reinforce the states. This crisis will require the combined resources of public and private funds on a local, state, and national basis without delay if serious want and still more serious difficulties are to be avoided.

Social work must undergo major reorganization.—But while taxation must be looked to as the chief source of relief funds, social work itself must do its part. Our community organization

of social work is not beyond criticism or possibility of improvement. There are serious dangers involved, for we are under the necessity of making large savings and important changes quickly in the midst of an emergency and without opportunity for thorough study of how these economies can be made constructive rather than destructive to social work.

I wonder if we fully realize the serious consequences to social work itself presented by the present set-up for meeting unemployment. The need for providing food, clothing, and shelter for the millions who are out of work has so impressed the public mind that it is unconscious of the many other problems that unemployment creates.

A constant pressure to eliminate some phases of social work is being felt as a result of the depression, and we face the danger that certain of our most valuable and constructive services will be sacrificed. Such pressure, however, as well as the condition of the times, is a challenge to social work to reexamine its program and especially its machinery, to see that outworn parts are discarded and that all parts work together without the loss of power.

What activities does the average person think can be eliminated? Programs that build for the future; those safeguards which social agencies have thrown about the boys and girls of our cities that make for character development, research, the systematic education of the people in matters of public welfare—all these would be eliminated if some individuals had their way. The elimination of delinquency prevention and youth programs would be a tragedy and not an economy; yet we face the possibility that these agencies may be required to find their own resources and support unless the public can be educated (and that quickly) to a realization of their value in a community program, especially during this unemployment period. The public is not generally aware of the extent to which these delinquency prevention and youth agencies have been made use of in the present emergency, or the extent to which they have sacrificed much of their regular work and reduced their regular budgets in

order to augment the relief funds of our communities. Neither do they realize that unemployment relief has reached such huge proportions that the complete elimination of all preventive social work for an entire year would finance less than one month of unemployment relief.

Recently this public pressure has expressed itself in certain congressional recommendations on budgets which would seriously threaten the effectiveness of the Federal Children's Bureau. This agency for twenty years has had the notable leadership of Julia C. Lathrop and Grace Abbott. Miss Lathrop's death on the eve of this Conference strikes a note of sorrow throughout the country. The Children's Bureau, through its research and educational activities in the field of health, family, and child care and child labor, stands out as one of the bright spots of government. In the present unemployment the Children's Bureau has contributed a most valuable statistical service, giving current information on the amount and trends of relief and other forms of social work in large cities of this country.

The real challenge to social work is to be found not in unintelligent sacrifice of these engineering and preventive aspects of social work but rather in improved community organization and planning. Our agencies are still largely on an individualistic basis exactly as business is still on such a basis, and many of the same consequences are to be found.

For example, in a city with which I am well acquainted, a hospital survey was made about seven years ago which found the city at that time to be overhospitalized and which recommended that no further building of hospitals be undertaken. It was recommended that a council be formed which should study and advise the hospitals concerning certain problems common to them all and which would enable them to utilize to the best advantage their facilities to meet the community requirements. These recommendations were, however, disregarded, and the private hospitals entered upon a period of competitive building with the result that even before the depression, and more espe-

cially during the past three years, all these private hospitals developed a critical condition of underoccupancy. Some of the private hospitals now have entire floors which are not in use; in fact, one splendidly appointed hospital built several years ago has never been opened; yet such is the disregard for community planning that in a certain section of the city a movement recently got under way to build still another hospital. This sort of situation in the welfare field can be criticized just as sharply as the overdevelopment of certain lines of industry, and social work as well as business must make corrections.

It is the special function of private social agencies to promote preventive activities. Our efforts may in fact be said to be intelligent in proportion as we are effective in dealing with certain causes of misery and maladjustment and, within our sphere, doing everything possible to prevent them.

Fortunately, a national campaign of education is being planned for this summer and fall by the National Social Work Council. The keynote of this campaign is to be the importance of a well rounded program of social work. The feeling is that the publicity, both national and local, during the past year has too exclusively emphasized unemployment and relief as the reason for contributing to community campaigns. Local social work programs will be greatly assisted by an intelligent national educational effort in support of the case work, character building, and other preventive and constructive phases of social service.

However, as this great new light of publicity is turned upon these social activities, there will be searching local inquiry as to just which agencies are involved, who gets the money, and how it is spent. If several agencies, each with its own executive and staff, are doing the same general type of work in the same community, contributors will demand adequate reason for such duplication. Two things are needed: first, a careful analysis of the social work program with agencies willing to consider their work from the community standpoint; and second, intensive educational efforts on a national scale to acquaint the public with the real values in social work.

Summary.—In summary we have seen: that the social costs of unemployment from the economic, health, psychological, and family standpoints are staggering; that a wage and salary loss of 22 thousand million in 1931 as compared with 1929, of which our entire direct relief in 1931 replaced but 2 per cent, reveals the inadequacy of such relief and the heavy burden that must be borne not only by the unemployed, their families, and friends but also by landlords, professional men, and business generally; that far reaching economic reorganization looking toward the stabilization of employment and full utilization of our productive powers should be undertaken at once. It seems advisable to suggest that the president of the United States appoint a commission to study proposed plans and to make recommendations for definite action in this direction; that unemployment reserve funds must be an essential part of an adequate economic and social program for the future and should be the subject of legislation without delay; that public works as a relief measure can be used more extensively than heretofore but its full usefulness must await long range planning; that work relief for the unemployed is a valuable device but its usefulness is at best limited; that because we had no plan or program to meet such an emergency, we are now dependent principally upon straight relief; that we must expect at least as large a relief load for the coming winter as the one just passed; that we cannot depend upon private giving or on the unemployed to help themselves to as great an extent in the months ahead as we have up to the present; that private agencies are not fitted to meet an emergency of the present proportions, and in attempting to do so they are sacrificing certain of their most valuable and constructive services; that unemployment in its present proportions has inherent dangers to all human values and institutions and relief should therefore be a major concern of government; that this crisis requires the combined resources of public and private funds on a local, state, and national basis without delay if serious want and still more serious difficulties are to be avoided; that community chests and other community organizations will

be under the necessity in the coming months of exercising their functions of community planning to an extent never before known or undertaken; that social work must accept the challenge of the times in this matter of sounder social organization for efficiency and progress; and that the mobilization of social agencies and social workers on a national scale is of pressing importance.

Finally, we must not allow ourselves to become so depressed by the present emergency with its want and misery as to lose all historical perspective. Our country has gone through severe depressions before and has come out of them to rise to new levels of achievement. It is true that we now have new, and probably more difficult, problems to meet. A virgin continent no longer extends a helping hand and points the way out. Conscious social reorganization is now the great and evident need, but this is not impossible if our minds are open to learn.

Our greatest concern is that we shall learn well the lessons which this depression has to teach. There is reason to believe that we are showing greater facility in this learning process in the present emergency than we have in the past, and this raises the hope that its constructive effects will be greater.

No one group is at fault for either present conditions or our state of unpreparedness. Each individual and group must share the responsibility not only for conditions but for building a better future order. Social work and social workers have met the present emergency with growing strength and fortitude. We now belong to a great profession, and I have confidence that we shall have courage and intelligence equal to our responsibilities and opportunities.

CHILDREN IN NATIONAL EMERGENCIES

*Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D., Secretary of the Interior,
Washington*

THE most hopeful and outstanding quality of our present generation is that it has become child conscious. Who, except the mothers, worried about the children during the campaigns of Julius Caesar or the Thirty-Year War or during the Napoleonic era? Individuals and nations have passed through many a crisis in the forward march of civilization. The importance of childhood was dramatized by the Commission for Relief in Belgium and the American Relief Administration. This came at a time when we were thinking in new terms. Medicine and science had brought new opportunities for the saving of lives. In our own land large families and plenty of little graves about the church had been the order of the day.

Child labor was taken for granted with the first development of modern industry. To be bound out replaced high school or college education for the great mass of American boys in the new agricultural portions of the United States before our own Civil War. Now, our experience with the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection at least tells us that our children come first. When trouble and danger threaten, whether it is on shipboard in a storm or a disaster on land or a financial crash in a family, men have learned to act to protect the future as well as to meet the present. It is this ability to think and plan that has pushed civilization ahead. The controlling idea in the saying, "Women and children first," is an almost instinctive reaction of preparation for the future. In the century that we have been building up our present form of world civilization based on the striking advances made in information and in the practical application of inventions and discoveries, we have learned to think of our children in other terms than as prospective cannon fodder or as brainless working machines.

An advancing civilization is characterized by its preservation of dependents of all sorts. We can view some of these dependents as the inevitable heritages of our existence. I refer to the children who have not reached the self-sustaining age or the aged who have passed that period. The more we have of those who live upon others because of physical handicaps, diseases, injuries, mental states, or as pensioners, the more difficult it is for us to navigate the craft of civilization. One of our newer conceptions is to make the handicapped do something to work at least a part of their way. One of the stark, cold facts that faces us is that in the preparation for war, in the conduct of war, and in the payment for wards engaged in, lies our largest source of unremunerative expenditures from the standpoint of the progress of the race. Every ex-soldier attached to the public treasury is an exhibit in the campaign which should be constantly waged for the prevention of war. From a broad social standpoint we must use prevention in this field, as we do in that of disease and of social disqualifications of all sorts, if we are to avoid the paralyzing handicaps of a burden which may become too great for us to carry.

Now, as a sequel to the insanity of a great war, the ordered processes of society have been temporarily halted or deranged. We give this condition the name "depression," indicative of our point of view that we are below a normal and accepted level of activities. Experience, too, has shown us that our progress and activities have in them the rythms of rise and fall that are characteristic of the tides of the sea and the beats of the heart. These have come and gone throughout the ages. One of our difficulties is to maintain during the sublevel period the fundamental verities of life, so that we can use them as a basis upon which to build in order to return to normal, or even beyond that to one of those periods of supernormal, which gives us the greatest emotional satisfactions.

Let us analyze some of the factors of interest in this present instance in so far as they may concern children. We have been so close to the benefits derived from the discoveries of such men

as Pasteur and Koch that I think we have failed to grasp the revolutionary effect that they have had upon the protection of childhood. Our new knowledge of nutrition, particularly of infant feeding, has had much to do with the improvement in our morbidity and mortality rates. At the same time, our republic from its very earliest days has been increasingly successful in its goal of universal education. Out of all this and from many other sources new standards have been created for the nurture or handling of children. The White House Conference on the Care and Protection of Children took the measure of these present methods and outlined for us many undeveloped possibilities for the future.

Because of the past experiences of the race and our recent contact with the faulty nutrition of European children suffering from war and post-war conditions, there has been a rather universal fear that the American child would be unduly harmed by the difficulties through which we are passing. Personally, and speaking broadly, I think that, unless we descend to a level far beyond anything that we at present have known, our children are apt to profit, rather than suffer, from what is going on. We must set up the neglect of prosperity against the care of adversity. With prosperity, many parents unload the responsibilities for their children onto others. With adversity the home takes its more normal place. There is no substitute for intelligent parental care exercised throughout the day, at meal times, and in controlling proper sleeping conditions at night. More important still, there is no substitute for the parent in the development of the spiritual, moral, and mental makeup of the child.

It is difficult to judge by figures just what is taking place, but the reduced mortality rate for infants and for children reported for the past winter certainly does not harmonize with the dire prophecies of those who are inclined to see both "blue" and "red" in the present situation. The interest of thousands of keen and well trained people throughout our whole country in seeing that our children are properly fed and cared for has given

many of them better and more suitable food than in past good times. Those economically able to care adequately for their children have been doing it better because of a willingness to accept the expert information which is available to a degree never before attained.

It is important not to be confused by the present situation regarding the adolescent and past adolescent youth of America and Europe. We must realize that they have been disturbed and markedly influenced by the disorder of the war period and the demoralization which has followed it. War makes deep wounds in the young people who live through it. Youthful crime is apparently more evident in European countries, as well as here, than before. I view it as the result of the breakdown in the normal conditions of the home and in the general attitudes of the community, rather than to anything that is happening at the moment. We pay our bills slowly for the mistakes that we make with our children, but there is an inevitable quality about these debts that shows the need of our present planning. The war scars on our children will bring many of them down in the years yet to come.

This makes a careful analysis of what is going on with our children in this present emergency of great significance for the future. Was there ever a time in the history of the world when children as a group had the advantages of our own boys and girls of today? Compared with a century ago, we can say that, as they have lost some of the protections of the home, they have gained new protections in the community. Our educational system has developed so that we have added greatly to the training of almost all of our boys and girls. At the same time, with public health organizations, recreational activities, playgrounds, and welfare organizations, we have new and necessary additions to our equipment in the care of youth. Fortunately, too, our conception of childhood has undergone an almost startling change. The browbeating, harsh discipline of a generation or two ago has become uncommon instead of being the rule. Again, we are much more conscious of our children and of what they are doing.

Probably no generation has thought more about what youth is doing than has ours. Perhaps it is due to the fact that we have more ways of communicating with each other than other generations have had. There is a sense of collective responsibility for children that is reflected in beautiful school buildings, attractive playgrounds, fine hospitals, and subscriptions to the community funds. There are great and terrible gaps yet to be filled, but we are conscious of their presence.

The behavior problems of children have become of community, as well as of family, interest. In our endeavors to use the old faulty, arbitrary methods of punishment which we have inherited from the tyrannies, hates, and heedlessness of the past, as our children have been given range, we have been increasingly taking them under public control. A prison with children in it is a ghastly souvenir of horrid memories and a living evidence of incompetence. At the moment we are sensing that the application of well tried but faulty methods to children is associated with a very high percentage of failure. The juvenile court is an attempt to make our legal and penal system apply to children. It does not and will not. We must view children from entirely fresh standpoints in their relationships to the community. Sin may mean something to you or me, but it takes much experimentation for it to mean anything to an aggressive child. Can we not free little children from the enmeshments of law and deal with them on a basis of training? Every child brought out of the criminal class and made self-supporting is a net gain for us all. Our pocketbooks pay for our failures. Do we ever stop to think when we read that someone has been sentenced for ten years that it means that we must pay out several thousand dollars for custodial care? Certainly for youth, at least, these sums should go for reconstruction.

We now realize, too, that comparatively few children are born diseased and with addled mental or deficient physical equipment and that there is no inborn general physical condition that leads to unsocial behavior, delinquency, and criminal tendencies in general. Certain physical defects and diseases and men-

tal peculiarities have a relation to the incidents of misconduct, but they are not all-controlling. Children are all different from each other and require individual handling. We recognize that the wildest horses, properly trained and guided, often make the best horses to ride. The child with daring qualities offers the most if properly directed. These qualities may be the forerunner of great power or of important discoveries, or the trying out of those new experiments that are so significant in our progress. What we classify as misbehavior at the present time may become qualities that can be turned to use instead of misuse. The present emphasis on youthful crime may have the merit of forcing solutions.

This depression has made us sensitive to conditions which with prosperity would have escaped our notice. When things are going well, a margin of failure is readily wiped out or not noticed. When they are not going so well, failure must be analyzed and reduced. We need a new perspective instead of continuing to work up and down the old track. My diagnosis is that our present civilization is broken out with the hives. They irritate and bother us; they show us that we need some changes in our physical organization; but they are not evidences of fatal or fundamental weaknesses. Hives are as transitory as they are annoying, if proper living is had and appropriate remedies are taken.

National emergencies force realities upon us. In this present one we are now passing from the whining and blame-someone-else period to one of counting our blessings every once in a while and getting ready to meet the situation. This has brought good fortune to our children in a number of ways. With real thought and discussion on the part of both parents and public alike, the expert is being asked what to do. This is a good combination, since the desire to do better can be hooked up with the knowledge of what to do and how to do it.

One difficulty with all of us humans is that we are apt to view problems from the standpoint of personal experiences. Those who are close to some cities in this country where the economic

maladjustment has been marked, and who have been devoting their time to relieving distress, are apt to see the whole situation from the standpoint of this painful experience. On the other hand, those who are associated with communities where everything is going reasonably well are inclined to think that conditions elsewhere are exaggerated. But in the broad, I think we can say that this national emergency is being met, in so far as children are concerned, in new and satisfactory ways that can well encourage us for the future. We are cashing in on the health programs of the past. Our great educational mechanism is doing its job well in spite of reduced finances. There is a greater available food supply and more knowledge of how to use it than ever before. Again, we have playground, recreational, and other facilities that have been built up in the past few decades. Our whole scheme of physical training and athletic games gives us wholesome use for increased leisure time. Moreover, we can say that our present emergency has not driven millions of children into industrial labor. The machine has given us many problems, but it has taken many hard tasks out of the weak arms of children. The emphasis upon amusement instead of recreation, the apparent decrease in substantial reading, and behavior problems of various sorts, give us real concern. The more widespread tendency to gambling by both adults and youth is one of the most demoralizing factors in our present American life. The gambling spirit gives just the wrong turn to growing children who need to think in terms of security, stability, and honest endeavor, rather than of chance.

Most important of all is the question of whether our national emergency is damaging for children those ultimate spiritual values that are so vitally needed. Religion has for many children taken on new and somewhat disturbing aspects. My contact with youth would indicate that they are wholesome, genuine, and fact-facing in their points of view. Even in this period of change, which is also a period of stress when there is bound to be maladjustment, our children are riding out of the confusion with astonishing poise. They, of course, catch the uncertainties

and worries of their elders. Since the greatest needs that children have are those of security and of the opportunity for growth, the significance of the family is of unique importance. If this national emergency will teach us that there is no possible method of replacing the family and the home, and that our economic and social scheme should include in it those factors that will do the most for the home, it will be worth the price. Home means so much. Yet it is a hideous hole for millions of our children. Low prices favor the efforts to blot out slums and transitional areas.

Regardless of material accumulation and the rapid growth of so called wealth that has come to us in America due to growth and industry, I am satisfied that the only really worthwhile values in the human race are associated with children. Mothers in industry give me a sinking at the heart. We can afford to put more principal in our children and less in the savings bank. The national emergency should teach us that material gain is transient and that the figures used to measure it are not a suitable standard by which to judge achievement, happiness, or health. Our civilization will be measured by the children it produces and by the civilization they in turn produce.

CONFERENCE DINNER

MR. C. M. BOOKMAN, *presiding*:

Members of the Conference and friends of the Children's Bureau: Those of us who have been busy preparing for this Conference have looked forward with much pleasure to tonight's program. It seemed to us that the twentieth anniversary of the birth of the Federal Children's Bureau should not pass without proper recognition being given to its effective service to the children of America. Also, it seemed to us that recognition should come from the social workers of America assembled at this Conference. The presence of so many of you (2,500) indicates that you quite agree in this. The sorrow we feel over the passing of Julia Lathrop, its first leader, is inevitably reflected in this meeting. I know the spirit of her devotion to the Bureau's welfare will prompt our consideration of what it has done and will strengthen the courage of its present leaders to go on to greater achievements.

MISS LILLIAN D. WALD, Henry Street Settlement, New York City:

Of course there is no denial of the fact of the clock, but I do assert that it seems but yesterday since the idea of the Federal Children's Bureau had in it some of the qualities of front page, headline, newest discovery values.

I have been asked to reminisce on the beginnings of the Bureau, and to tell this present generation how it all came about—what were the prenatal influences, who attended the birth, who are recorded as godfathers, though there were many more godmothers at the ceremonies.

First in chronological order was the fact that more than two decades ago people were aware of the importance of recognizing early in life the requisites essential for children. The immediate jolt that set the machinery in motion was the fact that the set-

tlement with which I am associated, like all other associations known to be interested in the realities of life rather more than the abstractions, found its door bell or its door knocker sounding, and its mail weighted, with inquiries concerning ways and means to help individuals and communities to do well by their children. The people who come to a settlement or who write to a settlement are, in the majority of instances, people who bring single problems: "My girl is crippled"; "What are you going to do about the little children in the sweatshops?" "Where can I get information about the best talcum powder?" "At what age should a child have its teeth examined?" "What is the difference between Castoria and castor oil?" Most minute, often most humorous, very often most tragic, the search for help.

One morning the mail was particularly heavy with such petitionings. The newspaper that same morning had announced that a special Cabinet meeting had been held to inquire into the appearance and the disastrous effects of the boll weevil in the South. A Cabinet minister was commissioned to go south to find out. Said I to my colleague, Florence Kelley, whose contributions to our social morals and responsibility for children can never be sufficiently appraised, and whose death we mourn, "This is interesting. Nothing in the interests of children would or could bring about a special Cabinet meeting, or fix the attention of our legislators. We count the boll weevil, or a lobster, or a fish, or a pig, as more important than a child." To suggest to Mrs. Kelley was a challenge to her to do something about it; and out of that conversation, still at our coffee cups, was evolved the hope that some day we would be really civilized, we would really know values, and have a bureau in the federal government as keen to ascertain menaces to our crop of children as we have been keen to observe menaces to our cotton crops. A note to President Roosevelt brought back the characteristic immediate response, a telegram, "It's a bully idea. Come to Washington and let's see." With Dr. Edward Devine, who approved the suggestion, I took the night train, and early morning found

us at the White House. And that was the first chapter in the history of the Children's Bureau.

Then came the effort to translate the idea into a positive program. Bills were introduced, the first by Senator Murray Crane. Public hearings were held all over the land; the first Children's Conference met at the White House in 1909. To it men and women interested in childhood came from all parts of the country, representing all interests, and united in the pressure put on the government for the creation of that bureau.

There was opposition too. When at a public hearing I made the comparison of pigs and children, a valiant protector of agricultural interests said, "Why, yes. When we save pigs we are doing something for the children. The better the pig, the better fed the child will be. It may be indirect, but the child benefits."

Public sentiment was easily mobilized. Felix Adler, great educator and philosopher, as chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, led the country to understand and to make their convictions known. With him all the organizations—religious, lay, financial also—expressed in forceful terms that the time had come for this bureau. It was like an exploring party into a new continent entirely inhabited by little children, concerning whose existence there was nothing written in the legislative book. In eons to come the historian, looking for federal government enactment of the day, will probably make the deduction that the continent was entirely inhabited by fishes, birds, and four-legged animals, and creatures on two legs over five feet high, for there will be very little evidence of the existence of a human species of lower stature.

The bill creating the Federal Children's Bureau was finally passed in 1912, this time written by Senator William Borah. It was signed by President Taft on April 9, and in August the first appropriation was made. The first appropriation of money was small, but the first appointment was big. That first appointment set the character of the bureau. The god-mother who took

possession was Julia Lathrop—great, gallant Julia Lathrop—known wherever social workers exist for her competence, her inspired common sense, her vast experience, and her unique personality, an influence that penetrated the more easily because humor was never lacking—and few there were who would knowingly expose themselves to the shafts of her wit and her keen intellect.

It has been not only for the physical condition of the child that the bureau has functioned. In fact, the bureau has not specialized in any one phase of child life, but has made impressive the fact of the entity of the child, that the child cannot be separated from the economic conditions of the home, the education of the mother, the training of this executive in the home, and educating by means most easily comprehended. Nor has the bureau ever felt that any child could be neglected. Rich children, poor children, all were subjects of government interest and culture. More than once has the wise King Solomon indicated the importance of this, for did he not early in history decide upon the importance of not dismembering a child? Naturally an optimist—and I am one despite every temptation to be otherwise—the bureau has been rich in achievements, in friendships, in devotion. I know of no other bureau, I hardly know of any other department in our government, to which so many people claim relationship and watch its steps, so many people who give expression to its value, who indicate that its documents are not filed away for library uses but have become important in the household. I leave it to the able statisticians of the bureau to indicate how far-reaching has been its effect, what popular interest has been evinced in its inquiries, in its publications, and in its influences. It has been a best seller, counting its circulation in the millions. The bureau is unique for a government bureau, in definitely promoting measures for all of the children of the land that we know are essential for the single children in our households.

After Julia Lathrop there was nobody in all the wide, wide world who could so logically step into her place as Grace Abbott

—Grace Abbott, honored in her own country, honored in the League of Nations, honored for what she is and for what she has done in every country in the world. I hope that what she has accomplished to develop the splendid foundations of the bureau will be summarized, for in our doubts and skepticisms it is well to have the people of our country know the real conservation programs that have been carried out, which are not to be interrupted or interfered with as long as children are cherished.

I occasionally speak over the radio. My mail is not heavily weighted after my efforts, though I try my best. One unique experience I did have, when, in speaking on a Sunday night in Collier's hour, I dwelt upon the experiences of the 1931 Children's Conference at the White House. Telephone messages the first day, letters the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, and the sixth days; every state in our United States sent some expression of interest, support, and confidence in the bureau. Only one in that enormous mail said we were on the wrong track, and that came from Connecticut, from a lady who referred me to her senator as the one and only authority in the Senate on such measures.

These dwellers in the forty-eight states of our Union entered vicariously into the famous battle at Washington in 1931, when at the Conference, dear to the heart of President Hoover, it was indicated that there were men (I do not know of a woman who could be counted among them) who made disrupting proposals by their recommendations for transferring one of the most effective and most ably organized divisions of the bureau into another federal bureau. This was the recommendation in the report of one of the committee, to which was attached a minority report by the chief. Quick upon that came protest from deans of medical colleges, child experts, social workers, labor organizations, black people, white people. I recite this not in sorrow but in record, and to remind the men and women who care for this function of our government, and who have faith in the Children's Bureau and venerate its leadership, to guard its interests, not from enemies of the social order, but from friends and con-

scientious people from whom we have the honor to differ; to be unafraid to come out and enter the lists—and I use these words with a consciousness that a pacifist ought to find a better vocabulary. The championship of good causes, the courage to speak out, not to lose what we have gained, is in character with those who espouse the cause of the children, and who respect the importance of coordinating in one household all of the measures needed for the protection and the welfare of the children of our country.

The men and women responsible for the bureau's creation back it and its work today even more strongly than they argued for it twenty years ago, and their numbers have vastly increased.

The foundation of the bureau is the fact that a child is a unit, and children are exposed to many dangers and difficulties beside the diseases of childhood; that none of these can be most effectively dealt with when attacked separately. Children must have, therefore, a bureau wholly apart from any agency concerned with the great mass of disease and the problems of hygiene (public and personal) of the adult population. This principle was long and carefully argued in 1912 and was decisively adopted in the act creating the Children's Bureau.

The duty of the Children's Bureau was, and is, to study children from all points of view; to make accessible for all mothers facts newly ascertained, and facts long known but not previously popularized, in all the important relations of children's lives.

Every bureau study involves participation by parents from whom, in most cases, facts must be gathered as to the child's home life. In its twenty years of invaluable work, the bureau has acquired the confidence of millions of parents, as well as of the press and the public.

Hence, cooperative effort in hundreds of communities is now carried on by private agencies for child welfare, in the various fields prescribed by the act, all involving the help and good will of the public authorities. Every reason for creating the Chil-

dren's Bureau, in 1912, as a separate bureau in a department, and not as a part of the United States Public Health Service, is as strong as it was then, and far stronger, because of twenty years of successful service.

Even now, in the name of economy of government, there is grave danger that the attempt will be again made to transfer the health functions of the bureau to the Public Health Service. Wise economy in government is undoubtedly needed, and there is certainly need of avoiding waste and duplication in government work. But to transfer the health functions of the bureau, as has been proposed, would not merely remove one branch of work but would interfere with the effectiveness of the bureau as a whole. Studies of juvenile delinquency, for instance, it is now generally agreed, must be the joint efforts of psychiatrists, physicians, and social workers. The Children's Bureau has a staff composed of persons of both the medical and non-medical professions of specialized training and experience, who work together on these common problems. The Bureau's advisory committees on obstetrics and pediatrics provide the active and invaluable service of distinguished medical specialists second to none in the United States in reputation and scientific achievement.

To dismember the bureau by transferring essential portions of its work to a service which has no such long accumulated experience in relation to children, and no vast body of parents accustomed to turn to it for counsel concerning children in all their relations, would be a serious injury to our entire people. The friends of the bureau serve notice that this would be as unpopular a change as could be undertaken. It would be deeply and widely resented. It would not merely cripple and injure it; such a change might destroy the bureau.

I think it is our unanimous conviction that never in the history of the world was it more necessary to affirm our belief and to act upon our convictions that character and right living are the essentials of life. We are challenged today, as never before, to act both on our knowledge of facts and in deference to the

imponderable but no less important convictions on which the lives of all right thinking people are based. The Federal Children's Bureau has shown that it knows how to act, with economy, with integrity; and its influence is not chance. It is built upon vision and upon reality. We do not wish to make the mistake of false economy (economy is wise and right), but it is possible to destroy roots upon which we depend for our harvests.

J. PRENTICE MURPHY, General Secretary, Children's Bureau of Philadelphia:

I would call your attention briefly to the spirit which the Federal Children's Bureau has expressed during the last twenty years. We who operate in the field of social work are well aware of its existence. It is said rightly that the things of the spirit are the more wonderful. It is fitting, partly as a memorial and partly as a birthday anniversary, for us who are interested in social work to break bread together as friends in contemplation of a job well done.

There is a spot in Washington where the Unknown Soldier rests. Next to the Hall of Independence in this city, that spot may be called the national shrine. Many who have lost father, brother, husband, son, or friend in the war, identify and reidentify their own kin in the ashes there buried. Moving through this country is an unknown common person. Very humbly, with a realization of my own inadequacy as his spokesman, I would seek to present tonight his picture of what the Children's Bureau stands for. He would say it has expressed a spirit of understanding, without which the operations of a government of individuals in all of their complicated relationships would utterly fail, and that this understanding very properly begins with little children.

Again and again, in countless ways, in the realm of the spirit, as well as that of the body, the bureau, through its chiefs, assistants, and other members of the staff, has written into the social literature and practice of this country and of the world enduring pictures of essential human relations, economic foun-

dations, and necessary procedure. It has enhanced our appreciation of the value of human beings; of the worth of the individual in the daily operations of families, of industries and of the state. Its publications have been heartening to the human race. It has been fully alive to the considerations which should be accorded to the unrecognized millions of our citizens. It has realized that their happiness and well-being were essential to the development of a sound social order. It has been sensitive to the existence of underprivileged children and of their parents, striving to live in accordance with honored ideals and traditions. It has sensed fully the lamentable consequences to us as a country, as we pass through this awful depression, that far too many children—regardless of what some may say—live and die without the adequacies which have been defined for us in various White House Conference programs. To the bureau, as one important governmental agency, we owe a debt for having registered in countless thousands of families throughout this land the belief that there are at Washington those who care greatly about people.

This is a time when material things are overvalued. The fight we are waging may be lost because of our inability to overcome the materialism in the world. We are close to the most sacrificial spot in our revolutionary history—Valley Forge. The real meaning of the struggle which took place there often is forgotten. While we think with reverence of those who suffered there, and realize by how close a margin issues came near to the losing point, we cannot escape the realization that the sacrifices involving lives and much human suffering were due in large part to ineffective planning on the part of many of those in control of the government. There was lack of unity of purpose and stressing of fundamentals and failure to support the right plans. We may now be passing through the Valley Forge of our new warfare against poverty and human distress. May it not be needlessly prolonged. May we not overstress the value of suffering.

What is the worth of a human being? The poet, the church-

man, the scientist, the social worker, the teacher, the doctor, the philosopher, all have spoken; but their answers still are incomplete. The mystery of personality, as interpreted in many of the projects of the bureau, is something for which we should feel a great debt of gratitude. Man is and always shall be a great mystery. Those who are here now and those who will follow never can expect to fully circumscribe all of the things which are expressed in human personalities. But this great thing we know—that the mysteries of personality are affected by vital economic factors. Many times over those who have served through the Children's Bureau have made it clear that, while the things of the spirit must be given their proper values, bread and butter, housing and clothing, adequate wages, and economic security supply the foundations upon which the real growth of the spirit is based.

We are reminded of the statesmanship of the bureau chiefs; of the long view they have taken of the interrelationships between mass social work and individual social work; of the great amount of factual information they have accumulated, making it easier for us to see the problems of human distress through the eyes of those who are most affected.

The story of service is too long to be told at this time, but certain great movements of social advance in which the bureau has played a vital part pass rapidly before us. Running through all history is one—the unmarried mother—who has been the subject of venomous persecution, ignorant hatred, and unwise and unjust methods of care. To a lesser extent the unmarried father takes his place by her side. Never can we forget Leffingwell's words:

Against the background of history, too prominent to escape the observation from which it springs, stands a figure, mute, mournful and indescribably sad. It is a girl, holding in her arms the blessing and burden of motherhood, but in whose face one finds no trace of maternal joy or pride. Who is this woman, so pitiable, yet so scorned? It is the mother of the illegitimate child. By forbidden paths she has attained the grace of motherhood, but this glory is for her transfigured into a badge of unutterable shame.

More than three million persons now living in the United States were born out of wedlock. The bureau has made us see

that what has happened and is happening to these children and adults is of immediate and far-reaching concern to all of us. It has aided mightily in battering down the walls of hatred and ignorance which in the past have caused such suffering for innocent offspring. Into the situation has been introduced the elements of sanity, knowledge, hope, love, and idealism. I can think of no finer service.

We turn to those who pass through our courts to industrial schools, reformatories, and prisons. Millions more of our citizens have had these experiences, with results which are sobering to every thoughtful student. We forget that prisons have always received the great; and until we become much wiser, and much more courageous, the process will continue. The development of juvenile and adult courts, expressing the finest practices, is one of the outstanding methods for keeping people out of prison, an experience they may never forget or overcome. The bureau has been in the forefront of the movement which has shown us the interacting physical, mental, and economic causes that lead to misconduct. Because of its efforts, we see more clearly that the primary task is one of removing causes rather than of dealing with results.

The Federal Children's Bureau has been distinctive in the influences which it has exerted through providing objectives on which we could unite for the expression of our finest ideals. It has emphasized the foundations of mutual understanding—always in terms of children and of families—and of the forces which affect family life. It has operated against the widespread evidences of sectionalism, of destructive thinking, of movements which are in opposition to something and only remotely in support of anything. It has met courageously the demands of the hour in terms of the development of necessary national, state, and local welfare programs. What we need is the inauguration of an "era of good feeling," a movement which will see in the adults and children of these United States countless reasons for belief and trust in their sanity and in their development of helpful interdependence of action.

Although we are a nation of foreigners, there always has been

a sturdy anti-foreign stream of thought and action in our national life. On our early hatred of England other foreign hatreds have been grafted. The foreign-born have brought us much culture and knowledge and great wealth. We seemed to be on the point of appreciating the worth of some of the foreign-born and their sons who fought in our armies during the great war, but this love has not been a lasting one. The cry, "Back to your own country," is heard on many sides. We are suspicious when persons with strange names seek to contribute out of the richness of their own heritage to our common development, whether it be political, industrial, or social. "Nativism" is cropping out anew. One does not have to go back more than three decades to get the picture of its hateful influences on our national life.

Too many of us are anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-Mexican, anti-Indian, anti-Catholic, anti-Protestant. Too many of us are anti-country or anti-city. Too many of us are anti-every-liberal-movement which seeks to improve the lives of children within their own family, and their social relationships. We are afraid of the thinker. We are afraid of the dissenter. Too many of us are anti-rich as well as anti-poor. We are afraid of hunger marchers, forgetting that in every age there have streamed forth from those who have lived in poverty great leaders of men. We forget, or are unable to see, the common ties which in reality link us man to man. As members of legislative bodies we speak as representatives of localities rather than of the country or the states.

Religious prejudice lies close to the surface. In our search for God we end by hating the children he has created. We fail to see and appreciate the courage required of those who seek to live lives of justice to others. But the saving element in this picture of confusion (some say "chaos") is children. Around them and for them we can unite.

There is a Psalm—one of the most beautiful—written at a time when the Jews were captives in Babylon. (Just as many of us are captives in a period of economic stress.) As those Jewish exiles looked forward to the period when their country would be

restored, so we look forward to a time when all of the parts of the fabric of social well-being for which the Federal Children's Bureau has striven again will function without the contention and strife of the moment. I quote these lines:

By Babel's streams we sat and wept,
For memory still to Zion clung;
The winds alone our harp strings swept
That on the drooping willows hung.

If I do not remember thee,
Let my parched tongue its utterance cease;
If my chief joy be dear to me,
Beyond Jerusalem's joy and peace.

The morale of America,—this land we love, whose mission has only just begun,—this land teeming with material wealth and untold resources of culture and knowledge, brought in part from many lands—must be restored, as, with the world, we face a new day.

As we see new duties being placed upon public officials, we are reminded of the quality and fidelity of service which Miss Lathrop and Miss Abbott have expressed through the Children's Bureau. To them public office has been, and is, a public trust, capable of drawing out the utmost of devotion and skill. Through all these twenty years, at no time could it have been said of them that they have been "energetic without mercy, and kindly without energy."

Miss Abbott, a great host of people—some known, some unknown—who are here tonight only in spirit, join with us, I am sure, in this tribute to Miss Lathrop and yourself, and desire to record our profound appreciation for the results you have achieved for the children of the United States. Like the lords and ladies of an old-world realm, we lay our tribute at your feet, in part for one who is our invisible guest.

MISS GRACE ABBOTT, Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau,
Washington:

Miss Wald and Mr. Murphy have given me a very difficult task. I am sure those social workers who are in public office, in

either federal, state, or local units, my comrades in arms in the struggle for better public services, will understand me when I say that I have had to learn how to sit through a meeting and arrange my countenance so as to display no emotion when I am assailed, but I have not learned how to behave when praise is meted out as it has been tonight. It is for a public official an unusual experience, and, coming from you who are qualified to evaluate what the bureau has done, means much more to the bureau staff than I can indicate to you tonight.

I am extending thanks in behalf of the whole bureau staff. There are many present and former members of the staff here tonight who know how little the present chief has been personally responsible for the bureau's achievements. I am, therefore, grateful that Miss Wald and Mr. Murphy have included all of those who have worked in the bureau at some time during the past twenty years as collectively responsible for its development, for they have saved me from the embarrassment which would have been mine had the whole bureau staff not been included in the honors that have been shown the bureau tonight.

We look back tonight over twenty years. Miss Wald finds it a very short time. To me it is both short and very long. These years, as nearly twenty equal units of time as scientific calendar making has been able to provide, are unequal in every sense, except as units of time. No other period of twenty years in the world's history has seen more profound changes. The period began when political progressivism was at its height. It was an expression of the prevailing viewpoint of human service as an ideal of government that led to the creation of the Children's Bureau. A few years later the world was scientifically organized for one purpose only—the destruction of human life—and with the successful prosecution of war went many of the social values which had been slowly developed during years of peace. There followed the post-war period of the nineteen twenties. In a review of Frederick Allen's interesting history of this period, I found it referred to as a "strange interlude." Gay and noisy and prosperous, it was a period when, as a people, we gave free rein

to fear, superstition, religious and racial intolerance, and ruthless materialism. After that interlude we entered these years of black despair into which the collapse of our industrial pyramid has plunged most of the world.

Child welfare progress during these twenty years has not been even. Through the whole period a small group of individuals and agencies have kept steadily at work on the problem of building a better way of life for American children. Sometimes widespread interest has made great progress possible. Sometimes the general public has been too busy making money or mourning its loss to give the necessary time and thought and support to children and their needs. But, unquestionably, the general trend during these two decades has been toward more thoughtful, more scientific, and more self-sacrificing concern for the needs of children. The Children's Bureau has been the national public agency which has had a part in the production of this result.

I am not as fortunate as Miss Wald. I do not remember that early prenatal period in the history of the bureau. I was not one of the group which discussed the need of a central children's agency or the form which it should take. I was not at that historic first White House Conference on Child Welfare which President Roosevelt assembled in 1909. But as I had recently become a resident at Hull House, I do remember the account Miss Addams gave of the Conference when she returned and that the recommendation that a Federal Children's Bureau be established seemed to her to give promise of reality for the ideas and ideals of the first White House Conference. I had no part in the program of education of which I am sure Mr. Lovejoy must be able to recall every detail. I am sure that he and many of the rest of us are thinking tonight of Dr. McKelway, who had such an important part in the education of Congress as to the place of a children's bureau in our national life.

I know this prenatal period of the Children's Bureau from the collection of documents in its files and in the Department of Labor Library and from the stories its creators have told me.

The documentary sources of information reveal that professional workers in the various fields of child care hoped that with a central agency to make the experience of each available to all, unnecessary and humanly costly experimenting with children could be avoided. Many non-professional supporters of a Federal Children's Bureau argued that it would serve as a useful center of information about children for parents and community leaders; that its very name would proclaim its purpose. All regarded its creation as a victory for the idea that a child is not a pocket edition of a "grown-up" but has needs and rights quite distinct from those of adults.

As you know, the plan for the bureau followed no traditional organization of state or local government or of private child welfare society. It was to serve and correlate the experiences of all the agencies interested in some special aspect of children and child life. The bureau was to be a research organization, and the whole child was to be the subject of its study. The interrelated problems of child health, dependency, delinquency, and child labor were to be considered and interpreted in relation to the community program for all children. Pediatricians, lawyers, statisticians, psychiatrists, and psychologists, as well as specialists in social research and social work for children, were to work together on studies of the individual child and in an evaluation of community provision for children or community neglect of children. The use of the techniques of these various sciences by one bureau would, it was hoped, give a many sided approach to the individual child and a more scientific appraisal than was possible when only one aspect of child life was considered.

This ideal of utilizing and correlating the methods and techniques of scientists not in the habit of working together has not always been easy to realize. Specialists, one finds, do not always regard with scientific detachment the methods and the findings of their fellow specialists. But real progress has been made, and there is no question but that the results show that a unified or closely correlated approach is important for progress in the solution of the complicated and many sided problems of

childhood. It is, moreover, the method of the future in social research.

The bill creating the bureau, as our president and secretary seem to have known, passed Congress on April 6; but the appropriation did not become available for some months later. I can remember the affectionate and, I think I must admit, noisy farewell party which we gave Julia Lathrop when she left Hull House in the summer of 1912 to become the head of the first government bureau dedicated to the understanding and promotion, to quote the statute, "of the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people." And what was of significance also, she left to become the first woman to hold a major executive office in our national government.

I remember I said at the meeting of the Conference at Providence—the first after I became chief of the bureau—that it was at once very easy and very difficult to follow Miss Lathrop as chief of the bureau. I have never changed that opinion. When I read the records of twenty years ago when the bureau was being organized and the first projects undertaken, I have always found fresh evidence of her wisdom and her skill. With statutory authority to undertake a vast program of research and public education, but with a very limited appropriation, it was necessary to select carefully those first projects. It would have been the line of least opposition for the bureau to have concerned itself exclusively with the treatment of symptoms of social disorders as they affected children rather than the discovery of causes; to have sought only methods of providing for the dependent and delinquent, and to have ignored the basic reasons for the suffering of children; to have attacked the problems of the few and the exceptional, rather than those which must be solved before one can hope to lift the level of life for all children. From the beginning, Miss Lathrop's program of work for the bureau set up prevention as its goal. She held that, as a democracy, the United States must seek continually new ways of insuring the optimum growth and development of all American

children. But the existing temporary importance of palliatives was never ignored.

The child at home and at school, at work or at play, in urban or rural environment, the Negro child who suffered from the handicap of racial discrimination, the wards of the nation in our island possessions, were all included from the beginning in the bureau's plans for discovering and serving the needs of the nation's children. The slow scientific accumulation of fundamental, basic information about children and child life was begun in no narrow or timid spirit by Julia Lathrop. She was prepared to go wherever the interests of the child might lead her and to accept whatever conclusions flowed from an honest interpretation of facts assembled with meticulous accuracy.

During the last decade the methods of investigation worked out during those first years have been used in other fields; the bureau has also been able to spend some time and money on studies of growth and development, to make a small beginning in social experimentation as a method of research, and, with your cooperation, to initiate the regular assembly of current statistics.

If Miss Lathrop were here tonight, she would, I am sure, urge us to think of the future and to resolve to make the past the basis of new undertakings for children. I do not need to tell you how these last years have affected children. We may be on the threshold of a new era in American history, in the history of the world. Social planning has assumed a new significance. The third Child Welfare Conference to be assembled by a president of the United States has given us a comprehensive survey of present needs and present programs.

Will we be able to meet the challenge to make concrete and practical for this new era, new ideals of the rights of childhood? We shall have to carry on without several of the conspicuous leaders who have always answered every call for help in the past. Without the stimulus of Miss Lathrop's challenging mind,

her gay courage, and her shrewd understanding of social forces and social needs, we shall be greatly handicapped. While the greatest loss is she whom you were to have honored tonight, we must take note of the fact that other friends will be missing also. I am thinking especially of two who traveled very different roads but often reached the same objective. Mrs. Florence Kelley, during the last years, walked with increasing difficulty; but until the autumn of 1931 she was able to travel faster, farther, and more courageously than most of us. The suffering of children was to her a trumpet call to service, anytime, anywhere. I am thinking also of Julius Rosenwald, who was a friend and supporter of the Children's Bureau throughout its history. I saw him for the last time at his home in the summer of 1930. He said to me several times, "Remember, young lady" (he had a habit of regarding as young anyone whose experience did not equal his own), "any time I can be of service to the Children's Bureau, you say the word and I will come to Washington."

The Children's Bureau is deeply indebted to all of you, whose help and interest has made possible such measure of success as it has had. I cannot promise you that the requests for cooperation will be fewer in the future. I shall hope they will be greater. The task of promoting "the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people" as the bureau is directed to do by statute, is a progressive one. Our object must be to put into practice what is now known to be for the welfare of children and at the same time to extend by research and social experiment the boundaries of our knowledge. The task will, therefore, never be completed. What the Children's Bureau will be able to accomplish for children depends upon your cooperation in securing the interest of the public in a progressive program for children. Tomorrow will bring new problems, new resources, and new goals. We shall need new courage to face the future without the friends who have left us this year, new skill and greater wisdom if we are to pluck out of our present confusion and distress, new victories for children.

PRESIDENT BOOKMAN, *in closing*:

In closing, may I say that at no time in the history of the Federal Children's Bureau has leadership been more seriously needed than now. May this occasion bring encouragement to Miss Abbott and her associates that the social workers of America not only are proud of what the bureau has accomplished in this twenty years but confidently expect even greater things in the future.

THE CRISIS IN SOCIAL WORK

Rev. Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Cleveland

THE experiences of the last two and a half years have brought the social worker face to face with the limitation of his profession and the inadequacy of his program in the scheme of social amelioration. Organized social service has during the last generation moved steadily forward, broadening its scope and improving its technique. More and more of the human waste lands came under its faithful and intelligent husbandry. From elementary palliative relief it passed on to prevention, rehabilitation, and adjustment. Its ministry spanned the whole life of man and all forms of dependence, from infancy to old age. Painstaking study and research in all related fields placed at the disposal of the social worker a body of knowledge which made possible a refinement of method and an increase in skill and effectiveness. Scientific training and high standards gave to his calling the character of a profession.

The social worker was sustained and inspirited in his labors by the thought that he was helping in a very real way to solve a solvable social problem. The world in which the social worker moves is largely a world of deprivation and sadness. The harshness of life is there, the stunted growths, the tangled lives, the unsightly things. The belief, however, which he entertained, that he was the emissary of a great social purpose and that he was in a very real sense helping to build a juster and nobler social order, fully compensated him, and brought a glow to his heart and beauty to his days.

The overwhelming economic debacle of the last two and a half years and the disastrous effects which it has had upon the whole structure of his service have left the social worker staggered and confused. Floods have swept over his carefully tilled field lands and have completely engulfed them. In the face of

an incredible economic collapse, the social worker today stands helpless, his tools pathetically inadequate, and all his garnered wisdom vain and futile.

His elaborate social program is being dismantled. The cry for bread—the primitive hunger cry of the race—rising ominously from twenty million throats to a terrifying crescendo, drowns out all other voices. Everywhere there is a throwback to primitive charity, a headlong retreat to sheer, stark almsgiving. Case work is suspended. The individual again becomes an impersonal recipient of a dole against starvation. The budgets of the health, child welfare, and character building agencies of communities are slashed. Some agencies are reduced to a shadow of their former selves. Others are entirely discontinued, as if these agencies were a mere social indulgence, a venial luxury of genial, affluent days, and not a bed rock social necessity.

Medical social work and psychiatric social work are suffering as a result of curtailment of budgets.

In the field of probation, staffs are being reduced and the individual probation officer is being loaded with more cases than he can properly supervise. His standards are being lowered and probational treatment of crime and delinquency is being severely hampered and retarded.

The American Public Health Association reports widespread “contemplated or actual material curtailments of appropriations for personnel and facilities of public health service in states, counties and cities.” It warns the country that over 50 per cent of the communities whose 1932 health budgets have already been passed have shown reductions up to 43 per cent. “Inadequate food, insufficient clothing and overcrowded living conditions may not manifest themselves in immediate ill health but they eventually lead to an undermining of vitality and lowering of resistance to such an extent that in years to come serious and permanent disabilities may result.”

The American Hospital Association reports that “municipal hospitals have not been able to increase their nursing staffs to correspond with the increase in patients. Patients get much less

personnel attention and their recovery is delayed." With deficits already mounting the private hospitals cannot undertake the care of more free patients.

The National Organization for Public Health Nursing reports that "supervision of public health nurses by state departments of health has been completely wiped out in three states and several other state health departments are shaky. Many cities are reporting discontinuance and reduction of preventive work and of health education services. Clinics and conferences for infants, orthopedic cases, expectant mothers and dental hygiene have been given up in many instances. There is a decrease in county nursing services."

The National Committee for Mental Hygiene reports that "it is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain accepted standards of care and treatment. Legislative appropriations are being reduced, preventive work is being retarded by the suspension or curtailment of clinical and mental hygiene activities and the budgets of mental hygiene organizations are progressively diminishing."

The National Tuberculosis Association reports that "numerous health departments have curtailed nursing and their service to the tuberculous, that sanatoria are being pressed to cut expenses. Some cut their budgets by closing a portion of the sanatorium, some by excluding indigent persons, others by reducing the service generally."

The National Recreation Association reports sharp curtailments in budgets of the recreation departments throughout the country. In some instances entire departments have been wiped out. Playgrounds have been closed. Summer camps have been eliminated. Attacks have been made upon the playground programs and extra curricula activities in schools on the ground that they are indulgences and superfluities, while social workers know that the lack of proper recreation opportunities is one of the major causes of juvenile delinquency in the United States.

The National Federation of Settlements reports that budgets have been reduced from 20 to 50 per cent and that, while the

number of people who came to the settlements has increased, the kind and quality of the work done has suffered.

The Child Welfare League of America reports that "most children's agencies have more children to care for than ever before, but less money with which to provide this care. For years after the depression children's workers will notice the effects of the distress which are now most apparent."

Such is the sad story of the steady disorganization of the splendid welfare services which socially minded men and women have built up through so many years of struggle and effort. They know now that their city beautiful was built in the shadow of a threatening volcano, which, when it erupts, covers it over with lava, ashes, and desolation.

But the story of the material relief work which organized charity has been called upon to do during the depression is even sadder. The mounting millions of the hungry must be fed, and the social worker must take on a case load four or five times his normal load, and must forego all other phases of his profession for which he had trained himself. But even in this elementary branch of his calling he is often shamed and discomfited. For he has no adequate funds with which to distribute even the minimum of material relief. The resources of private charity upon which he depended were exhausted quite early in this depression and public funds have been meager and dilatory and grudging. The social worker has frequently been compelled to plead and intercede with public bodies to meet the desperate relief situation in his community. The responsibility for the care of the unemployed seems to be fixed nowhere, and governmental bodies vie with each other in passing the responsibility. The private agency turns to the municipality, the municipality to the county, the county to the state. In many communities the social worker does not know from week to week where the relief funds will come from.

In the distribution of relief the social worker is forced tacitly to repudiate his own avowed standards of sound and constructive relief. The relief which he gives is inadequate—less than

one-half of the minimum budget of food requirements. In place of the \$8.05 minimum weekly subsistence budget which the social agencies established in pre-depression days, many are today forced to distribute an average of \$3.50 per week per family. This is not starvation. Neither is it relief. It is a hunger diet. The social worker is compelled to spread his available relief funds thinner and ever thinner over a constantly increasing need. He dare not call a halt to this demoralizing beggarly parsimony and say to the community "*Non possumus*. We cannot make brick without straw. We will not lend ourselves to such nasty business." Men are hungry and men must be fed!

He cannot pay the rent of most of the destitute families of the unemployed. In relatively few cases has he sufficient funds to pay the rent, and then only partially, and only when an eviction order has actually been received. Frequently he becomes the unwilling accomplice to a conspiracy to hoodwink and defraud the landlord, or an abettor in the new nomadism which is going on among the unemployed in all of our large cities. In one city 23 per cent of those who applied for relief in a given month were found to have lived less than three months at their then addresses.

The social worker cannot give relief to a family until all its resources of cash and credit have been exhausted—in other words, until it is completely and totally impoverished. This is as humiliating as it is alarming. Relief agencies are today caring for less than one-half or two-fifths of the families in which there is no breadwinner. The nonsupported families are slowly but steadily consuming their last remaining financial resources, their insurance, their credit, and the aid of relatives, neighbors, or friends. Slowly they are being ground down into utter, defenseless poverty. No organized social agency will come to their rescue until they are utterly without means. Should the present unemployment situation continue for another year, we shall have completely pauperized at least a third of the working population of America. We shall have driven millions of our citizens into the class of dependents, while millions more will have

their standard of living forced down to lower and still lower levels.

Thus failure is written large over all the activities of organized social service. The fault, of course, is not the social worker's. When the pay roll of a country declines 40 per cent in two short years, no private or public charity can hope to cope with the situation. The fault is of the economic system under which we live. Periodically this system disgorges its victims. Periodically it pries millions of men loose from their means of livelihood and sends them broken and helpless to knock at the doors of charity. This is not the first instance of mass unemployment within the memory of living men. It is a constantly recurring phenomenon, seemingly inherent in the very nature of our capitalistic society. Prosperity and depression have been the obverse and reverse of our coin of national economy for generations. Our concentrated national wealth has been purchased through a partial or total periodic impoverishment of our working population. There are insect societies where most of the offspring are partially starved and allowed only imperfect development in order to make possible a populous society. Our economic order has been operating on such crude, primordiate principles.

If any criticism is to be launched against us social workers, it is on the ground that we have not attacked with sufficient relentlessness the roots of the evil whose fruits we are now called upon to harvest. We did not throw ourselves into the struggle for a radical reconstruction of our economic society as zealously as we gave of ourselves to the perfection of our professional technique, and to the definitive tasks of relief, prevention, adjustment, and personality therapeutics. Some of us were satisfied with research, with facts and figures, with statistics full of static. Many of us were content to do for the victims of our economic warfare what the Red Cross does for the victims of national warfare. We salvaged. We gave first aid. We engaged in work of rehabilitation. But we were, nevertheless, content to remain part of the war system. We did not make a resolute enough onslaught on the system itself. Military systems

are generous toward their Red Cross and their hospital services. They hold them in high reverential esteem. And so were we held by the representatives of economic militarism. They knew that we were indispensable. We cared for their victims. We attenuated the ruthlessness of their socially disastrous campaigns. The more effective our service became the more we allayed popular unrest and assuaged the spirit of rebellion. Unconsciously and unwillingly we became the allies of a predatory system, the instruments of reaction. Organized charity stands today between our discredited economic system and revolution. This is as much an indictment as it is a tribute.

The experiences which we have gained from this latest and greatest economic collapse have made us sharply aware of the fact that private philanthropy and emergency public aid are insufficient for the major social derangements which our economic order periodically effects.

Professor Beveridge rightly declares: "The problem of unemployment—this is a point that cannot be too strongly emphasized—is insoluble by any mere expenditure of public money. It represents not a want to be satisfied but a disease to be eradicated. It needs not money so much as thought and organization." The social worker may be ever-so-much expert in the handling of his weapons, but his weapons are no longer adequate. They are as antiquated and unavailing as the primitive bow and arrow on a modern battlefield.

Charity cannot deal with the problem of poverty in modern society. Organized philanthropy is a survival of an individualistic society which assumed little or no corporate responsibility for its handicapped. But a new type of society is now in the making. The social control which is inevitably coming over industry will embrace also our charitable institutions. Society in the future will not wait upon voluntary individual aid and private sporadic generosity to care for the disabled, the sick, the aged, and the unemployed. That which is socially necessary will become socially mandatory. There will always be room for private initiative in social service to supplement the basic social

institutions of the state, to experiment in newer types of service, and to point the way of progress. But the elementary and indispensable tasks of safeguarding the health of its people, of protecting childhood, of caring for the weak, the aged, the widow, and the orphan, and of giving relief to the workless are the direct fixed and continuing obligations of organized society, and must be so met.

Certainly the care of the unemployed is not within the province of charity. Unemployment is industry's problem and industry's burden, not charity's. Industry must not be permitted to lay its myriad casualties periodically at the door of philanthropy. This is a grotesque, not to say a criminal, procedure. The most highly developed industrial system in the world employs millions of men in the production of huge wealth which largely goes into the hands of the relatively few owners of industry, pays its men in normal times wages which fall short of the requirements of a decent standard of living, and as soon as the opportunities for profit-making cease, throws these men into the discard, advising them to go to the charitable agencies, to which the workers themselves had previously been asked to contribute, to beg for famine rations for themselves and their families. Such is the cynicism and brutality of our economic order! It has even failed to give to its workers the security of servitude which feudalism once gave its serfs. So that a new terror has now come into the world. Every generation has its own overshadowing dread—pestilence, famine, invasion, the devil or the end of the world, and the lives of that generation are darkened because of it. Into the twentieth century has come the dread terror of unemployment which hangs like a pall over the homes of the toiling masses.

The state must compel industry to lay aside adequate reserves out of which benefits shall be paid to the worker whenever he is forced into involuntary unemployment. These benefits shall be his as a matter of right, not of charity. Labor is not a commodity which may be purchased and disposed of at will. The worker is more than a partner in industry. His interests are

primary and paramount. Industry exists to provide a livelihood for the working masses of the world and to supply them with the necessities of life. Capital's share is secondary. First must come adequate wage, security, protection against the disabilities of accident, sickness, old age, and unemployment, and then may come the profits to investor and stockholder.

The evils of prolonged unemployment are too apparent to require either catalogue or comment. The cost is paid to the last bitter farthing by men, women, and children in blasted hopes, thwarted ambitions, broken careers, undermined health, lowered morale, and embittered lives. Children especially are made to pay the cost out of their undernourished bodies and their hungry little hearts. They are underfed. They are sent hungry to school. They are poorly and scantily clad. They return to homes that are full of tension and strain. Men out of work become hard and irritable. Failure and helplessness make men bitter and moody. Children, even more than adults, do not live on bread alone. They thrive only in thriving homes. A home of peace and well-being will nurture their lives. A home depressed, shot through with bitterness and resentment, will blight their lives.

Frequently the family is evicted for failure to pay rent. The child does not grasp the full humiliation of it all—but a deep scar is nevertheless left upon his soul. He is made aware that he is different from other children who have homes and are not cast out into the street. His parents, he discovers, are helpless. They cannot give him what other parents give their children. He is made aware of that cruel unseen something which later on in life he will identify with society—which has robbed him and those whom he loves, of home and shelter. Thus accounts are laid up for a day of reckoning. Frequently men, unable to face their families day after day, in the knowledge of having failed to provide for them, seek refuge from strain and helplessness in flight, and their children find themselves fatherless in deserted and desolate homes.

How blind the responsible leaders and protagonists of the present system must be, not to see the fateful threat in all this to their own cherished interests. Even a bad system must have certain principles to which it remains unswervingly loyal. A system which makes a travesty of its own code of ethics is doomed. The ethics of capitalism places great value upon the virtues of work, industry, and thrift. Rewards, it preaches, are in store for the faithful worker. Prosperity waits upon industry. The thrifty and saving are assured of security and advancement. But prolonged periods of unemployment give the lie to this entire code. The rewards of years of faithful labor are the bread line and the eviction order. The thrifty are compelled to consume their savings in idleness, and they ultimately find themselves in the same wretched plight as the spendthrift and wastrel. Our system teaches the dignity of labor and surrounds it with all forms of indignity. Youth is taught to eschew idleness, to work hard and to accept gladly the high discipline of labor. Yet hundreds of thousands of boys and girls who have become of working age since 1929 have not been able to find a day's work since, and have been consigned to idleness which is the seed bed of mischief, crime, and delinquency.

Most assuredly we are still in our economic dark ages, yet many of us were beguiled by a few brief years of abnormal prosperity into believing that we had entered a broad new era of economic enlightenment, progress, and justice. We know now that we were fond and foolish optimists, for we had laid none of the foundations for such a new era—no planned national economy, no central and scientific control of production, no correlation between production and consumption, no adjustment between the productivity of the machine and hours of labor, no plans for the distribution of all available work among all available workers or the transfer of surplus labor from one industry to another, no provision for a full measure of insurance against the economic disabilities of unemployment, sickness, and old age. We expected a system of ruthless competition, bordering on anarchy, to yield us those advantages which only a socially

minded and a socially organized and controlled economic system can yield.

We must now give up, if we have not already, the messianic economic romancing which characterized the pre-depression era, and all the apocalyptic dreams of miracle-working captains of industry who by acts of mystic financial wizardry would make us all rich and put two cars in every workingman's garage. Painstakingly and patiently we must apply ourselves to the task of a radical economic reconstruction, drawing upon our own best knowledge, courage, and enthusiasm. The social worker whose experiences have revealed to him more vividly than to any other section of our people the tragic deficiencies of the things as they are and whose trained social sense has discovered for him the vision of the things as they ought to be, should be numbered among the faithful and zealous vanguard of the forces of reconstruction.

A new civilization must be built. Spires, domes, and minarets are not religion; neither are radios, aeroplanes, and swarming, teeming cities civilization. The essence of civilization is a free, secure, and creative social life. The criteria of civilization are neither wealth, nor size, nor speed, nor invention, but the values which it places upon human personality, the rewards which it grants to labor and merit, the quality of its intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic interests and the stimulus which it gives to those social factors, which make human life sweeter, more confident, and more joyous. Measured by these criteria, our present-day civilization is but an ultra-modern expression of barbarism; and the sharp contrast which exists between its social backwardness and its scientific progress only makes the fact more bewildering and, at the same time, more menacing.

We must build a new civilization. We must wage war upon chaos. Chaos is matter resisting form. It is the principle of the unformed, the unorganized, the uncontrolled. The creative, life-giving word today is social control of industry. This is in no sense a war upon the individual and his sovereign, inalienable rights. It is not the individualism of growth and self-expression

which is menacing society today, but the individualism of exploitation, the individualism which destroys the individual.

We have the power to build such a new civilization. Man's mind is capable of solving every problem created for him by the machines which he created. Man can master his machine world. Only naïve and easily scared romanticists will call for a moratorium on inventions and the scrapping of machines. The machine has lifted the curse of drudgery from the shoulders of the workers of the earth. It will in the future release more and more of man's time and energies for the real joyous adventure of living. We have, till now, stupidly misused the gifts of the mind-made machine, permitting the few to monopolize the wealth which it produced, and the leisure and the security. Put the machine in the hands of a truly social ideal, and mankind will be launched on a career of social evolution such as no prophet has ever dreamed of.

THE PARTNERSHIP OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

C. A. Dykstra, City Manager of Cincinnati

THE subject given me, I assume, revolves about our far-flung relief problem. But this problem brings us face to face with questions which may be more basic to all of us. We live in critical times, and perforce we are compelled to discuss those things with which we are immediately concerned. We are trying to relieve distress today in spite of the fact that we would wish to be in the business of preventing it. The inaugural ideal, so dear to us all, which emphasized "the abolition of poverty" has found itself shipwrecked, and the naked fact is that millions of Americans are nearer starvation than they have ever been. In the last three years we have been able—just barely able—to throw out a life line to these millions, a very feeble and slim life line.

In perspective we think of the relief problem we now face as dating from 1929. As a matter of fact, unemployment was distinctly serious all through 1928. It was a growingly insistent phenomenon throughout the new era which so many of us believed in during the last decade. We had learned to use the phrases "cyclical," "seasonal," and "technological" in fairly glib fashion long before 1929. We did not get around to the relief of unemployment in any major sense, however, until that year. As long ago as 1921 we had a National Unemployment Commission which made recommendations looking toward the maintenance of employment. These recommendations seemed "sunk without trace" for a decade. To many of us these recommendations had a familiar sound in 1930 during a few short months of fact finding undertaken by the president's commission headed by Colonel Wood. For understandable reasons this last activity soon found itself turned into a relief effort—an ef-

fort which, by the way, soon confined itself to the job of stimulating local, voluntary, money-raising campaigns for charitable purposes.

The total immediate results of the studies of these national commissions were set up in three generalizations on the subject of relief responsibility. Put very briefly, Chairman Gifford's statement ran about as follows: first, unemployment relief is a local responsibility; second, if by some chance the situation gets worse, relief may become the business of the state; third, if and when the states can no longer bear the relief burden, we will face the situation when we come to it—which may be interpreted to mean that there is a conceivable responsibility on the national government in such a crisis. This contribution of a national commission to a situation recognized a decade ago as serious enough for national notice and action came as a distinct shock to many students of the present industrial situation.

Let us glance for a moment at what has actually happened in the United States in three brief years. More and more we have recognized that we are in the midst of a national crisis. Many of our economists and statesmen agree that it is worse than this, and that the crisis is international. We recognize, further, that business and industry are organized on a national scale, and in some lines on an international basis. In the face of some such common agreement we have acted upon the assumption that the whole impact of unemployment disaster logically must be thrown upon local communities. In the last analysis, this means that relief is thrown back upon local, industrial communities—that is, the very areas which have been affected most by the breakdown of our industrial organization. Plants nationally owned by thousands of investors and security holders, but operating locally, have closed their doors; and local communities have been required to relieve the distress thus caused.

The major portion of this demand for relief has been met in a very inadequate way by two agencies—local welfare organizations maintained by private contributions for very definitely specified social work, and local governments financed by local

taxpayers for certain legally specified purposes. Neither of these agencies was equipped or financed to take on any such burden, and both were limited by their very natures and the character of their financial support. For financial purposes both of these local agencies in a very considerable degree had to tap the same sources of revenue. Community chest agencies canvassed every family, and so did the tax collector. It thus came about that local home and property owners were asked to take up a load which they were ill prepared to shoulder. As conditions have become worse, and as local taxes have become delinquent, the burdens of those who could or would pay have become heavier progressively.

Valiantly these two local organizations—one private and one public—have wrestled with the relief problem. They have tried to make four hundred million dollars play substitute for twenty or more billions of dollars formerly paid in wages. In the April 30 issue of *Editor and Publisher*, Louis Brownlow is quoted as saying: "In Chicago in January the wage loss is \$2,000,000. a day, and public expenditure for relief is \$100,000. a day. Thus the cut-down in private business of \$20. has increased the public expenditure by \$1." So it has been everywhere. Had these local agencies known in the beginning the size of the task, they would not have had the courage to undertake it. Had they been told that local philanthropy and local property holders would shoulder the same burden of relief which the British Unemployment Insurance Fund (incidentally, called the "dole" by most of us) was called upon to carry, they might never have initiated their relief programs. Had they known that after two years of heart breaking attempts to raise these local moneys, the federal government, itself, would come back to these same communities and ask for similar sums—not to appropriate funds for relief, but to balance a federal budget—they would have despaired in the beginning. The truth is that we did not recognize our problem until it had literally swamped us.

Undoubtedly, it is a merciful thing that we are ignorant of impending disaster until it is upon us. Certainly this is true of

such cataclysms as nature occasionally resorts to in the guise of a flood, a tornado, or the antics of a volcano. It is true of drought, and phenomena we call "acts of God." In so far, however, as the human race itself is responsible for disaster, we cannot be so complacent. We may well question our sanity or sobriety when we drive ahead into physical collapse against the warnings and advice of physicians and public health officers. We are foolhardy to neglect the simple device of quarantine or inoculation in the face of epidemics which we recognize. We take infinite pains to make machinery safe; we develop four-wheel brakes for motor vehicles; we invent and use shatterproof glass in closed cars. We insist on an intelligent application of the facts we know in the realm of physics and mechanics; we do likewise in medicine, sanitation, and in chemical research. Only in the realm of social relations and in the business of making a living do we play the ostrich. A thousand economists may tell us singly and in unison that a given fiscal policy will wreck foreign trade. The advice falls on deaf ears. There may be common agreement at a given moment that wage reductions will reduce purchasing power and make a bad economic situation worse. Over night a wave of hysteria makes the abandonment of a cherished and lauded standard of living a patriotic duty; and any reference to the maintenance of wage scales is called sentimental twaddle and misplaced enthusiasm. We swing into speculative orgies and coin such phrases as "the new economic era" to justify our participation. We defy those who fly economic or industrial storm signals and dub them "prophets of disaster." We sing in chorus, "Don't sell America short." In brief, we deny reality with a fine frenzy, and we call down imprecations upon social and economic realists who suggest modestly that the law of gravitation is not yet repealed.

What is here said of our way of life and thinking is not meant as wholesale castigation of statesmen, industrialists, or our business and political leadership. It is the common way of life and thinking for most of us. Almost none of us is not guilty. It remains only for us so to plead. A bit of sackcloth and ashes will

do us good. We cannot justify that old Bourbon attitude which impelled a French king to say, "After us, the deluge." It is for us to avert it. Out of the present wreckage we must build something that is in fact substantial. Our only question should be "How?" our answer, "When do we begin?"

It is now almost four years since the fond hope was expressed that we are about to abolish poverty. In these four years we have succeeded only in abolishing security. We have reduced millions to the poverty line—millions who had never felt want before. Trained men, expert and experienced workmen, professional men, men of education and background, all sorts of men who have always marched proudly and independently through life, have suffered the fate of the shiftless and the unemployable. In truth, they have suffered incomparably more, for they have lost what these others never had—courage, morale, self-respect, and ambition. They have lost what J. T. Adams calls "the American dream." They have lost more than their homes, their savings, and their own peculiar personal possessions. They have lost the thing which we have called our priceless heritage, the thing for which we declare American civilization stands, the backbone of our economic philosophy—individual initiative. Here lies the tragedy of our situation. The so-called "unemployable" have come through as well as, perhaps better than, usual. These others, and we cannot even estimate their number, have lost what many will never again regain.

It is because of such things that conservative, sane, and thoughtful leaders in business and philanthropic enterprises are saying everywhere that if, and when, "we come out of this" we will have to learn to live on a different basis than we set for ourselves in the last decade. Our standards will be pre-war standards. We shall be seeking a more modest and surer balance—an equilibrium that somehow we managed to elude during the past generation.

These men and women may be right. Some stern realists are as yet among the doubters. They point out that the war to end

war in reality succeeded only in ushering in the real war—the one we are now fighting the world over. We are still paying a terrific price for that war so easily undertaken. Victors and vanquished alike find themselves struggling with the same search for security that was given as the object of the war. And we are paying vastly more for that search for security than we did before we went to war to obtain it. To some historians it appears, therefore, that the great war ended too soon; that is, ended before all nations were disillusioned, before prostration had annihilated the hatreds and antagonisms which touched off the conflagration. The competitive spirit still survives among the nations, and a world declaration of interdependence seems far off still.

It is but a few weeks since that one of the most respected and thoughtful business leaders in a great industrial community said very soberly and solemnly:

Were it not for the terrible individual sufferings which the present situation is causing, I would be willing to see this depression continue until we have all learned the lesson which we in America must learn. Sometime we shall have to begin to build our industrial system upon solid and valid foundations. We cannot follow the will-of-the-wisp fallacy that we can get something for nothing, that we can create value without labor, that we can get returns without earning them. We cannot mortgage the future indefinitely any more than we can lift ourselves by our bootstraps. There is a vast difference between exploitation and building an industry. Unless industry is socially useful it does not deserve preservation, and it cannot succeed. We have not learned this as yet. We must if we are to maintain the system in which we profess to believe.

If we transpose this thought, we find a very real analogy between the statement just quoted and the attitude of the historians referred to above. We failed in the war to end war. Are we to fail in this struggle to meet the problem of employment? It must be clear to all thinking people that the only adequate cure for unemployment is employment. It is equally true that men, as well as nations, covet security. Whiting Williams declares unequivocally, moreover, that the vast majority of men are interested, above all else, in having a steady job and in earning their own bread and butter. Why, then, if men want to

work and if we as a government and a people hate the dole or any mention of it, cannot we make these objectives coincide? Why should capital and plant equipment be idle when all of us want the product of capital, equipment, and men in the shape of consumable goods?

To suggest that the answer to our question is technological, or that the nature of the competitive system makes comprehensive industrial planning impossible, or that the Sherman Law or some legal principle prevents us, does not get us anywhere. All of our discussion these days on the subject of planning runs to the attempt to avoid the so called cycle of depression, or so to coordinate our economic activities that we can control the processes of supply and demand. More fundamental than the question of method, however, is the objective involved. For *what* shall we plan—for what way of life and for what kind of a national dream?

Professor R. G. Tugwell, in a paper read in Washington in December, 1931, pointed out that many who are captivated by the slogan "planning," will draw back from it when they realize what it will involve—an abandonment of much that we have held dear in the competitive system. They will refuse to relinquish the idea that business is a game or "an exciting adventure where huge spoils await the victor." They forget that abject want may be the portion of the loser. A safer and a more secure existence for the many—the real essence of the American tradition—is an ideal that many have lost in the shuffle of the last few years. Professor Tugwell indicates that the profit incentive does not apply as generally as many of us suppose, and cites the growing divorce between profit receiving and the direction of industry and business. He calls attention to the fact that in the Pennsylvania Railroad Company not a single officer or director holds as much as one-tenth of 1 per cent of the total stock. This would indicate to him that management can have incentives quite apart from profits for owners, and that there is developing in large concerns a kind of civil service loyalty and fervor which is being accepted gradually as a satisfactory sub-

stitute for the profit motive. Surely this is true where security attends employment.

Undoubtedly, what we as individuals seek is security in a world of rapid change. Sudden mechanical changes find us socially unprepared to meet new situations. Professor S. H. Slichter, speaking at the meeting just referred to on the control of technological change, indicates that we have approximately 1,000 industrial laboratories with 16,000 scientists all searching for improvement in techniques. This means that the costs of obsolete machinery are enormous and that many of these costs fall upon the community. Thus, says he, change is subsidized just as effectively as if Congress appropriated millions to accelerate it. His closing paragraph is significant. He says:

For two centuries we have permitted the Juggernaut of industrial revolution to run wild. We have developed institutions which subsidize change on an enormous scale, and which cause it to occur far more rapidly than in any previous age. And yet we have failed to recognize that change presents a major social problem; we have made no effort to keep down the cost of change or to prevent change from occurring at a wastefully rapid rate. We have done virtually nothing to assist men to adjust themselves to industrial changes. We have permitted the development of industry to wreck thousands of lives and to produce an enormous human scrap heap. Prominent organizations of employers have resisted all efforts to modernize the labor market as stubbornly and as bitterly as any trade union ever opposed the installation of labor saving devices. Long enough we have accepted the naïve and fatalistic philosophy that everything will be all right provided only we carefully refrain from attempting to make it right. Let us recognize clearly that few forms of industrial waste bulk larger than the unnecessary costs of progress and that few economic problems are more important and more difficult than this problem of how to control change so that it will occur less wastefully, and inflict less misery.

Shall we consider very briefly some of the fundamental governmental implications that are involved in the situation in which we find ourselves? What we seek is a way of life in which responsible citizens may have incomes which, when translated into purchasing power, will keep us all busy and—shall we add?—prosperous. Let us admit for the moment that unemployment is a social problem of grave importance, and let us also assume that our political organization is democratic. Employ-

ment, however, under the American tradition, follows a free labor market and assumes competition as a principle. It must be evident that there is a clash of interests here, and although employment and unemployment are two sides of the same shield, one is a private thing and the other a vast social problem. A simple flip of the coin thus turns a private concern into a public concern. By a twist of the wrist or a stroke of the pen the employer or the industry can make the worker a public charge.

The introduction of machinery has accelerated this process all too progressively. Should mechanization proceed to its conceivable limits, we would have a situation in which there is a minimum of employment and a maximum of unemployment. The replacement of men by machines and recurring periods of overproduction must bring us to a condition in which the general public is all but universally involved. The taxpayer, and in the last analysis this means the consuming public, must pick up the whole load which employment, through wages, traditionally has carried. I realize, of course, that this is an extreme statement, but I beg the question somewhat in order to present a possible, if not a probable, outcome.

Once the public is so completely challenged, the solution which will be presented in a political democracy is likely to be a political solution; that is, a solution through the one agency in which we all participate—government. The alternative to such a method of solution might come through a universal participation, through stock distribution, by all of the people in the returns from industry. If dividends conceivably could take the place of wages, then purchasing power would be maintained. An adequate purchasing power is essential if the machines are to run and production is to be stabilized.

We come, therefore, to the question as to whether industrial and business leadership can show us the way to a well distributed purchasing power. If they can, there will be no need for the public to act politically. It is extremely doubtful whether, in any near future, trade associations or organized industrial groups can by themselves find a way through this difficulty.

There remains, then, the possibility of cooperation between the public, organized through government, and industry, organized privately, to present a solution. Whether this can come through the device now heralded as long-time industrial planning is questioned by our industrial statesmen. It seems to run counter to our inherited reliance on competition and individual initiative, and to our conception of what is meant by profits. We may not be ready for a conception of industry which is based on the principle of public service or public utility. It is entirely possible, however, that we are ready for a cooperative system of insurance which will mitigate the rigors of a brief period of unemployment. Industry, government, and individual wage earners may easily agree at this point. This device, however, is no cure for unemployment. It is a temporary cushion to make an uncomfortable position more tolerable. It does nothing fundamental to our problem of distribution, and it does not maintain a full purchasing power.

And so we come back to the one clearly representative device which we know—government, itself. I assume that we do not wish government to be our sole industrial operator, and I assume that we do not wish it to compete with private citizens in their varied businesses which are not general utility operations. I assume, further, that Americans have no general desire to change our constitutional methods of government and administration. There remains, then, the constitutional device known as taxation; and it may well be that it can be made a powerful aid to industry and business in protecting the purchasing power of the great bulk of our consumers.

Through the current industrial disturbance we have relied progressively upon the local taxpayer to carry the relief load. It is at this point that we have had an impressive example of the partnership of private and public agencies. Together they have done the case work and distributed relief. They have merged identities and cut away duplications of effort. They have so fused philanthropy and public service as to break down the line between them. They have met a social need shoulder to shoul-

der and without overmuch jealousy or friction. And for the first time private effort—that is, the private agency—has insisted upon the use of the local taxing power to bring about a redistribution of income in the consuming groups. This phenomenon is most significant. The community chest and its participating agencies, directed and financed in some considerable degree by business, industrial, and philanthropic interests, have insisted most definitely that the financial impact of unemployment is the responsibility of the public at large, and that the taxpayer, as such, as a plain matter of course, must foot the bills. Admittedly, here is a new use of the taxing power. Here is no taking care of the helpless, dependent, underprivileged, and physically handicapped poor—those who have been with us always; wards of local government under our constitutional system. Here is a new burden thrown into the lap of local political units because of a breakdown of our industrial and social machinery. Only the taxing authorities are presumed to be adequate to the situation. And so, through local taxation we are trying to distribute income and create poorly paid jobs to stabilize and universalize the general purchasing power. Should this shouldering of the unemployment burden extend to state action, as it has in a few instances, and finally bring federal action for which there has been a very real pressure, the precedent for governmental action on all levels will have been set.

We put ourselves in a peculiar position if we insist that the taxing power is to be used in the employment field in cases of emergency caused by the business cycle, and that it shall not be used in the field of prevention. The analogy of our health and fire-prevention activities are in point here. We seek, by the use of the taxing power, immunity from epidemics and from disastrous conflagrations. We do it to eradicate pests, to provide for marine safety, and to prevent adulteration of commodities used by the public. We do it in countless ways in the interest of public safety. At no point in our whole scheme of living today do we need protection and prevention more than in the field of employment. The effect of unemployment touches the health,

the morale, the safety, and the welfare of the citizens of the whole nation. The case for the use of the taxing power in this field can be made as water-tight as in numerous others. It only remains to agree upon the principle, and then to determine the method of use. Whether the direction of this use will be in the form of a sinking fund for unemployment reserves, or in penalties for unstable operations, or through the participation of governments in unemployment funds, must be determined after adequate study. I have no panacea to offer. But if industry itself does not act to stabilize itself, and so protect incomes and purchasing power, business and the general public will demand the entrance of government to effect such a purpose. Even now the public demands that government care adequately for the victims and the disabled in case of war. It is but a step to extend the principle to the innocent victims of industrial warfare.

I regret that in a consideration of the use of the taxing power for the prevention of unemployment, I cannot bring to you a well reasoned and sanely conservative program. Certainly such a program should include as a first step an adequate employment statistical bureau and a system of well organized labor exchanges or employment offices. It should aid the worker in the transition to new employment when the old job fails. It should penalize those industries and businesses which, because of instability, exploit labor and the general public. It might even use the taxing authority to prevent such securities inflations as we experienced before 1929. We might thus change the American emphasis on greater and greater profits to a scheme in which the ideal of increased purchasing power would be recognized in terms of lower prices and better wage scales. Certainly, if the taxing authority can regulate business in general, it might well study the possibilities of regularizing employment by a sane application of the taxing power.

No one will deny an adequate wage to capital, and no one should deny an adequate wage or a reasonable price to the worker and the consumer. These all should bear some fair relation to each other. Only as these get out of step do we get

ourselves into trouble. Only as there is mutual confidence do we have equilibrium. I can conceive readily of a demand on the part of industrial and business statesmen who refuse to stoop to exploitation in the guise of business operations, that our social machinery shall step in with the tax weapon and protect legitimate from illegitimate operations. This is as safe an antidote to complete government operations as we now know. Here public and private agencies—that is, private business—can go into partnership in a constructive enterprise as in the last two years local agencies have worked together on a relief program. We are approaching a day when we must abolish the stipend for idleness. All should work, even if it means reduced hours and fewer days. Industry and the public should insist upon this principle. Many very much doubt that industry can do this without the aid of the social machinery we have set up. Here is the challenge of each for all and all for each. Such a use of the power of tax, to quote President Hoover, “offers no rosy path to popularity. Rather it is one to invite the anger of established interests.”

One more consideration is involved if we are to continue to use the taxing power to effect a social purpose. We as a people must understand much more thoroughly what we mean by taxes.

The traditional idea of most of us is that taxes are a tribute extracted by an all powerful government for the purpose of maintaining an establishment calculated for the benefit of those who collect the taxes. For this reason, from earliest historic times the tax collector has been thought of as a publican who sits at the seat of custom. We forget that under the American theory such taxes as are laid are laid by ourselves or our representatives. In fact, much of our tax burden is settled upon us by a direct vote of the people themselves. For practical purposes we choose to lay upon government responsibilities which the citizen might carry for himself, and we pay for services through the tax pocket rather than through some other. Once this is done and we note the increase in our tax bill, we retire to

the old defense against taxation which seems to be one of the inherent prejudices of the race. At tax paying time we resent the imposition of taxes laid by ourselves, and think of the governing and taxing authorities as our enemies rather than as our servants.

To describe those who serve the public in the thousand different ways which we demand as a mass of parasites fastened upon the body politic is to confuse terms and to do a grave injustice. Public employes are not in the business of extracting salaries and wages from the taxpayer. They are servants who deserve their hire if the functions which they perform are agreed upon in advance by the people or their representatives. They are employes in exactly the same sense as are those hired by corporations or other business institutions to do certain things at a stipulated compensation. We do not help ourselves, therefore, in analyzing the problem of taxation by such confusion. I have no patience whatsoever with the creation of public offices which are sinecures. Neither do I have patience with the practice of giving such offices or any other to those who are supposed to deserve well from the party in power. I would not for a moment defend the extravagant and wasteful operation of any function performed for the public. I think, however, we should maintain this same attitude toward wastefulness and extravagance and toward sinecures in our private industrial and business lives. Waste is not only governmental; it has been universal in American life. Taxes are not, or should not be, waste. They are not moneys poured into the sewer by incompetent stewards. They are, or should be, the sinews of war with which we fight the battles of those who believe in law, order, decency, public health, sanitation, and welfare. During this recent period they have been, in addition, sinews of war in the battle against hunger, need, and discouragement.

It is only fair, therefore, when the suggestion is made that we use our taxing authority in the unemployment field, that we have a fair perspective and a sane judgment in our discussion of taxes in general. The whole subject needs further elucidation

and more complete understanding. Particularly ought we to know what is the incidence of taxes and why they are levied. It should be remembered, also, that those who are consumers only, those who conduct no business or industry of any kind, are the only ones who are not in position to pass the tax burden on to some one else. It is for this reason that President Hoover in his speech before the governors at Richmond, Virginia, said very wisely:

What we need is a re-organization of the tax basis so as to secure a more just distribution of the tax burden. . . . But to accomplish these things we must have the intelligent support of the people themselves that vested interest and vested habit do not by their organized sectional and group oppositions or individual action defeat these high purposes.

Speaking for public officials, and in recognition of the fact that they draw inevitable criticism, he said: "Nevertheless, the duty is inexorable, and its discharge rests inescapably upon all public officers. Its final results will redound to the general public benefit."

We face at this moment a very strange paradox. In a time when governmental authorities have been compelled to pick up the burden which industry and business have been unable to carry, namely, the burden of feeding and caring for the millions who have been thrown out of profitable employment, the attack upon government has been merciless and universal. The taxpayer attacks, those who are hungry and unemployed attack, and organized industry and business also attack. The criticism of the day is not launched against business and industrial leaders who surely have some responsibility for the situation in which we find ourselves, but rather against our political and administrative leaders. It is as if we had thrown up a smoke screen to protect a system of business and industry which is full of grave hazards from behind which we launch a guerrilla warfare against those who happen to be in public places and, therefore, in the spotlight. If, as many insist, there is grave need of reorganization and coordination in our governmental areas, it may be said with like truth, and certainly as emphatically, that

we need a reconsideration and reorganization of many of our ways of conducting business and industry. It is high time that we come to some agreement on some of these fundamental issues. I would not absolve government or deny its need for confession. Nor would I absolve those who control and operate our economic system. I plead, rather, that these two great interests—our political and economic interests—strip themselves of their gorgeous raiment and approach together the great problem which faces all of us, with due humility. I plead for a partnership of public and private interests in the search for a better way of living. Too long have these interests attacked our joint problems separately and without much relation to each other. The time has come for a cooperative understanding and for a cooperative attack upon such enemies as we have harbored in American life. The most insidious and dangerous enemy which we now face is the one that we have called by the name "Unemployment." It is our solemn duty and our responsibility to find the way to annihilate or, if this is impossible, to mitigate the terrors which surround it.

I have not spoken to you in your professional capacity tonight. It is entirely possible that I have wandered afield from the topic assigned, and for that I beg your indulgence. What I have been at pains to indicate is: First, that private and public welfare agencies have made a record in working together to relieve unemployment. Second, that local governments and local welfare agencies cannot cope with a national industrial or economic situation because of their limited jurisdictions and their financial limitations. Third, that the one cure for unemployment is employment, and that this cure must come on a country-wide basis. Fourth, that it is time to begin to think of ways to prevent the next recurrence of unemployment by some constructive processes. Fifth, that if we can't do this, we are left with palliatives only, and our next plight will be worse than this one. Sixth, that under the present constitutional system and current industrial methods we can use our legal taxing authorities to maintain purchasing power by preventing over expansion in

industry and unwarranted merchandizing of securities. Seventh, that we can control the rate of technological changes by resort to this same authority. Eighth, that it is good business and sound social theory to join the needs of producers and consumers and find the way to meet them even if we resort to the taxing power. Ninth, that private business and public authorities should learn from recent experience in the treatment of relief that these two agencies can work together to prevent the need for relief. Neither can do this alone. We must find the formula according to which they can work together. Tenth, that the present attempt to saddle public authorities with blame for our current situation is a herring drawn across the trail and is an unworthy evasion of responsibility by industry and business. Eleventh, that what we need is sackcloth and ashes and not recrimination. We must have in the near future a restatement of the aims and purposes of both business and government. This is a world of human beings, and what we seek is security for all. This security for the individual was the promise of American life. It was attainable for all who were willing to work until the machine took America by storm. Now the machine threatens the security of all who work. Together, industry and government must find the way to make the machine serve man. No Frankenstein we! No monster of our own creation must be allowed to destroy us. This would be our supreme folly. No way of life which carries its own destruction is worth the blood and tears of millions of our fellow men. In America the harvests are ripe; here every means of sustenance is ample; we have all the real wealth we ever had; all we have lost these three years, so far as totals are concerned, are paper losses and not resources. We need only to seek a redirection of our purposes and a fairer conception of the incentives of our people. The "winter of our discontent" can be made glorious summer if only we shall will to bring it to pass instead of indulging in the wish or the hope that the skies may soon clear.

ENGLAND'S EXPERIENCE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND THE DOLE

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I SHOULD like to return thanks for the invitation to attend this great Conference and to express my appreciation of the honor of addressing you.

Most of you are social workers. You know the grim tragedies of unemployment. While I should like to speak about the human aspect of this terrible disease of unemployment, Mr. Dykstra has dealt with the subject fully and eloquently and has shown how imperative it is that every industrial country in the world must give attention to it if our civilization is to be maintained. So I come at once to my proper task, which is to describe the methods and experiences of Great Britain in handling her unemployed.

Great Britain and Germany have been pioneers in this field. They had to be because the economic blizzard struck them first. Both countries have made mistakes—generous mistakes. They are now trying to learn from them. But both have at least succeeded in keeping the worst ravages of poverty at bay; and that, in the face of mass unemployment lasting eleven years, is no small achievement.

What was the method? It was called unemployment insurance. It was not insurance in the ordinarily accepted sense of the term. There was no actuarial basis, but it was real insurance for the insured man who was qualified for benefits. We set out with three main principles. First, we decided that unemployment was a national problem and as such must be handled nationally. England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland were all covered by one statutory scheme. Second, the scheme was contributory. There were to be three parties contributing—em-

ployers, employes, and the general taxpayers. There are plenty of moral justifications for including these three, but I am not going to discuss them here. In the main, we adopted that method simply as the most acceptable way of raising funds and as the best way of identifying the beneficiaries of our insurance, because you will note that any scheme to which the worker does not contribute does not automatically define the beneficiaries. We also accepted the view that there should be a general pooling of risks between industries with a light burden and those where the burden was likely to be a heavy one. That may be a questionable policy. There is a real objection to pooling among business men. But I remember, in 1921, when the new scheme was starting, how the coal mining industry and the shoe manufacturing companies made frenzied appeals to be allowed to contract out. As for the British mining industry—well, you know what happened to it later on, and the same fate, though not quite so severe, befell the shoe industry. The third principle was that benefits should be given as a right during general unemployment and at fixed rates for limited periods.

The methods we used were the following: First, we built up a national system of employment exchanges, some four hundred, with a thousand branch offices. Second, we defined the insured trades and included the whole of the industrial workers except agriculture and private domestic service. Non-manual workers earning over \$25.00 a week were excluded by the act. Third, we compelled every insured worker between sixteen and sixty-five to take out an insurance card. This card he has to hand to his employer, and the employer has to stamp it upon each payment of wages, usually weekly, with a stamp purchased at the post office for forty cents—that is the current contribution. It was not always so high. On discharge from his employment the unemployed worker presents his card at the employment exchange and receives, if in good standing, such benefit as is due him. For instance, a man will draw \$3.78 as his weekly benefit with allowance for wife amounting to \$2.00 and for children 50 cents each. The insured single woman will draw

\$3.50. Those are the present rates, somewhat reduced from last year. This scheme is hedged about with protections. For instance, men leaving their employment voluntarily are disqualified; also the man who refuses suitable employment when it is available to him. All these are good rules which protect the scheme, but admittedly we were not able to provide against every possible abuse. No country has been able to devise rules to do that. Much more important were the arbitrary rules laid down to carry out the principle of limited liability, and of a ratio between contributions and benefits. In 1920 one week's benefit could be drawn for every six contributions. Also, there was to be no more than fifteen weeks' benefit a year for each man. With such rules and safeguards, the use of the word "dole" is surely meaningless. But we did not retain those rules. We relaxed them greatly during the years 1921 and 1931. The story of the various expansions is too long to recount; but it amounted to this, that we were unwilling to abandon the idea of retaining all the unemployed within the framework of this national scheme. We did everything we could to relieve suffering by payments as a right, not merely on the basis of need. So it was that our unemployment insurance scheme degenerated into a colossal relief scheme. Some called it a "dole," but it was not quite that because of the disqualifications still applying to many hundreds of thousands of claimants. But the door was opened too wide. Nearly half the applicants had no qualifications under the contributory rules.

For them the payments were a kind of dole; but we have accepted the term "dole" without thought, when today we call by that name all benefits or relief. Thus we have removed all sting from the word and all meaning. But in any scientific study in the future we ought to agree upon a meaning of the word, both in America and in England; and I venture to make this suggestion: A "dole" is a distribution of relief without contributory justification and without any inquiry into needs.

If England's system degenerated, in part, into the dole, she has, since the crisis in 1931, begun to retrace her steps. Today

we have two systems, not one, of relieving the unemployed. We pay a benefit to those qualified for it by contribution, and to those not qualified we give relief only after inquiry into need. The benefit is paid on the contributory qualification, though not so strict a one as formerly. If a man can show thirty contributions in two years he is entitled to a run of twenty-six weeks' benefit. About 1,100,000 are still drawing benefits on that basis. What happens to the remainder—say, about 900,000 claimants? They register at the national employment exchanges and draw relief from them, but every case is first examined to see whether the applicant is still genuinely to be regarded as seeking work in an insured trade. If this is found to be so, he or she is then passed on to the public assistant department of the city and a home visit is paid. The family income is learned, and the determination of need is reported back to the local employment exchange. If there is found to be sufficient family income, no payment is made. About one-fifth have failed under that head. If there is found to be no income, the applicant gets full rates, which are the same as for those drawing benefits. If there is some income, there is an adjusted payment. These payments still come from the national taxation, not from the insurance fund, nor from the municipal taxes.

That is only a rough approximation to what we hope will become a permanent satisfactory scheme of dealing with unemployment. We expect to make several refinements during the coming year, but the general framework of the scheme is, I believe, going to be very like what I have described. Meantime, we expect during the present year to save \$150,000,000 as compared with the last year before the change. Our system, as you will see, involves some use of the local authority. We have not found it possible, after all, to do it wholly on national lines. The system is open to some objections, as indeed almost all benefit systems are. But the ratio of contributions to benefits and the time limit are the greatest of safeguards; and for those who are under the needs test, there is an absolute check on abuses. There are many fairy stories told about our scheme. Some have

truth in them. There is the point that it interferes with the mobility of labor. Our workers have not found this to be proved out. You can have too much mobility, as in America today. The homeless man's search for work is too often a blind search. The truth is that there has been no shortage of labor in the British Isles that has not been met. It is not possible that it could happen, because we have our system of employment exchanges and their national clearing house of supply and demand. Another sort of reproach has been that some of our beneficiaries are able to support their wives and families in luxury. How they can do that on the amounts that I have quoted is not apparent. As for the charge that the insurance encourages employers to lay off workers, I admit it. There is no answer to that, and any adequate system of unemployment relief is open to precisely the same charge. Stabilization of business seems to us too large a problem to be solved by any unemployment insurance scheme. But unemployment insurance does give the worker a sense of security and enables him to avoid the calamity of destitution, and it saves millions of people from becoming public charges.

One inestimable advantage which unemployment insurance furnishes is the knowledge which it has brought to us of our labor market. We have twelve million insured workers. We know that in any period of five years, even bad years, there may be something over half of them who are never unemployed at all. Of the remaining six million, four million never have more than short periods of unemployment. Among the most unfortunate two million at the bottom there is a nucleus of chronic unemployment. These include the handicapped, the incompetent, the aged, and, most pathetic of all, the stranded worker, whose industry has left him (the coal miner is an outstanding illustration of this class), and for this type other methods than insurance are needed. Philanthropy is not enough. We want for them something for the soul as well as for the body; and it is this which lies behind that pathetic cry of the unemployed men, "We want work, not charity." Every land that has suffered

from unemployment has tried to respond to that cry. We have done so for a hundred years in Great Britain in every crisis of unemployment, but the conclusion today is that large scale attempts to create work at wages for the unemployed are on wrong lines. That way has failed and will always fail. Unless the work put in hand is necessary both in time and place it is uneconomic. It wastes national resources at a time when we cannot afford it, and it leads to the selection of workers because they are destitute rather than because they are suitable for the particular employment. This seems to be the wrong basis for any real wage earning. There is no solving of the problem along these lines.

Are we then to admit defeat? I think not. We cannot let the unemployed sit by while enforced idleness works havoc in our cities. There is an alternative. It is restorative treatment, while maintenance is being given, by training, occupation, and education. The object is to retain the skill of the worker and his capacity, and to restore it to those who have lost it through no fault of their own; and, in the case of the young who have never had opportunity of acquiring skill, to give them such opportunity. For them something can be done. It means hard work, careful differentiation, and not wholesale treatment. Great Britain has begun to tackle this problem. In 1926 we founded some eight training centers for men who were stranded and could be fitted to start afresh in a new trade. Instruction was provided in a six months' course, and over 90 per cent were successful in finding regular jobs. There are also work centers, where heavy manual labor is provided, to refit a man who has lost his strength or his morale, so he can be drafted off into other kinds of industry. For women there are home craft centers for such unemployed factory girls as are found to be willing to turn to domestic service. For young persons between sixteen and eighteen there are junior instruction centers for unemployed young people. These were begun as an experiment at the time of the armistice in 1918, but they have only now come to be ex-

tended and important. Attendance at these centers is not voluntary, but is a condition for the receipt of benefit, where there is a center within reach. I believe that the provision of various kinds of centers, ranging from work centers to real schools, is properly a function of education. In this way the education authorities can contribute much to the vital needs of the unemployed boys and men. So much for the efforts of the state, which are creditable but which do not cover a large enough field.

Voluntary effort is now coming into the field in Great Britain. A plea made last February by the Prince of Wales has had an amazing effect. New efforts are being made in every part of England; and a very great difference will, I hope, soon begin to show in the depressed areas like the coal districts. University settlements are being opened, providing a certain amount of work for the unemployed, physical training, and cultural training. The Society of Friends, always active in this field, have been pioneers. They have arranged for the obtaining of seventy thousand garden plots where the unemployed men may spend their time raising vegetables for their families. In small villages they have brought out industrial initiative in people by starting small handicrafts and by schemes for beautifying the community. We want to go farther than this, and have now made some sort of a beginning with voluntary college classes or evening classes for unemployed men. Recently we opened a course for three hundred men in South London. They have come, and it is a real joy to see the way these lads of eighteen to twenty-five take it up, using their leisure by attending gymnasium and lectures.

I have finished my task of describing in broad outline the present position in Great Britain. May I, in conclusion, venture to say a word about the United States' contribution to the solving of this world-wide problem? Your unemployment situation is different from ours, and your approach will certainly be different. We have noted the awakening of energetic interest in your great nation. At the moment (to quote Shakespeare) "the na-

tive hue of ["American"] resolution is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought"; but it is hard, practical thinking that you are doing. It will result in action. The older countries are struggling with their own problems and are watching for America's contribution. Great Britain and Germany are already in comradeship in the war against unemployment; both are looking hopefully to America for a new leadership.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF SOCIAL WORK, IN VIEW
OF THE TREND FROM PRIVATE TO
PUBLIC RELIEF

Gifford Pinchot, Governor of Pennsylvania

THE necessity for social work as we understand it today is a by-product of the highly developed industrial civilization in which we live. Welfare work chiefly follows the factory, the mine, the crowded city. And I think you will look far before you find a state which includes within its boundaries a more perfect miniature picture of our machine age—a state more truly representative of every phase of modern industry—than Pennsylvania.

Our coal mines, our steel mills, our manufacturing plants, our shipping docks, our vast network of railroads, our many cities—all mark Pennsylvania as a great and typical industrial state. And because so many of our men and women work in our mines, in our mills, in our factories, on our railroads, and live in our cities, we are beset on all sides by the social problems of an industrial age. We are anxious to solve those problems, to protect and promote the comfort, health, and safety of our millions of workers.

Social workers primarily are deeply and actively interested in the welfare of those who labor in mills and workshops and mines. Pennsylvania is glad and proud to have you here.

Before the depression—a time not so long ago as it seems—most Americans thought of social work, if they thought of it at all, as a respectable but negligible profession. Their own prosperity blinded them to the fact that certain of their fellow men might even then be in less fortunate circumstances. They thought of welfare workers as kindly souls with nothing better to do.

The depression has changed all that. Bread lines and bank

failures and block-aid drives—all the silly optimistic platitudes of national leaders notwithstanding—have convinced the average citizen that men, women, and children by the millions are actually in dire distress. Social work has become front page news. The nation is welfare conscious.

It is a time, if ever there was a time, for real progress to be made in the social work field. Energetic and intelligent leadership can and should direct an already aroused public interest along the line of a forward-moving social program. Opportunity, in the guise of popular attention to your ideas, is pounding on your door.

I am not speaking of progress in the sense of direct and immediate relief for today's sufferers. You know, as well as I know, the tremendous size of that task. You have all done yeoman service along that line. But it is a line of defense, not of attack. Our battle against unemployment and all the other evils and tragedies of an industrial society can never be won by defensive tactics alone.

The progress I mean is a more permanent sort of progress. It is the progress of prevention instead of cure, of attack instead of defense. It is progress toward the goal of a better social order in an industrial nation and an industrial world.

As I see it, that goal can only be achieved by the expression of a new national philosophy toward social work. It must come through active realization that the welfare of the working people in good times and bad cannot be left to the occasional benevolence of the wealthy—that the workers' welfare is the solemn responsibility of society as a whole. In short, social work is properly a national responsibility and a national duty.

The time is not far off, apparently, when private charity, while still essential at times and in places, will be almost obsolete. Already three-quarters of relief is derived from taxation. As the only means of reaching and curing distress, private charity is on the way out. Surely that is natural and normal in a nation dedicated, as a nation, to the life, liberty, and happiness of all its people.

You social workers are to no small degree bound by the fact that part of the money that goes into social work comes and must come from private donors. Therefore, you are not wholly free to do your work as it should be done. You are not free to tell all the truth you know about the communities and the clients served by your organizations. You are not seldom prevented from doing so by the financial leaders upon whose good will and generosity you are dependent. Sometimes you are not even free to dispense your services as you see fit. A friend of mine was talking to a staff member of a social agency the other day. She said to him, "When old So-and-So recommends a case, we hop. We have to. He's one of our biggest subscribers."

The present situation has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that private charity is found wanting when the great test comes. In spite of the insistence of our national leaders upon local relief, local relief has failed. We all know that. We all know how inadequate has been the response of voluntary contributions to meet the real needs of the unemployed and their dependents. Even with industrial plants and business houses forcing their employes—even scrub women—to contribute, men, women, and children are still going hungry and cold.

It is not the fault of the social workers. They have done their best and often a great deal more. It is the fault of the system. It is the fault of a system which, up to now, has allowed the well-being of its working people to hinge on the whim of each community's richest men.

It is true that government has always played a leading rôle in the relief of social distress. The statistics of seventy-five large cities for the past few years show that over 70 per cent of the money spent to relieve unemployment comes from public funds. But the general public, misled by the advertising and publicity of local welfare drives, does not know it. The man on the street supposes that relief work is carried on almost entirely by private funds. And he supposes that it is properly so.

It is this sort of philosophy which must be overcome before real social progress can be made. It is this sort of philosophy

which impedes the development of social responsibility on the part of society itself, as represented by government. If it were not for this archaic attitude toward social work, and the propaganda built around it, we might have been able to pass decent and adequate relief measures at the special session of the state legislature which I called last winter. The duty of government to care for society's unfortunates would have been taken for granted, and real relief legislation might have had a real chance. Similarly, the Costigan-La Follette bill for direct federal aid to the unemployed would have been swept to victory with the realization that a national emergency called for national action. Not only direct relief, but the task of putting men to work would, and should, have been government-undertaken and government-handled. Vast public works, financed by bond issues, would already have cut to a small fragment the ranks of the unemployed.

Perhaps we shall still see the federal government taking its rightful part in relief. Apparently, the constant hammering of some of us has finally had its effect, and the direct relief and work relief which we have been demanding since last summer in speech after speech is going to be granted. The horrors of the "dole" are to be forgotten, and what was castor oil yesterday is peaches and cream today. Whatever the cause, millions will, we hope, have cause to be thankful; and we may rejoice with them that the barriers raised by the overrich are down at last.

More than the stupidity or the selfishness of political leaders—more than the reluctance of legislators to spend money when money is scarce—our failure as a nation to realize our collective duty toward the unemployed is to blame for our failure as a nation to take care of the unemployed. For, had the American people fully recognized their responsibility toward their fellows, no political leader would have dared to oppose direct government aid and the initiation of public works to give men jobs. What is coming now would have been here to help us more than a year ago. Above all, a sense of public responsibility for social distress would have gone a long way toward preventing the de-

pression or at least toward softening the blows it has dealt to the working people. It would have been reflected in laws looking to a decent standard of living and a measure of economic security for every member of society. It would have put into practice the neglected truth that the first function of the state is the promotion of human welfare and the protection of human life.

Here, I repeat, is where the depression itself has opened the path to social progress. Here is where you, who are leaders in the field, can focus on permanent achievements the popular interest in welfare work that is the order of the day. Here is your chance to attack—not defend against, but attack—the social problems of an industrial nation.

I shall suggest but a few of the many fronts on which such attack can be made. And I shall use as my text a document which is twenty years old—the platform of the Progressive party of 1912 on which Theodore Roosevelt ran for the presidency. I am proud that I had a hand in drawing up that platform—and I know that some of you who are here tonight helped draft it too. Many of its proposals have since been enacted into law. But many of them, twenty years later, are still ahead of us. They are needed today even more urgently than they were needed then.

The old Progressive platform spoke for the prevention of involuntary unemployment and the “adoption of a system of social insurance” to protect workers against irregular employment—the selfsame unemployment insurance that is news to many people today and that only one state, Wisconsin, has yet written on its statute books. I am as strong, and stronger, for this sort of measure today than I was twenty years ago. I believe that government must protect workers against the misery and privation that comes with the loss of jobs, either by unemployment insurance or by disaster reserves, or both. I am firmly convinced that we must have effective legal recognition of the truth that the right to work is as sacred as the right to live, that security is the first need of the worker.

The 1912 platform demanded the prohibition of child labor. We have made some progress along that line, but much remains to be accomplished. And we must have, along with it, general adoption of old age pensions, so that jobs will no longer be held by those who are too young or too old to work, and so that children's lives will not be stunted, nor old workers haunted by fear of the poorhouse.

The Roosevelt platform included a minimum wage plank. Today, with employers all over the country cutting wages below a decent living standard, we need to do some solid thinking on this subject. With old ideas and preconceptions being displaced by open-mindedness toward new social schemes the time is ripe for favorable court decisions on social legislation. Certainly we must in some manner guarantee to our workers their fair share of the profits of a machine age to which they are the main contributors.

The 1912 Progressive platform also provided for the limitation of hours of labor. Our improved industrial efficiency—our mergers, our large-scale production, our labor-saving devices—make maximum hour laws doubly necessary now. In order that there may be jobs for all, we must come, for a time at least, to the six-hour day and the five-day week. And we must come to it by law. Reduction of working hours can never be made effective if we leave it, as has been suggested, to employers and captains of industry.

The championing of these measures and others like them is largely your task, and your privilege. Professional social workers are often reluctant to assume leadership as public spokesmen. Yet their first-hand knowledge of the facts, and of the problems of the working man, especially entitles them to point the way to social legislation. It is my strong hope that you who are gathered here will undertake that task. It is not an easy task. But you are fitted for it if anyone is fitted for it, and I know that you have the intelligence and the courage to carry it through.

This nation must be brought to realize that social work is one of the greatest of government responsibilities. The nation and

the separate states must shoulder that responsibility by enacting laws designed to protect and foster the lives and the well-being of working men and women. I look to this conference and the action that will result from it to make history along the path of social progress.

SOCIAL WORKERS FACE A NEW WORLD

*Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary, Children's Aid Society,
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MY TOPIC at this closing session of the Conference has an element of optimism in it, and this is by intention. "A new world" suggests our belief that the kind of world in which we were all living prior to the past two years and the kind of world in which we are living today are soon to belong to the past and that we are to enter upon a new era in human history.

This is the kind of optimism which doubtless is present in our general population but which finds all too infrequent expression at the moment. The whole world is so plunged in the fact and spirit of the depression that a pilgrim from another planet listening to the gloom spreaders would think this was the first depression in the history of our race. He would also be led to believe that the race is in all probability winding up its affairs and going into permanent insolvency.

All of which would, of course, be to misjudge us, for in spite of our failure to learn anything from former events of the same character, in spite of our lack of constructive leadership to get us out of our present difficulty, in spite of the fact that the western world has never known so severe and devastating an economic mess, we know perfectly well that this condition will come to an end. We know that throughout the history of the human race fair weather has followed every period of storm no matter how long delayed. Every winter has been followed by spring. We know that every industrial depression, except the present one, has been followed by a period of reconstruction.

On the doctrine of probabilities (a statistical theory on which insurance actuaries rely and census compilers depend) the present crisis will wind up its gruesome record by and by; a new page

of history will open and we shall face the future instead of bemoan the present or dwell with regrets upon the past.

The past year has been one of intense strain to social workers. Among the approximately ten million unemployed, few of us have been numbered. The social workers who have been thrown out of work have lost their positions—not from lack of a market for their goods—but because welfare agencies, like other organizations dependent upon funds, have been forced to retrench, budgets have been cut, normal expansion suspended, programs curtailed, and a vast amount of repair work will be required when we rise from our present unhappy state. But on the whole, social work has been exempt from unemployment. In fact, while others have been out of work our duties have doubled. The burdens have been heavier than ever; demands for our wares—relief, advice, encouragement, friendly visiting, child care—have multiplied and we have been overworked.

All the foregoing is by way of saying that social work should begin to face the reconstruction and begin to appraise the tasks before it. Just what are these tasks and what the extent of our responsibility? It would require a bolder prophet than your speaker to venture any definite analysis of the dominant characteristics in the reconstruction era that lies in the future, and this for the reason that no one can tell how much farther down the world can sink before it begins to rise. No one seems to know at present whether it has already touched bottom and is on the upswing. No one can tell how much more widespread financial disaster will befall before some kind of statesmanlike policies of relief begin to put underpinnings beneath the crumbling foundations which thus far have been compelled to rely on our boasted "rugged individualism" to support them.

But whatever the immediate future, whether we are still sliding down the toboggan or beginning to rise, there are certain features of the situation to which social workers maintain direct connection. At the moment the psychology of the country is focused on bread—bread and jobs! The finer things which go to building human beings above the plane of workers and eaters

are in danger. Such efforts as those of the United Educational Program of the National Social Work Council must be pushed. Without an attempt to be comprehensive let us mention a few as types that indicate the service we must render.

Home ownership has been a major goal of our social development in America. We have believed that industrial stability, loyalty to local institutions such as the school, church, library, parks, and all matters relating to child culture were directly promoted by having a population with a stake in the wealth of the community, so we have encouraged people to buy homes. Building and loan associations have been promoted for this purpose, and an extensive development of mortgage loans for home owners has grown. Now home owners of limited means have been pressed to the wall by prolonged unemployment, lifetime savings have been exhausted, and thousands of their families must face the new era at middle life or later where they began in the springtime, with the difference that the years have taken toll from their energy and that, because of their age, they will find employment more difficult than before.

But this is not all. In spite of the vigorous promotion of home ownership, an increasing percentage of people both in city and rural communities are joining the tenant class. With the swift moving stream in this direction on farms you are already familiar, and the approximate disappearance from our rural communities of those who live on the land they own appears to be only a matter of time. Even before the depression there was a heavy drift of population from farm to city. A part of this is justified because improved methods of agriculture require constantly decreasing hand labor. Furthermore, many farmers with increasing prosperity have been able to locate in cities, which offer better educational and other social advantages to their children. Thus there has come a natural increase in tenant farming.

But the past two years have witnessed a new chapter in the history of the American farmer. While the Farm Board was busy advising the farmers to plow up every third row of cotton

in order to stabilize prices, and handing out other nuggets of agricultural wisdom, the mortgagee and tax collector were also on the job. For example, within this period in one southern state (Mississippi) 60,000 farm homes and more than 7,000,000 acres were offered at tax sales, and possibly you know that this Mississippi Black Belt contains some of the richest farm lands in America. This surrender of farms for taxes or under mortgage foreclosure is not confined to any single section. In Wisconsin, the great dairy state, in 1927 more than 2,500,000 acres went under the hammer, and this was prior to the collapse of our supposedly panic-proof industrial system. There is every indication that, unless the present trend changes, the farming population of this country will be reduced in the not distant future to a condition of virtual serfdom.

In the cities the idea of a detached house, to be handed down from generation to generation, has almost disappeared. A few cooperatively owned apartment houses and small homes have been built in urban communities and on the whole have proved successful, but for the most part we have become renters and our only title to a dwelling place on earth is a lease, preferably for a year or less. Even in normal times a large percentage of our population was inadequately housed. But the low standards of housing in normal times have gone to smash. Families living in five-room apartments have squeezed themselves into three; those who had three rooms are now packed into two or one; or else have taken in another family or a few lodgers to eke out the rent as the only alternative to eviction.

To the social worker belongs the task of bringing encouragement, advice, suggesting a budget of income and expenditure, conserving health, building some slight defense against a possible repetition of the present disaster. No class of workers has come in closer contact with the financial strain on the small wage and salary portion of our population than the social worker. If the present crisis has dulled his sensitiveness to these domestic tragedies due to poverty, if slow starvation of children looks to him like "hives," if he has become in any way hard-

boiled so that he can look upon human misery without a compassion that calls out all his reserves of practical and militant sympathy, then he should retire from the field of social work before the present crisis passes, and apply for a position in a boiler factory or some equally quiet spot where his nerves will not be harassed.

Problems of education are involved in the reconstruction era, and there must come a closer relationship between what the school men have called the "cultural aspect" of education and what the practical business men have called its "vocational function."

Really, if we are to live and be human beings, there must be no gulf between the two. Children must be taught to live at the same time they are taught to make a living. We must have the vision and statesmanship to recognize that a new industrial order has come upon us in spite of all that reactionary conservatives can do on the one hand or radical agitators on the other. We are in the machine age of production. Quantity has been the watchword of recent years. Mechanism has been pushed to the front, and the human element has become decreasingly vital in the job of filling our warehouses with goods. While we have been pressing forward with the banners of production floating over us, we have neglected the counterpart; and when business slowed down, we have accused overproduction as the sinner. Or it was "bear-raiding" or "short-selling" or some other offender. We are always finding a scapegoat and hiding behind some formula or set of words to avoid the necessity of facing the stubborn facts in our problems. The fact is that thus far we have not overproduced; we have been short on consumption. It may be that the reconstruction era will force us to recognize that there is a social duty involved in consuming goods; that large portions of our population must refrain from making things in order to help balance the available quantity with the available market. This means that we should look to the policy of releasing an increasing percentage of our population from the function of making things to be sold, and adding those released

to the production of non-consumable wealth. We need far more educators to develop a better and larger educational system. We need more and better doctors, nurses, hospital workers, recreation workers, baseball teams, specialists in research, and standardization of our means of living,—Lecturers on the Blessings of Depressions!—all of whom would be consumers of goods and thus help to balance the producing and the consuming capacity of the country.

Suppose we were to subtract all children under eighteen from industry, and pension all persons over sixty or sixty-five; suppose we were to limit the working period to a six-hour day and five-day week—which economists agree would be ample to produce all we can use; and suppose we developed recreational, educational, and cultural facilities to utilize the leisure time thus released! We might find such a schedule of living the best possible antidote to the crime and delinquency to which we are paying such heavy tribute. And we might find that the leisure and freedom to study, play, and spend would vastly increase our markets for the consumption of such goods as are really good for human beings to consume. We preach a lot about the right to work. We need to consider the right to eat and wear good clothes and live in comfortable houses!

Then there is a vast amount of work to add to our common wealth: reforesting our vast domains of waste land, developing water power, projects of flood control, the construction of broad national highways—we could well build at least four perfect highways from coast to coast—thus adding tremendously to the wealth of the country while furnishing employment to thousands without adding one parcel of manufactured goods to the shelves of our warehouses. These are but examples. You can readily see that in the cultural and non-goods-producing occupations we might develop—a considerable percentage of our population could be engaged, all of whom would be daily consumers of those goods for the non-consumption of which our country is now in its tragic unemployment depression. Unless something of this kind can be done, some policy must be de-

veloped that will more nearly equalize the quantity of goods a man can produce and consume. All this is part of our educational program and must be recognized as such.

Health.—Much progress has been made within the past two or three decades in attempts to make health popular; but up to the moment, for the most part health has been discussed and is considered by the general public as a pathological subject. We have heard a vast amount of talk about health; but it is rarely about the health that people have, and mostly about the health they haven't. Health is discussed in terms of clinics, hospitals, surgical dressings, trained nurses, doctors, operations, ambulances, undertakers, and cemeteries. What a cheerful group of subtitles to be arrayed for discussion under the general topic of health! Aptly did Carlyle say, "The well know not of their health, but only the sick."

Our popular health publicity well illustrates the present state of the public mind on the subject. High-pressure salesmanship catches us with the lariat of the psychology of fear. If you refuse to buy their particular brand of goods today—not tomorrow but today!—you are doomed for life. So we dare not open our mouths for fear we have halitosis; we dare not go to a dance for fear of "B. O."; or show our teeth for fear of film; or come out into the light of day for fear of the ghastly discovery that we have lost our school-girl complexion; or are no longer kissable. We dare not eat any food we enjoy for fear of losing our girlish figure. Surely these experts have us on the run; and instead of setting out to make health a normal state of enjoyment, a hilariously happy adventure, we are made to feel we are lucky if we can drag our jaded carcasses out of bed every day, elude the clutches of the surgeon, and avoid solitary confinement in a hospital bed.

Suppose we were as easily satisfied in the field of education; suppose we took it as a matter of course that if illiteracy could be abolished America would be well educated. As we emerge into this new world we must go forth with a persistent and aggressive protest against satisfaction with public health stand-

ards that rise no higher than the kindergarten or first grade, and must insist that, so far as possible, our whole population shall enjoy its high school, college, and university courses in the exhilarating experience of good health.

Disrupted and broken families.—The reconstruction era will dawn upon thousands of these. No one can know at present how widespread the disaster to domestic felicity from the strain of these latter months. The rhapsodies of poets and idealists who have tried to teach us that love-in-poverty is enough have been put to the test and found wanting. Poverty breaks up homes; poverty makes people hate each other, suspect each other, try to cut away from one another the advantages each should enjoy; poverty is probably the greatest crime of the race—worse than theft, worse than murder, because it is the penalty we have brought upon ourselves by our inefficiency, stupidity, and selfishness. Poverty is at the root of race antipathy. Every new wave of foreign immigration has been met with aversion—"Heine," "Paddy," "Hun," "Wop," "Kike"—hated, each in turn because they were competing for our jobs. And this is the meaning of aversion to the Negro. We call it "race antagonism" because we are ashamed to confess an economic motive. It's our defense mechanism. But the mask is uglier than the face. How can you expect "brotherly love" of a man who sees his only means of feeding his own children snatched away by a stranger! Poverty must be abolished. I believe it can be abolished without any radical change in our economic system or philosophy. That is the challenge. If poverty cannot be met and conquered under the system of private enterprises and so called political democracy, then at any cost—*poverty delenda est*. Seventy-five per cent of our population have no income—no defense against the future. The social worker who contends that these great fundamental questions of public policy are not within his field is recreant to his trust—a trust reposed in him by both the unfortunate clients he serves and the fortunate who provide the means of such service.

The present crisis is making many *children homeless*. They

will be homeless when the reconstruction era dawns. Homes must be found for these children—temporary homes when their own are broken by illness, unemployment or other temporary misfortune, or permanent homes when their own homes are definitely wrecked. These must be good homes. They must be better homes than the child's native place. It is not enough that child welfare agencies furnish as good food, clothing, and shelter as fathers and mothers formerly furnished. We must do better than that. We cannot afford to make the mistakes that parents make with their own children. While we should bend every effort to keep every home intact that can be made suitable, we dare not practice the neglect, cruelty, lack of understanding, or improvidence that characterize so many homes today and into the depths of which so many families have fallen because of the present emergency.

We are told that this depression has lowered the *birth rate*. If this means a decrease in the births of unwanted children, of children of disgenic parents, of children who are the accidental consequences of passion or ignorance, then we may be grateful at least for this offset to the many tragedies society suffers in these trying days. But it is probable that the opposite is the trend—that it is the frugal, the prudent, the physically and mentally fit who hesitate to bring children into a world which seems to offer decreasing security in the struggle to survive, while the unfit, oblivious to any social responsibility, continue to propagate and multiply their own kind.

The right of every child to be well born must become more than an eloquent phrase. It must be interpreted to mean the right of every person to know the responsibilities implied in procreation and the right to intelligent control of his or her participation in the experience. And it is plainly the duty of the social worker to help this new world, with a maximum of freedom from the physical ignorance, the moral antiquity, and the religious superstition which have bound the past.

To children who are here must be given the maximum *opportunity for development*. A period of five or ten years is a brief

period in the life of the race, but to the individual child it measures the span from childhood to maturity. A wall of protection must be thrown around the area of childhood. One fact this depression has forced upon us, namely, that the labor of young children, instead of being an essential to our economic progress, is sand in the gears of our machinery. It has been a practice—is still a practice—in which everybody loses. The children lose their years of mental development, physical conservation, and the joy of play; industry loses the makings of future efficient craftsmen; and society suffers from the unbalancing of the equation of supply and demand by inflating the army of producers and depleting the army of consumers.

There are certain *virtues* that must be conserved in the prosperous days before us. I have called poverty the greatest crime of the race, and retract no word of it. It must be remembered, however, that to those who are guided by any kind of fundamental philosophy every experience weaves something new into the texture of their lives, and this experience of unemployment, depression, hardship, has made heroes and heroines of many who never knew they possessed such qualities. Despite the millions already raised by taxation and by philanthropic drives, we should be in woeful disorder today but for the unrecorded services of love and friendship that have poured from family to family in our various neighborhoods. Those who have come close to the lives of the people of any section in any city are aware of the multifold expressions of unselfishness and sacrifice that will never appear in the books, but have written hope, new courage, and faith upon the hearts of multitudes.

Children have found new friends; health service has become more humanized and intimate; education has sloughed off many superstitious traditions and has taken a grasp on actualities. None of these things must be lost. They are permanent assets in our social life. The social worker, possibly more than any other, holds the key to the perpetuation of this precious quality of neighborliness.

It may be that as we face the reconstruction days we shall

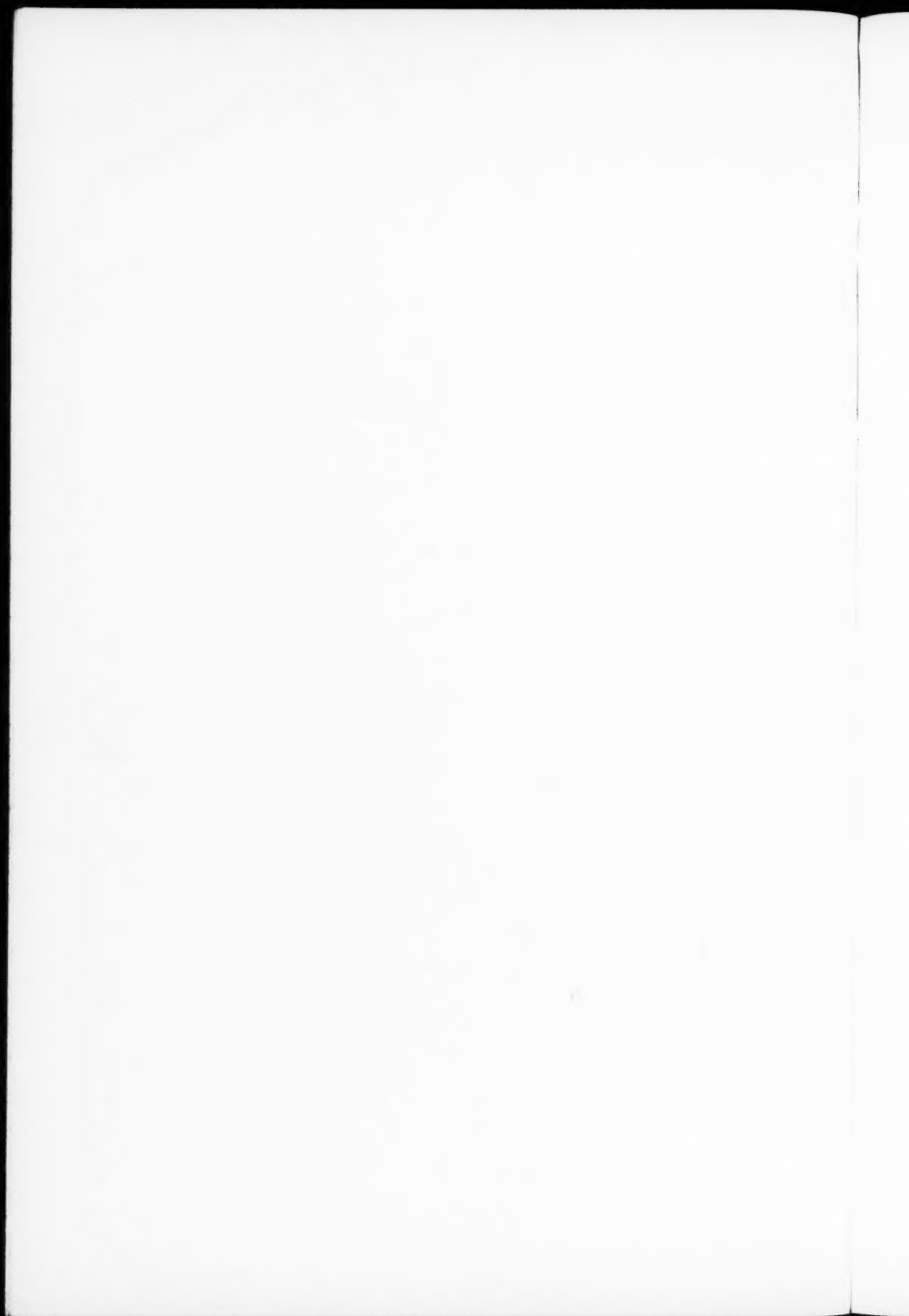
find that the *common man* has been discovered during these days of trial. We shall have less hero worship. Many have been disillusioned as to the mystic power possessed by the captains of finance, the wizards of big business, the magic manipulators of gigantic corporations. We have found these big men just frightened and panic-stricken little boys, afraid to face an economic condition which the rest of us have been facing all our lives! We have found that, when the crisis comes and leaders are needed, no man was there to lead. We have experienced the sage observations of the ancient prophet who assured us that "when there is no vision the people perish." After the experience through which we have passed during these five years—a combination of wild speculation followed by a ghastly depression—perhaps the average man and woman of America have learned to do something on their own. Possibly we shall rely less upon snap judgments handed out by subsidized experts with ulterior motives who tell us we have been made soft by too much prosperity. We may even dare to study for ourselves the meaning of such mysteries as "the gold standard," "dole," "inflation," separating these actualities from the fog of prejudice in which they are now enveloped instead of accepting the superstitious formulas now attached to them. Perhaps we can learn why it would be a "dole" for the government to protect a little home from the hammer by a timely loan, and would not be a "dole" to loan a few hundred million to the Pennsylvania Railroad and other railroads. If we shall have the courage and patience to grapple individually with such problems of the tariff, tax systems, government appropriations, government efficiency, honesty in administration, the reciprocal responsibility of the citizen to his state and of the state to its citizens, stripping from these realities the web of ritual now woven about them, then we may say, as the new day dawns, that we have learned something from this experience. We might dare try to learn what money actually means or why it has seemed wise to our national leaders to put the manipulation of our national currency in the hands of private groups instead of carrying on a national bank-

ing system as a public service. We might dare to analyze what underlies the popular tendency to criticize and make fun of Congress which, after all, is the most representative branch of our federal government.

We might even develop the courage to analyze war in terms of its relation to human progress instead of analyzing it in terms of military glory and near-sighted nationalism. The impatient man who avers that if we were to declare war on some other nation the depression would be over in a week probably speaks the truth; but have we learned enough from past history, even our most recent exploit in this field, to nail his near-sighted optimism and reply, "Yes, a wave of prosperity the prelude to another depression more ghastly than this one." Has not history taught us this much? Are we going to be so blind as to throw the mangled body of our nation to Mars, after the depression is through sucking our blood?

You see we have a most stupendous and thrilling task before us, as we emerge on to the next stage in the world's history. In fact, one is almost encouraged to hope that we could gain enough experience and social intelligence so that it would be unnecessary to make elaborate preparation to meet the next depression, because we seek in vain for any valid ground to believe a next depression is inevitable. The human race—especially in a country like ours—ought to know how to feed and clothe itself, to provide at least the necessities of a decent physical existence without periodical lapses into industrial shipwreck, in which the frantic effort to throw our hard-earned cargo into the sea becomes a civic virtue. The forces of nature have been generous and bountiful with us. For this emergency human beings, and human beings alone, are responsible. We ought to be able to locate the responsibility and safeguard against a repetition—and the social worker, equipped by training and experience, should refuse to be content in the rôle of what Florence Kelley used to call the "wrecking crew" and should become a builder of the new world whose emergence lies just ahead.

DIVISION MEETINGS



THE FUNCTIONS IN A COMMUNITY CHILD WELFARE PROGRAM OF PRIVATE CHILD CARING INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

Edwin D. Solenberger, General Secretary, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

OUR subject assumes that there is, or should be, a community program for child welfare and that our private agencies have a definite part in it. This is not new to most of us.

Seventeen years ago (in 1915) at the Baltimore Conference, C. C. Carstens reported for the Division on Children on a "Community Plan for Children's Work" and pointed out that many then believed that the time had come for community planning. This report was an epoch-making statement, and succeeding National Conferences continued the discussion.

In 1918, Henry W. Thurston, as chairman of the Division on Children said: "We cannot learn how to save and to bring up the especially handicapped children without at the same time finding out how to save and bring up aright all children."

At the Providence Conference in 1922, J. Prentice Murphy, speaking on the "Superficiality of All Work for Children," pointed out the community child welfare activities needed to prevent dependency, neglect, and delinquency in children. He gave to the Conference a standard of values by which the whole child welfare job could be measured.

Again, in 1924, at the Conference in Toronto, speaking in the Division on Children, Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart said: "With the broadening concept of child welfare, the modern child-caring institution has come to realize that its work is very closely connected with the work of other social agencies. It is no longer considered a thing apart, but rather as an integral part of the closely knit system of charitable works intended to prevent and relieve distress."

At the 1925 Conference we were discussing county and state programs and were concerned about the responsibility of the private agency in interpreting child welfare to the community.

Our concern about the relationship of the private agency to the community was still further expressed at the Conference in 1926, when we considered how to make the community safe for the child and how to make the child safe for the community.

More recently, at the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, the report in section 4 on Handicapped Children said: "There are still large areas in which there is no social service worthy of the name, where handicapped children in desperate need grow up and die without ever hearing of efforts in their behalf. This situation is largely the result of two conditions: lack of knowledge in regard to the needs of handicapped children and lack of means to promote child welfare programs. Child welfare organizations, public and private, should participate in promoting a unified plan of service to children since all social effort is one in purpose; each organization should have a flexible program to permit growth and adaptation to changing social needs."

The increasing emphasis on the subject we are discussing is further shown in the recently adopted provisional standards of member agencies and institutions of the Child Welfare League of America. The outline of these standards for measuring the work of institutions and agencies for children contains a section on community relationships dealing with such matters as (*a*) adaptation to community needs, (*b*) coordination with other social forces, (*c*) interpretation of the job to the community, and (*d*) promotion of a community program.

Probably most, if not all, of us agree with these pronouncements. What, then, can we do about it? What do we find? First, from my inquiries in preparing for this subject, I think we may safely say that some progress has been made. The rate of the progress may seem pretty slow in certain places, but whatever movement there has been appears to be toward community planning.

Private groups have a definite responsibility for stimulating the development of good public service. Those of us in the private field need to remember that we can get neither good child welfare laws nor good administration of them unless there is some understanding on the part of, at least, the leaders of public opinion as to what good child welfare work is.

We must help people to get a feeling for the right kind of child care. We cannot expect to construct a sound program for community action without this. George Washington understood this principle, when in September, 1784, he wrote in his diary, "The truth is, the people must feel before they will see."

Private agencies should not stand off and say of the community, "They should do so and so." We should change from a *they*-attitude to a *we*-attitude. Board and staff members of agencies should learn to say, "*We* will work with others in the community." Unless we do this we are likely to deserve the criticism made last year at Minneapolis in the Family Division of this Conference, when it was reported that in one city the children's agencies had so carefully defined their functions that one could not get a child taken for placement by any agency.¹

Private agencies must bear in mind that the public agencies belong to them. The public agencies need to recognize more fully than they sometimes do that the private agencies are part of their constituency and are performing an important service, both from a qualitative and a quantitative standpoint. We, in the private field, must remember that the public agency has a big load, difficult burdens, and, especially in these days, very serious budget problems. The private agency should support the public agencies in every way possible in the discharge of their public obligations.

To some observers, we in the private field have seemed to have a certain attitude of smugness and self-satisfaction with ourselves and an attitude of wanting to pass by on the other

¹ Gordon Hamilton, "Refocusing Family Case Work," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1931*, p. 185.

side of the public agency rather than to do those things which would stabilize it and protect it from political interference.

Of course, in a sound community program, there should be a partnership based on mutual understanding as to the proper functions of each.

The private agency has not discharged its obligation to the community by merely taking care of a certain number of children. It will mean much to the whole field of child welfare if we in the private groups will, out of our experience in caring for children, help to set the right child welfare standards for the entire community. We need to assist in developing and stabilizing standards of public agencies, which, through lack of knowledge or indifference on the part of the general public, are always in danger of slipping unless the real friends of children are continually watchful.

For example, a national agency helped a certain county home for children to reorganize its institution on a modern case work basis, after putting on a demonstration. Unfortunately, there was no private group in that county interested in having the lessons learned from the demonstration put into effect. The department of welfare in that state was interested, but it alone, and unaided by any private group, was not able to prevent this particular institution from slipping back instead of going forward.

On the other hand, another county in the same state organized a county child welfare agency. For some years the private agency in this community had been working to establish standards of child welfare in the community. As a direct result of their interest and efforts, this public county child welfare agency set up good standards comparable to those of the best private agencies in that community.

Again, failure of our private agencies to regard their work as a part of a community-wide service for children has undoubtedly resulted in some places in an undue emphasis upon the care of children away from their own homes. Mr. Thurston, in his book, *The Dependent Child*, has called attention to the dispro-

portion between the care given to the individual child and the neglect of the home from which he springs.

Of course, the functions of the private agency in a community plan vary widely according to the proportion of public and private service that exists.

The Children's Committee of the Blue Ridge Institute has made available certain figures from a study by the Child Welfare League for the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. A very wide variation was shown in distribution of public and private agencies for dependent children. In a group of states this ranged from only 1 per cent of public service in one state, with 99 per cent private, to one state with 57 per cent public and only 43 per cent private. They reported the median percentage now available for thirty-one of the states to be: agencies under public auspices, 23 per cent; those under private auspices, 77 per cent.

Is it not clear that our work in the private field is necessarily conditioned on the extent to which adequate and efficiently administered public aid is available, not only under the special mothers' aid laws, but also in general public relief for needy families in their own homes?

When public service is small, financial resources must be stretched as far as possible, so boarding home care by the private agencies (often a new form to be organized) can rarely be resorted to, and institutional care, usually in existence, and free home care, are overemphasized, even when the best interests of the child may not be met in this way.

To remedy this condition a balanced community program is needed. To secure it calls for good community team work. A private agency in a certain county in one of our eastern states furnishes an illustration of what I mean. A children's aid and protective society found that they could not do effective work for dependent and neglected children without better service for such children in their own homes. They worked in cooperation with the public welfare department of that county. Case conferences were arranged between the county public welfare work-

ers and staff members of the children's agency. As a result, the public relief authorities assumed more and more financial responsibility for family relief and thus reduced the tendency for homes to be broken up merely because of poverty. This brought an increased understanding of public work and its needs and greater faith on the part of the community in both public and private work. Representatives of public agencies became members of boards of private agencies, and vice versa. Another result was higher standards and a professionally trained personnel for civil service positions. Private agencies joined with the public group in a cooperative study of the courts, which resulted in an increased probation staff, and the establishment of a county children's court, with a social worker as a judge. This happened in a community which only a few years ago was satisfied to have its children's work left largely to a few overcrowded institutions. What a change this represents from conditions that prevailed a few years ago in most of our communities and still exist in far too many of them.

Let us hasten to admit that community planning for child welfare is not easy. It is hard to get communities to plan ahead to meet the tangible physical needs—housing, sanitation, etc. To gain acceptance for communal responsibility for this more intangible child welfare planning is vastly more difficult. Public relationships in community planning for child welfare are often very complicated.

A graphic illustration of such a situation is shown in a chart recently prepared by the Bureau of Children of the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, setting forth family and child welfare resources of our sixty-seven counties. The chart shows the number and kinds of these resources, classified by counties under the head of public poor relief, mothers' assistance fund, family societies, child placing agencies, institutions for dependent children, juvenile courts, institutions for delinquent children, mental clinics and community organizations, including community chests, councils of social agencies, and social service exchanges. Here we have a wealth and variety of community

resources available for private children's agencies in Pennsylvania in working out treatment problems for children referred to them, and, beyond that, in helping to build a better community program for child care.

In view of this situation, some of us came to the conclusion a few years ago that we could do our best community work by uniting to accomplish certain definite goals. The Ten-Year Program of Child Welfare for Pennsylvania—a cooperative movement—was developed on a state-wide basis under the leadership of the Child Welfare Division, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania. In November, 1928, the sponsors of this program issued a booklet, *Tomorrow*, raising for discussion many questions as to next steps in ten different fields of child care. Local round table groups then met in all the more important communities in the state to discuss these child welfare questions. Over a thousand persons had an opportunity to share in the suggestions for community education affecting children and to weigh proposals for legislation. These round table results were gathered and given to subcommittees of experienced laymen and specialists who carefully considered them and drafted a tentative program, which was embodied in a booklet called, *Which Way?*—another group product. This suggested program put forth in April, 1930, subject to change, was then opened for discussion.

Finally, at a state-wide child welfare conference in Harrisburg in December, 1930, a series of round table discussions were held, and for each of the major divisions of child welfare work there was adopted a fact finding, educational, and legislative program. Now comes the most important part of the function of these private agencies. Instead of being satisfied with the adoption of resolutions concerning a community program, they are continuing to work through subcommittees to reach the goals that have been set. Some of these are marked of primary importance and others of secondary importance and, of course, the Child Welfare Division of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania (itself a cooperative enterprise) continues to function in supervising and guiding and helping the committees.

So much for the value of cooperative efforts. Let us turn to an illustration of what one institution alone can do. The Seybert Institution of Philadelphia affords an example. The point of view of this institution is shown by the title, *A Living Hand*, chosen for a ten-year report recently issued. This showed how the institution changed over to a foster family home method of care through the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia. This living institution has contributed greatly to the development of community child welfare progress by working with and through other agencies. The Seybert Institution has helped both with money and the personal service of its staff, various agencies and movements. Among these are special work for the Negro, the social service exchange, family welfare activities, the Children's Commission of Pennsylvania, the Associated Medical Clinic, the Philadelphia Relief Study, the Child Guidance Clinic, and the Parents Council of Philadelphia. This shows what can be done when there is present the right point of view and the desire and the will to reach out for service into the larger community, of which every one of our agencies is a part.

In notable instances private agencies have contributed greatly to the development of a community child welfare program by performing together certain functions that they have in common. For example, in one city a group of child caring institutions formed a children's bureau. A survey discovered the community child welfare needs; and as a result, one of the institutions gave up a plan to erect a new building and decided on the foster boarding home plan. Out of the broad experience of this group further adjustments were made in the organization of individual agencies, ultimately resulting in increased facilities for Negro, as well as white, children and including those of various religious groups.

By joint effort they secured an ordinance to license boarding homes, a health clinic, improved the day nursery work of the community, and persuaded certain agencies to merge. They discovered that their city had a higher percentage of dependent children cared for in institutions than any other city of its size.

They found this was in part due to their lack of mothers' aid organizations and in part to faulty methods of intake. They concentrated their energy on an educational program and on the development of case work service for all children coming up for either public or private care. Finally they adopted a flexible policy so that as other child caring needs developed within their community they could change to meet them. They also set higher standards for public child caring work in their community. All this constitutes an inspiring example of what can be accomplished by private child caring agencies when they set themselves, not merely to care for the children actually committed to them, but also to take an active interest in everything pertaining to the entire field of child welfare.

Private agencies seeking to develop new child welfare work in rural communities have learned that they can make their greatest progress in securing care for dependent and neglected children by dovetailing their work with the other child welfare activities of the county—for example, health. The needs of all children in the county call for medical and mental clinics. When these are established, their facilities become available for the dependent and neglected children in care of private agencies. Again, community planning to help the crippled children, the blind, the hard of hearing, and all other types of specially handicapped—an essential in any community program for child welfare—quite directly benefits the private agency. In short, social planning for child welfare is not a thing foreign to, or apart from, the work of a private agency for a special group of children.

We are witnessing a tremendous industrial and economic dislocation of tens of thousands of families in all of our communities. This means that we must think over again the job of our agencies for children and their adaptation to community needs in the light of the present emergency.

The recently organized United Educational Program, through its Committee on Neglected and Exploited Children, promises to be of help to all of us in this connection. Relief for the unem-

ployed has greatly overshadowed other social needs during the last two years. There is a close relationship between the work for dependent children in the community and the problem of family relief. Agencies for children and dependent children themselves have been profoundly affected by the economic depression. In ancient times certain tribes abandoned or destroyed their young children when too hard pressed by famine or other calamities. In our economic calamity let it not be said that we failed to have a community plan for the welfare of all of our children. Now, more than ever, the private agency needs to see to it that the relationship of its work to the total public and private relief activities of the community is understood and recognized.

Neva R. Deardorff, in the *Survey Graphic* for May, says that to do a thorough job for this generation of children, in line with the recommendations of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, would probably cost considerably more than a billion dollars annually. She points out that child welfare means not only gathering up the grossly unfortunate children for foster care, not only running a few clinics and kindergartens—it means a whole civilization that is “child centered.” To accomplish this result we need something even more than local community child welfare programs. We must have, as Dr. Deardorff says, a “conception which parallels in the breadth of its economic base, that of the organization of industry and the economic order generally.”

Our present widespread depression suggests a large order for child welfare which goes to the very fundamentals of our industrial, social, and economic life. As one important step in this direction we need community child welfare programs based on adequate knowledge of the needs of the children themselves, in order to help prepare our people for this “child centered” civilization.

In terms of the individual child we must bear constant testimony to the urgency and primacy of work for children. Ten years is a short time in a social program, but it is a long time

in the life of a child. Children do not grow up twice. For each individual child, *now* is the time when he is in transition, physically, mentally, and spiritually.

Budgets may rise and budgets may fall; but the child moves on, from early infancy to adolescence and maturity. Whatever the community may do for other children at some future date, there is a tide in the affairs of each child; and if we do not seize the opportunity to do the right thing for him at the right time, little else matters so far as he is concerned. Grace Abbott understood this when, in a recent statement, she said, "We can't give cream next year to children to make up for skimmed milk this year, and some are not getting even skimmed milk."

Finally, benefits that may come to private agencies in return for efforts made in building up a community child welfare program may reasonably include a great increase in the effectiveness of their own work. There will be a better public understanding of what is being accomplished and what yet needs to be done. Group thinking and joint planning will give to the private agency the advantage of concerted action. A more adequate factual basis will result for sound child welfare community planning and action. All this will lead to more adequate support from the public for child welfare work by private contributions and public appropriations. Surely these are tangled and concrete objectives which should lead all of us in the private field to work for a community program on the basis of an enlightened self-interest.

INTEGRATION OF THE VARIOUS PHASES OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE FOR CHILDREN

REPORT OF GROUP DISCUSSION

The problem.—Integration in training of children is a common problem. Every father and mother must give thought and time toward working out a common understanding, so that their own children will not have a confusion of ideas and plans that are too different. Institutions, however, have this problem multiplied in two ways: first, by the many people involved in the institution itself; and second, by the child's background, which in an exaggerated way is in conflict with the ideas and life of the institution. How work with the child as a "whole person in this situation? How help him grow to be a "whole" child in the midst of these conflicts?

Approaches to the problem.—It was indicated that there are probably five approaches which the institution may utilize in meeting this problem. It becomes a challenge to the administrator to bring about proper harmony between these various angles of approach by first, the cottage life; second, the play life; third, the school life; fourth, health and medical service; fifth, a mental hygiene program. This suggests that through the medium of the daily program much can be done toward bringing about proper integration. There must be a rich and varied program available for each child. Then study is needed in order that this program shall be balanced properly. Unless great care is taken some children will be overloaded and others overlooked.

Records as an aid to integration.—It was pointed out that not only social histories but chronological records made at regular intervals are important in any plan of integration. Probably someone on the staff should give full time to this service. These records should show health, behavior problems, standing in school, the progress of any special plan made for the child, any

reference to the child's own people, letters, etc. Some questions were raised as to the possibility and feasibility of keeping such full records.

From the standpoint of mechanics, it was asked how all members of the staff who come in contact with the child could profit by such records as well as contribute to them.

Committee procedure as an aid to integration.—The final question in the preceding paragraph was partially answered by suggestions and experiences given by several members of the group in which they described the "Classification," "Integration," or "Student Guidance" Committee, the function of this committee (no matter what its name) being to coordinate and integrate the various phases of institution life. Through such a committee chronological records of the child can be kept up to date; and, even more important than that, data recorded in such records can be disseminated to various departments of the institution, each department being represented on the committee.

For example, the membership of the committee should be made up, it was pointed out, of superintendent, physician, psychologist, psychiatrist, vocational director, recreational director, educational director, disciplinarian if any, and chaplain. Obviously, in any institution which does not carry departments suggested by the foregoing positions, all those who come in direct contact with the children should be represented. Such a group sitting together in conference a full day per week, or more if necessary, become responsible for the planning of individual programs. This is followed up at regular intervals to see if recommendations have been carried out. Certain members of the discussion group felt that a committee procedure of this kind is a necessity in the proper study and placement of children.

Integration of individual staff members.—It was suggested, on the other hand, that those who concentrate on recording, grading, and classifying children are in danger of hanging tags on them which become out of date long before they are replaced. No matter how skilful the grading of children may be, it may tend to violate personality. It may discourage development

quite as much as encourage it, especially if the child becomes aware of his grade or the nature of his classification.

While there is no objection to classifications as such (for they are necessary as we increasingly specialize in service to children) the weaknesses of devices and formulas must be recognized. The development of children will be stimulated much more by adults who are well integrated, who have met life's situations positively, and who informally transmit their habits and attitudes to children, than by those who are spending much of their energy checking up on children and measuring them.

In progressive education we are learning that children can do a great deal of work happily and effectively without formal grading in separate subjects. Such children have a great advantage over those who are constantly conscious that someone is comparing them with other children.

Integration of all that is valuable in institutional programs will be more rapidly advanced if we concentrate on staffing rather than recording. Above all else, we need to secure and train persons whose own lives have unity and whose cultural interests will give children an understanding of the meaning and fulness which life may have.

The individual staff members as an integrating factor.—In line with the foregoing discussion, it was stated that the best and most constructive kind of integration is engendered by the general spirit and morale of the institution. While records and classification procedure are important, the cottage mother should really be the center of life, particularly for the younger children. The cottage mother should be with the children when they are examined by the doctor, she should have conference time with the psychiatrist; such a procedure is of absolute necessity, making the cottage mother a logical integrating factor in the life of the child. It was also pointed out that the cottage mother should know the children's relatives and background, and should follow the progress of her children in school. In other words, she should be at the center of planning of each child, and other

members on the staff who are specialists should assist her through their special knowledge.

This raised the question, so often discussed in similar groups, as to what extent cottage mothers and staff members in general should have access to records and background of the children. It seemed to be the sense of the meeting that no cottage mother should be employed who could not make adequate and wise use of case record material. A few indicated that cottage mothers would need to have such material gradually interpreted to them until they learned to make proper use of it and until they gained in experience and professional attitude.

Summary.—It would appear that the group were concerned with two different aspects of the problem of integration: First, integration of goals and objectives. That is, the administration, staff members, and children need to have an integration of objectives, so that they will have a common understanding of goals and purposes. Second, integration of the training program. This phase of the problem of integration is somewhat different from the integration of goals and objectives, inasmuch as it has to do with a properly balanced training program. It is submitted that institution executives and social workers have not yet determined with any degree of unanimity just what constitutes a well balanced, integrated training program within an institution, that is, what part should recreation play in the total program; how much work for different age groups is advisable or necessary; how much emphasis should we give to economic training and religious training? How should all of these factors be knit together and correlated so as to create a well integrated program?

ELSA UELAND, *Chairman*

LEONARD W. MAYO, *Secretary*

CHILDREN AND THE DEPRESSION

Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, University of Chicago

WE ALREADY knew what a depression meant to children. The Federal Children's Bureau in 1922¹ showed that in cities in which many heads of families enjoyed a relatively high standard of living—either owned their own homes or had begun to make payments on their homes, had laid aside money for the education of their children, or for the emergencies of old age, lived comfortably and enjoyed a high standard of comfort—through a period of unemployment found their resources exhausted, had to submit to radical changes in their standard of life, and became applicants for relief from a private or public agency.

That study took us through a series of heartbreaking experiences. The being "let-out," as they say, of the father, a skilled worker; the fruitless hunting for work by the father; the reduction of expenditures to the point of actual privation; the dangerous saving of expenditures for clothing or household supplies; the seeking of cheaper and more crowded quarters if the family rents; the taking in of lodgers, if there is claim to the home; the seeking of a job by the mother—these, although of the skilled workmen group, are not of that housemaid-keeping group, in which there may be a new forced relationship between parents and children that will bring its own reward although resulting from compulsory readjustments; the finding, on the other hand, of a job by perhaps a third of the mothers, so that such income as is brought in is at the cost of the children's skilled care. The savings are exhausted; and there come debt for food and for medical care, failure to meet the payment on the mortgage, the taxes due on the property. Some children, to be sure, stayed in

¹ E. O. Lundberg, *Unemployment and Child Welfare*. U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 125 (1923).

school because there were no jobs; but others left school in the vain hope of finding a job and making their contribution to the all too meager income. With it all, there is the constant presence of those hideous companions, fear and anxiety.

The father idle, disheartened, unsettled, the mother going out to work if she can secure it, doing the double task of providing for the family's maintenance, and caring for the household and children, the children suffering from uncertainty, lack of security, and the victims of dark anticipations that they cannot understand.

This was a picture in towns of skilled workers in 1921.

What about children in rural communities in 1930-31? Again information may be obtained from the same authoritative source. In her annual report for 1930-31, the chief of the United States Children's Bureau said,² after calling attention to the fact that, owing to the organization under the state poor laws, the jurisdiction responsible for supplying aid to the poor or the destitute is the local unit of government:

In the larger cities the private organizations have assumed a considerable part of the cost of support of dependents although the public agencies in most cities have carried more than half the burden. In the smaller cities and towns, the cost has been borne almost wholly out of public funds. Although those responsible for the administration of public and private relief in the larger centers would not say that they had adequately met the situation created by the widespread unemployment and that there has in consequence been no suffering among children, a great effort has been made to mobilize and correlate the public and private resources, and much excellent work in mitigation of unemployment has been done in those urban centers. But some of the smaller communities have been quite unable to meet the needs of the children during the past year. In single industry communities in which the industry has practically closed down during the past year (1930-31), and in mining communities where the depression began long before the market crash of 1929, unemployment and underemployment has resulted in no wages or in inadequate wages; *neglect* and *undernourishment* of children has been the rule. The situation has grown more serious during the past year in the mining district of seven or eight states owing to this situation and at the request of the President's Emergency Committee for Unemployment surveys were made in several counties in each of several states. The comment on the conditions found was to the effect that in some of these communities, some possible sources of relief have not been adequately developed, and that available funds in some cases might have been more wisely expended. Local public and private re-

² *Nineteenth Annual Report*, p. 8.

sources are, however, quite inadequate in these areas to meet the needs of the children of the unemployed or underemployed men.

One of these counties was in Illinois, and the following description may be quoted from a statement setting out the observations of a visitor from the University of Chicago who went into that area.³ This county, of which the population was something less than 60,000 (59,442), of whom more than one-fifth (12,287) worked in the mines, is the most important mining community in the state. It presented in the words of the writer, in August of 1931, "a most discouraging picture." For the past eight months there has been no public relief, in the form of grants under the pauper act, under the mothers' aid law, or under the blind pension act. Only those county officials who receive part or all of their income in fees had been paid for three months. The assessed valuation of property had been lowered from \$32,216,417 in 1929 to \$26,262,047 in 1931. In 1928 there were thirty banks doing business in the county; in 1931, there were seven. The writer says, "There is no money. The savings, investments, and means of making a living of the rich and poor alike are gone."

They are more fortunate than many about shelter, for they mostly live in "building and loan" houses, in which, because the associations preferred not to have their houses standing empty, they were allowed to remain; but there had been no repairs, so that all the houses were dilapidated. It was, in fact, however, often difficult to tell an occupied from an abandoned house. This county had suffered from the drought as well as from the depression. There was, however, a good crop of oats and wheat in 1931, and the writer thought that there would be food the coming winter.

Some of the mines, from twelve to sixteen, out of twenty-seven, had operated part of the time, dividing the work among the men on the basis of half, third, or quarter time work. Besides the cut in the amount of time worked, there were many

³ Wilma Walker, "Distress in a Southern Illinois County," *Social Service Review*, V, 559.

deductions from earnings, so that, while the wage scale was high (\$10.07, \$8.04, \$7.00 a day), the earnings per man were very meager.

These men are not able to do other types of work—in fact, very few types of work offer themselves; and there is no work for women and children. There were two sources from which relief had come prior to August, 1931—the Red Cross and the Governor's Commission. The latter had expended about \$1,200 in that county. A carload of seed had been brought in and the people encouraged to make gardens. Since early spring the orders under the Governor's Commission had been for a dollar per family for lard and flour; how often could not be determined.

The Red Cross had come in with drought relief, expecting to help only farmers. Approximately \$1,000 was expended by that organization. As the Red Cross maintained one station for ten townships, people walked from fifteen to twenty miles for food, sometimes having (because of the number to be served, possibly as many as 200) to wait all day to be cared for. They received grocery orders according to the size of the family, from \$1.00 to \$3.50, providing for flour, meal, cereal, potatoes, lard, beans, sugar, sometimes coffee, and sometimes dried fruit. The Red Cross closed its work in May, and from that time until August there was no relief except the occasional one dollar's worth of lard and flour.

They tried to find help among themselves. They had "drives" for clothing until all the closets were bare. A minister said, "The children have no shoes. They can go to school barefooted until November, then they must have shoes." In 1929 and 1930 there had been distributed \$55,000—\$29,000 under the pauper law, \$14,000 under the mothers' aid law, \$13,000 under the blind pension act, and the rest for county doctor and hospital care. In 1931 this was cut off. The teachers had been paid only half their salaries; the minister had hardly been paid at all. The Legion had had a goodly bank deposit for a community fund, but the bank failed. The schools had a food day once a week, when each child brought a potato or other food. Each Saturday the Boy

Scouts canvassed the town together asking for whatever anyone could give. Church organizations sewed, mended, and gave food.

In one of the largest communities when the mines closed there were 503 men representing 1,500 people who did not receive their pay checks. With no money, no credit, no food, they said later "We've he'ped each other, Miss, until we can't he'p no more."

The visitor went through town after town, finding the same conditions. In one, when asked how they had got along, two men looked at each other and said, "Now you've asked us a question we can't answer."

The health facilities are inadequate. In 1930 there were found in their own homes 350 open cases of tuberculosis. There was a county doctor, but he no longer functioned. There was much trachoma. The doctors were doing a great deal of charity work; but when a mother needed to have an operation and the doctor demanded \$50, her husband's friends begged a little here and a little there, so that she might live and take care of her children. The school districts were deeply in debt; there was no county attendance officer; but the attendance kept up remarkably well, though during the last two months attendance fell off because of lack of clothing. Everywhere in the summer the children were ragged and barefoot, and everyone wondered how they could get clothing for school the coming year. Two sixteen-year-old boys who had two days' work picked strawberries and earned enough to buy each a pair of overalls, which they were keeping for school. They had no shoes, but could go barefooted until November. There were no funds for school books, and the teachers could do nothing. Because of lack of funds the probation officer had been given up. The sheriff, court and judge, and ex-probation officer said that there was no use bringing the young people into court but that they were getting into trouble, and that there was an increase in wife and child desertion. The representative of the State Board of Health said that there were many seriously malnourished children all over the county, and

there would be surely a harvest of tuberculosis, malformation, and disease of every kind. As this investigator drove into one town, a girl had fainted, and everyone said it was because of lack of food. One doctor insisted that a baby had died of starvation, and a seventeen-year-old girl had gone very far down. A Red Cross investigator said that there were hundreds of children out over the county who had not had a balanced meal in two years.

The questionnaire sent in the autumn of 1931 to a Pennsylvania county showed 1,184 school children who would have to be fed through the winter by public or private charity. Other counties had higher proportions of unemployed, and so larger numbers of children to be relieved.⁴

Turning to New York in 1931, Miss Brandt comments⁵ on the lack of sufficient food, or the right kind of food, which was a common experience. People ate, she said, whatever they could get; there was less milk, and there were no eggs; standards of nutrition were growing steadily less, little by little, but a great deal, taking the whole year into view. There was lack of suitable clothing, which was neither adequate in amount nor appropriate in kind. Recreation facilities were cut down. There was less visiting among families because of lack of car fare. Insurance was allowed to lapse; furniture was sold or taken away if not paid for; ice was given up; gas and electricity replaced by oil, coal, or candles; men could not have their hair cut; very cheap things were bought that are so dear in the long run. It may be that more parents knew what they needed, but the effect on the adolescent was serious.

Adolescent children lost the sense that they could depend on their parents. Those who were working, or who unwillingly left school to find work, resented the burdens put upon them. Sometimes a boy or a girl was the only, or the chief, wage-earner. Frequently they resented the necessity of foregoing recreation and new clothes. They became quarrelsome and sulky and disrespectful. Parental authority was inevitably weakened. A father dependent on his son

⁴ For conditions in counties in other states, see Grace Abbott, "Improvement in Public Rural Relief," *Social Service Review*, VI, 189.

⁵ Lillian Brandt, *An Impressionistic View of the Winter of 1930-31*, in *New York City*, pp. 18, 44.

or daughter for shelter and food could not easily enforce discipline. Even little children were affected by the nervous tension and depression in the atmosphere. When mothers who were needed at home went to work, or spent their time looking for work, the health and habits of the children suffered still more.

There was the demoralizing effect of relief from various sources with different standards of care and treatment—the police, the school, the public city officer, the private agency; and it went with swift change and demoralizing confusion, the result being often that the very poor shared with those who were poorer. In the winter of 1930–31, the unpaid teachers of Chicago yet deprived themselves of \$110,000 to feed starving school children. It was one of the sources of pain to Miss Lathrop at the Chicago White House Conference of January, 1932, to contemplate the insincere platitudes of the Children's Charter in the face of the demand of the three White House Conferences that children in need of care be given care by and with their families.

Of the mining counties in Pennsylvania and Kentucky, the tale is too sad to tell. After the Friends Service Committee went in, as they had gone into Austria after the war to salvage some child life, so here they gave what they could. They fed the school children, gave one meal a day to pre-school children, nursing and expectant mothers,⁶ except from sheer force of necessity, when they might include others. With reference to the condition of the children, Mr. Pickett, of the Friends Service Committee, testified that in the areas served the number of undernourished children was from 20 to 90 per cent. In one school of one hundred, only one was *not* underweight. In many the percentage was from 85 to 90. The result was "not so much serious physical retardation but drowsiness, lethargy, sleepiness." "Mentally retarded," Mr. Pickett agreed, but not physi-

⁶ *Unemployment Relief*, Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Manufactures, United States Senate, Seventy-second Congress, First Session on S-174 and S-262, December 28, 29, and 30, 1931, and January 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, 1932 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1932), p. 57. See also *Federal Cooperation in Unemployment Relief*, Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Manufactures, United States Senate, Seventy-second Congress, First Session on S-4592, May 9, 1932.

cally so. He anticipated feeding 20,000 children by the middle of February. In almost all families there was either a nursing or an expectant mother.⁷ Perhaps these are enough to show again something of what a depression means to child life and well-being, with a few figures from Chicago.

Mr. J. Prentice Murphy told Senator Costigan's Committee about the peril to the school system,⁸ and reported unemployment in 23 per cent of the families having children in school. In September of 1931 the teachers reported 150,000 children in Pennsylvania in need of relief. In Chicago today there are 117,000 families on the books of the public relief agencies. If they average three children a family, there are 350,000; and this does not count those in the care of the private agencies.

To judge what this means one would take note of the form of relief now given, a food ration adequate in amount and content if handled with great skill; but in one great area to the south of the city, the milk drivers say that the only companions they ever find are, like themselves, supplying milk provided by the relief agencies.

In Chicago, the agencies have not been paying rent. One of the executives was heard recently to say that under some new plan it should be possible to avoid evictions, but in April there were 266 actual evictions. Some families had been evicted more than once. Among the families visited in one day by a social worker were: a widower with four children—sixteen, eleven, eight, and five years of age, the eleven year old a boy; a barber and his wife and five children from fifteen years down to six, who were being evicted for the second time; a widow with five children in school; a man and wife and one child about six years old; a man and wife and four children from six to a year and a half. Among those visited another day were: a man and wife and four children from fourteen to eighteen months of age; a man and wife and nine children from sixteen years to four months old.

This type of experience is repeated in other cities and means

⁷ *Unemployment Relief*, p. 61.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

often separation of the family, or crowding in on relatives, or in some extreme cases just what happened in Russia. Our Mrs. McDowell of the Renters' Court has found children deserted by both father and mother in the conviction that the children would be given better care by the social agency than was in their power to give.

Lack of food, which means tuberculosis, malformation, mental and physical retardation; and lack of shelter and so of security, which threatens later delinquency, are everywhere. There are alarming statements already about the increase in prostitution. The Committees of Fifteen in New York and Chicago call attention to the marked increase in street solicitation, but I have made no study of Juvenile Court figures to see if those who solicit are young girls. I know that some of the women practicing the so called "woman's oldest profession" are mothers of young children, with aged parents likewise in their care!

But need these wretchednesses be further enumerated? The question is, "What is to be done?" It is all so pitifully ironic in view of the White House Conference and the Children's Charter! This is surely enough that the children pay the cost, and the question is, "What can be done?"

One comment is appropriate. Recalling the earlier paragraphs, a new depression was not necessary to teach us what its effects would be. The United States Children's Bureau had sufficiently registered the effects of the earlier one. To participate in every effort to prevent another is a high obligation of all child welfare workers; but that is not all! To reduce to a minimum the dark consequences of this one is an equally high obligation. This means maintaining the standards of relief and service that have become familiar—especially perhaps in the true enunciations of the three White House conferences. This means tapping the sources from which relief can be drawn, through taxes laid, not on overburdened real property, but on the income of the wealth through federal channels, since the great wealth on which taxes are paid in certain corporate offices is drawn from the pay-

ments for utilities or futilities provided everywhere; federal relief under safeguards, administered through the highly professional social work agency to which we have confidently looked for leadership, with the cooperation of the states through their departments of public welfare and again in stimulating cooperation with local public social service authorities and such private agencies as may survive. If we come out of the depression with a truly national program of adequate relief and skilful service, a true national insurance of child care and child welfare in which state, locality, and private benevolence participate, we shall have wrung something infinitely precious from the experience. We should have been able and wise enough to do this without any depression; but we had set our hand to a very difficult task—that of making the community, the whole nation, safe for childhood.

If the depression makes this effort a reality, that will be some mitigation of its otherwise so dire consequence to the child life, which is, in fact, the future of the nation.

COUNTY JAILS

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THIS is a brief discussion of the relation which the federal government has to the state and county jails in the United States. One may ask what authority or responsibility the federal government has over the local county jails and for what reason it interests itself in this great responsibility which obviously belongs to the local community. At the present time there are about 11,000 federal prisoners boarded in state and county jails, for whom the federal government pays a certain rate to the local jails. Of this number, about 65 per cent are serving short-term sentences. During the last fiscal year there were 76,000 persons charged with offenses against the United States who were held in local jails either awaiting trial or serving short-term sentences. That is the basis for the concern which the federal government has with the conditions in the county jails.

On May 14, 1930, Congress passed an act placing upon the Federal Bureau of Prisons the responsibility for providing suitable quarters for those thousands of prisoners who, of necessity, had to be placed in the county jails because the federal government had none of its own. The following is quoted from this Act.

It shall be the duty of the Bureau of Prisons to provide suitable quarters for the safe-keeping, care, and subsistence of all persons convicted of offenses against the United States, charged with offenses against the United States, or held as witnesses or otherwise. For this purpose the Director of the Bureau of Prisons may contract, for a period not exceeding three years with the proper authorities of any State or Territory or political subdivision thereof, for the imprisonment, subsistence, care, and proper employment of any person held under authority of any United States statute. . . .

When the baffling problems of caring for this group of short-term federal prisoners was placed upon the Bureau of Prisons, it was evident that the local jails must be utilized for the purpose

as heretofore, and that some attempt should be made to improve conditions in them. The Bureau of Prisons set about to do this in two ways. First, it established a definite inspection system whereby frequent, painstaking, and rigorous inspections would be made of all jails where federal prisoners are boarded. Second, it obtained an appropriation from Congress for the construction of a few federally controlled jails which should serve two purposes: to set an example of what a model jail should be and how it should be administered; and to afford places to which federal prisoners could be removed from the county jails when the local authorities responsible for them refused to accept the standards of the government and to give the prisoners reasonably humane treatment.

In connection with the first step taken by the Bureau of Prisons to handle this work the following plans were made:

First, its inspection force has been increased from two inspectors to ten.

Second, the country has been divided into ten districts with headquarters established at a central point in each district. At the present time there are seven inspectors working in various parts of the country. Because of their location, it is possible to keep in close touch with the local conditions in the jails in their districts and likewise to keep the Bureau constantly informed. It also affords a means of almost immediate investigation of complaints and gives the inspectors an opportunity to be of assistance to the United States marshals and other officials in placing the federal prisoners in the most satisfactory jails.

Third, a new form of inspection report was devised, including in detail all pertinent facts which must be given consideration when inspecting a jail. Eleven of the most important factors included in this questionnaire are given relative weights and form the basis for the final rating given the jail. In accordance with the government's standard, a perfect jail would rate 100 per cent. The procedure which is followed in the central office at Washington for handling these inspection reports will be referred to later.

Fourth, a sliding scale of rates has been adopted and, whenever possible, is put into effect; and an effort is made to pay a rate commensurate with the grade of the jail which has been rated according to the facts contained in the inspectors' reports. Written contracts not to exceed three years are made with the various jails. These contracts include the following clause:

It is expressly understood and agreed, however, that inasmuch as it has become the duty of the Federal Government to supervise the care and treatment of all Federal prisoners whether in Government institutions or otherwise, the Government hereby reserves the right under this contract to enter upon the jail premises herein referred to at reasonable hours for the purpose of inspecting the same and determining the conditions under which the prisoners are boarded.

This provides the government with the right to enter the jails with which it has a contract at any reasonable hour and make an inspection. The following is the sliding scale of rates paid in accordance with the grades of the jails: jails rating from 90 to 100 per cent, \$1.15 per day per person; those rating from 80 to 89 per cent, \$0.90; those from 70 to 79 per cent, \$0.80; from 60 to 69 per cent, \$0.70; from 50 to 59 per cent, \$0.60.

Fifth, the cooperation of state departments and organizations having a supervisory capacity in relation to the county jails was sought, and an arrangement made for the exchange of inspection reports. This exchange of reports of inspections made at different times keeps both the Bureau of Prisons and the state department informed at all times of the conditions in the jails. Over 200 reports have been received from state departments of inspections made by their inspectors. It is hoped that with this cooperation more forceful work in accomplishing results will be possible.

Sixth, a visible card system is maintained in the office in Washington on which each inspection is entered, showing the normal capacity of the jail, the daily average, the rating it receives, and the rate paid. There is also recorded on this card the officials with whom the Bureau corresponds regarding the conditions of the jails. On the reverse side of the card every complaint relative to the conditions of the jails, regardless of the

source, is entered, the date it is assigned to an inspector for investigation, when his report is received, and what disposition is made. With the use of colored signals the card furnishes a close follow-up on the various jails. In conjunction with this card system there is a large map which shows the ten districts, by color, into which the country has been divided. Colored tacks, representing the grades and number of jails inspected, are placed on the map as the reports are received in the central office.

The inspectors are called to Washington at least once a year for a general conference. While in the field, they are furnished with copies of all correspondence between the office in Washington and the local officials relative to the specific jails in their districts. Circulars and bulletins are sent from time to time to keep them posted as to the requirements of the Bureau or changes in its policies.

To go back to the inspection system, it might be well to give a brief explanation of what this involves. There are 3,096 counties in the country, and there is a jail in practically every county. Over 1,200 of these are being used at the present time by the federal government. It is the plan of the Bureau eventually to make follow-up inspections only of the jails where federal prisoners are boarded. In order to make a judicious selection of the existing jails in which to board its prisoners, the Bureau is now having a complete survey made of every jail in the country. After this survey has been completed, rigid follow-up inspections will be made of the approved jails. A special effort is being made to concentrate all female prisoners in one or two jails in each district where matrons are employed. It is discouraging to find that in many districts there is not even one jail where a matron is employed.

Jails, workhouses, and lockups in the country, taken as a whole, have been generally condemned by all investigators as being undesirable places for the care of prisoners. For some reason which has not been definitely determined, an attitude of general indifference seems to have prevailed among the local officials as to the relative importance of the jails as compared

with other municipal offices, and the great problem of rehabilitating and reconstructing the erring individual placed in county jails has apparently been lost sight of. The sheriffs, upon whom rests the greatest responsibility in the conduct of the jails, are elected without consideration for their experience or knowledge in the proper management of jails or penal institutions. The subordinate officials, such as the jailers and other officers, are likewise often selected without any requirements for special training in that particular line of work. In fairness to this group of officials, it should be stated that there are some who are willing and anxious to maintain proper standards in their jails. Sometimes they are unable to do so because of lack of funds or lack of cooperation on the part of other local officials having a joint responsibility. In the very communities where jails have been apparently completely overlooked so far as proper construction, equipment, and general administration go, great strides have been made in the progress of other local institutions and agencies. It is possible that with constructive suggestions from the Bureau of Prisons and departments having a supervisory control a similar interest by the local officials in the improvement of the jails may be demonstrated.

Inspection reports, when received in the Washington office, are carefully read, analyzed, and rated. If the reports indicate that conditions are such as to warrant transferring the federal prisoners to more satisfactory quarters, they are removed immediately. In all such cases the local officials are promptly advised of the reason for the transfer of the prisoners and the discontinuance of their jail for further boarding of federal prisoners. When conditions are not so serious, the officials are advised as to the necessary improvements and are given an opportunity to remedy the defects and bring their jails up to a standard which in the judgment of the Bureau of Prisons is necessary for the proper care of its prisoners.

So far 1,595 jails have been inspected. Of this number, 481 jails rated under 50 per cent, some of these rating so low as to receive no grade at all; 697 rated between 50 and 59 per cent;

334 rated between 60 and 69 per cent; 71 rated between 70 and 79 per cent; 10 rated between 80 and 89 per cent.

Because of the existence of deplorable conditions in some of these jails, or where lack of discipline was apparent and there was evidence that special privileges were being allowed the federal prisoners, 210 prisoners were transferred to other jails, where conditions were reported to be more satisfactory. In addition, numerous transfers were made in order to relieve overcrowded conditions. The federal government has no right to dictate to the local officials how the county jails shall be operated; but it is within its province to refuse to use jails which do not meet its standard and to transfer prisoners whenever conditions warrant, or when local officials demonstrate an unwillingness to cooperate in remedying conditions which have been called to their attention by the Bureau of Prisons. I will cite a few of the reasons why prisoners were removed and the jails condemned for further use. Favored prisoners have been allowed to go to the race track, to attend the county fair, and in at least one instance to attend one of the first games of the World Series. In another case prisoners were allowed to work at a gasoline station and on a farm owned and operated by the jailer. At this same jail women were permitted to work in a tea room owned and operated by the same official, on a public highway. Liquor and drugs have been trafficked into the jails and drunken parties permitted. The federal inspectors have been met at the doors of some jails by federal prisoners who had the keys to the jail and apparently full control. There was such poor discipline in one jail, as well as lack of control, that a prisoner left the jail three times in one evening, went to his home, became intoxicated and caused a disturbance. He was twice returned to the jail by the sheriff. The third time he went to his home it became necessary to call the local police, and he was placed under arrest. He was given a fine, and the police refused to turn him over to the sheriff until the sheriff paid the fine. This the sheriff did and returned him to the jail. As a return for favors granted, prisoners have been asked to invest money in

certain commercial enterprises. Jailers have admitted accepting presents from prisoners. Numerous other instances of permission of undue privileges and existence of lax discipline could be quoted. In some of these cases, when the matter has been called to the attention of the court, the offending officials have been cited for contempt for not carrying out the orders of the court.

In addition to this type of bad administration, unsanitary conditions exist. No bathing facilities whatever are provided in some jails; they are inadequate in others. Vermin-infested quarters have been found, also serious fire hazards. No attempt is made to segregate prisoners with contagious diseases.

Unfortunately, it has been necessary to temporarily continue the use of many unsuitable jails for want of better ones. It is gratifying, however, to know that suggestions for improvements made by our inspectors have been hospitably received by some of the local officials, who have made every effort to cooperate with the Bureau in an attempt to meet the standards which should be maintained. Local public sentiment has been aroused; and in many cases where it has become necessary to remove the prisoners, various officials have taken the matter of improvements into their own hands. They have not only written to Washington but have made personal visits to learn the true conditions of the jails and to obtain suggestions for improvements with the ultimate aim of having the federal prisoners returned to the local jails when conditions have been remedied. Among these have been representatives from local chambers of commerce, local bar associations, county commissioners, and members of the Senate and Congress. Many of the sheriffs and jailers have taken immediate steps to improve conditions. Offending officials have been replaced by conscientious men who have been able to bring about the necessary improvements and to give assurance to the Bureau that proper discipline would be maintained. Where these changes have taken place, the jails previously condemned have been reinstated.

Some reference should be made to the second part of the program which the federal government is undertaking, and that is to build a few jails of its own, to be used, as already explained, as places to which federal prisoners may be removed when it is not possible to negotiate with the local authorities for suitable quarters and terms under which contracts can be made. The sum of \$1,500,000 has been appropriated by Congress for the development of such institutions, and plans are being made to construct seven or eight federally owned jails or jail farms. These are to be located at New Orleans, Louisiana; El Paso, Texas; Billings, Montana; Milan, Michigan; Sandstone, Minnesota; possibly one in southern California and one in Kentucky. Those at New Orleans and El Paso have both been completed and are now receiving prisoners. They are model institutions and should be used by the local authorities as examples of how a jail should be conducted.

In summarizing, the important factors in the inspection program are: first, a rigid jail inspection system has been established and regular inspections are made, the jails being graded and a rate paid to the local officials commensurate with the grade of the jail; second, suggestions for improvements are offered to the officials immediately in charge of the jails; third, local officials having a joint responsibility in the jails are notified of the existing conditions; United States marshals and judges are likewise informed and a list given them of jails approved by the Bureau; fourth, the cooperation of state agencies and organizations has been solicited and a system for the exchange of reports devised; fifth, every effort is made to select the best jails in each district; sixth, whenever possible, female prisoners are concentrated in jails where matrons are employed; seventh, when conditions warrant it, jails are condemned and federal prisoners removed; eighth, when actual improvements have been brought up to the standard required by this Bureau, the jails may be reinstated for the boarding of federal prisoners.

We have had splendid cooperation from many of the county

officials, and have met with some success in getting improvements made. No field has a more definite need for constructive direction and guidance. It is hoped that, as a result of these activities, the interest of local officials will become more acute, and that the operation of county jails will advance in line with modern penological ideas.

A PLAN FOR ESTABLISHING HEALTH DEPARTMENTS IN SMALLER INDUSTRIES

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IT IS now recognized that the development of health service in smaller plants is the primary problem of industrial health today. That the need for such service is frequently as urgent in them as in larger plants is shown by the fact that health examinations conducted among employes in smaller plants find less than 10 per cent of the workers to be free from physical defects, most of them of a correctable character. Furthermore, more than half of the industrial population of the United States (67 per cent) is employed in plants having less than 500 employes. While large-scale production attracts more attention than that in smaller plants, it is still the small plant which is the dominating factor in industrial life.

The fact that smaller plants have so infrequently undertaken the organization of medical departments points to the difficulty which confronts such plants because of their size. It is not easy for them to secure the limited amount of medical and nursing service of the quality which is necessary at a cost not out of proportion to that which larger plants pay for similar service. If they are to have satisfactory medical service, it can only be by some form of joint service among a number of these plants. The plan which I wish to present to you is for such a joint health service. It has been in use in Philadelphia since 1926. Thirty-one plants with nearly 10,000 employes have at different times been served on this plan.

This work, organized by the Philadelphia Health Council and Tuberculosis Committee, is in the nature of a demonstration whose final objective is to transfer the service, after it is thoroughly established, to the administration of the plants them-

selves. When considered as a demonstration there are five aspects to be mentioned: The plan itself, selling the plan, setting up the physical equipment, conducting the service for a demonstration period, and the transfer of service to administration of plants for permanent operation.

The plan is that of grouping a number of plants having from 100 to 500 employees into a single unit for joint health service. Each unit is to have approximately 1,000 employees. One industrial nurse, if her time is carefully scheduled and the plants reasonably near together, can successfully serve this number of employees and do the necessary travel between plants. One-half time of an industrial physician is also assigned to each unit, which is adequate for needed service and necessary travel. The amount of time devoted by physician and by nurse in an individual plant is determined by the number of employees in that plant.

Each plant sharing in the unit service agrees, first, to provide one or more first aid or clinic rooms at the plant, and, second, to pay monthly their pro rata share in the maintenance of the unit based on the average number of employees.

The service provided for each plant consists of the following: first, physical examinations, including examinations of all applicants for work before or shortly after employment, re-examination at intervals of employees having physical defects, and annual examinations of employees; second, medical and surgical relief, including emergency treatment of accidents and minor illnesses occurring at plant and follow-up of all compensable cases, advice as to the correction of defects found upon examination, follow-up of sick employees in their homes by nurse when necessary, and cooperation with family physician of sick, injured, or handicapped employees; third, instruction in first aid to sick and injured to selected individuals or groups in each plant; fourth, industrial hygiene and sanitation, including sanitary survey of plant annually, and sanitary supervision of plant including regular inspections; fifth, health education and hygienic instruction, including health talks to employees, health classes for wom-

en workers, posters and especially prepared leaflets, and motion pictures on health problems affecting industrial workers where suitable arrangements can be made.

The service is presented to the employer as a means of assisting in the decrease of absenteeism and of labor turnover, with consequent increases in production, through prevention of contagious diseases by detection, isolation, and vaccination; prevention of slight illnesses developing into serious sickness; diagnosis of early beginnings of serious types of illness, for example, tuberculosis, kidney disease, heart disease; advice to employer in placing of physically defective workmen at occupations where they can do efficient work; and investigation and advice regarding sanitation and any industrial health problems which may arise.

Regular visits each week are made to each plant by physician and nurse, each of whom gives a definite amount of service to each plant. A minimum of three hours per week of health work for each 100 employes is scheduled, that is, one hour of physician's service and two hours of nursing service for each 100 employes. The schedules of physicians and nurses provide for certain hours which may be used for redressings, examinations, record work, or special emergencies.

First aid workers are instructed in each plant how to handle accidents and illnesses in the absence of physician and nurse, pending attention by the physician, who is on call at all times.

Complete records of all work done in each plant are made by the nurse and kept under lock at the plant. Supervision of the service, both operating and medical, first aid instruction, and all necessary blanks and record forms are provided by the organization agency.

The cost to the plant includes the expenses of medical and nursing service, travel, and time lost in travel. This cost is placed at \$4.50 per employe per year. Plants participating also have the expense of equipping the clinic or first aid rooms, which amounts to \$100-\$400, depending on the size of the plant.

Subsequent equipment and supplies, laundry, etc., are paid directly by the plant.

Selling the service.—The value of having a very definite plan appears at once, as soon as the work of selling the plan to the employer is undertaken. This is the most difficult step in the organization of an industrial health unit. Many concerns do not see the need for health service and must be convinced of its money and good will value to them. When an employer is convinced of his need for health service, and has decided to provide it, it is easy to show him that a joint arrangement is the most economical method which he can follow. Selling industrial health service requires the difficult combination of a person fully informed regarding the value of various phases of industrial health work and also possessing skill in the psychology of salesmanship.

Personal interviews with employers has been the method used in Philadelphia, supplemented with occasional talks to employers' associations, service clubs, and other groups. A number of interviews may be necessary. In securing the first firms with a total of approximately 4,000 employees, upwards of 900 interviews, and reinterviews were required over a period of ten months. This seems a large amount of work for the results secured. But when it is remembered that each interview is an opportunity to discuss seriously the problem of health in industry with an employer of labor, the expenditure of time and money is held to be fully justified as an educational procedure.

Since the plan has actually been put in operation in numerous plants, it has been found that to have an interested employer visit a plant which has the service is the best argument which can be used with him. Since this work began, the Health Committee of the Chamber of Commerce has adopted the advancement of health service in smaller plants as its chief objective, and in the fall each year promotes an industrial health week for the stimulation of interest in this subject. This will, it is believed, aid very much in the work of securing demonstration plants.

When the plan is accepted, a letter stating the agreement and its terms is all that is required as a contract. The arrangement is always made for an indefinite period and can be terminated by either party on a thirty-day notice.

Setting up physical equipment.—The equipment of dispensary rooms in the plant at the employers' expense is a part of the plan. These rooms should be located where they are easily accessible to the employed force. But in many plants space is at so great a premium that there is little option as to the location. Whatever space is available has to be used; and the modifications necessary, such as partitions, painting, water and electric supply, have to be made so as to adapt it for clinic purposes. The arrangement which we have come to favor is a rectangular space approximately 12×20 divided into a large and a small room by a partition cutting it partly in two, as in a capital E.

A list of equipment and of supplies needed, with costs and discounts, is furnished to the firm which orders the material. When it is delivered, it is checked and properly placed in the dispensary by the organizing agency. A part of the equipment consists of bulletin boards throughout the plant, upon which educational matter and notices regarding clinic service, hours, etc., may be placed.

Conducting the service for a demonstration period.—In describing the administration of a health unit, the following should be mentioned: The schedules, the inauguration of the work, its day-by-day operation, the work of the nurse, and the educational activities.

The administration begins with making out a schedule of physician's and nurse's visits to plants. This schedule involves countless details, since the visits of physician and nurse must be made to coincide, must be properly spaced throughout the week, allow adequate time for travel between plants, taking into consideration the location and street car lines, and provide for each plant the amount of medical and nursing service which its number of employes calls for. For purposes of this schedule the average number of employes at each plant is used. If there is a sig-

nificant change in the average number of employes, the amount of time is altered accordingly. In practice it has been found necessary to increase the amount of time spent in the plant by special visits for health examinations, redressings, or report work. To provide for these special visits, Wednesday and Saturday forenoons of the nurse's time are left free. Notices of the scheduled hours of physician and nurse are posted throughout the plant.

The actual administration is usually preceded by a meeting of employes by departments, in which the purposes of the new health service, the necessity for reporting all injuries, however trivial, to the clinic, and the value of health examinations are explained and emphasized. The organization of a first aid group to serve in case of need during the absence of physician or nurse is also announced.

Clinic work begins with the health examinations of employes. As rapidly as possible, examinations are made of all workers. The health examinations are not compulsory; but by beginning with the members of the firm and the foremen, a spirit of co-operation is secured, so that ordinarily all of the employes wish examination. A sanitary survey is also made early in the work, and this report transmitted to the employer. Thereafter monthly sanitary inspections are made. The first health examinations and the sanitary survey enable the physician and nurse to become familiar with the employed force and with the health problems of the plant.

The day-by-day work of the clinic follows the procedure of any industrial clinic, excepting that it is part time work. A system of blanks for reference of employes to the clinic, for physical examinations and for treatment, for reference to personal physician or clinic, and nurse's day sheets are put into use. All records of work done are kept in the clinic. A card index of cases requiring follow-up is in constant use. First aid workers report all activities to the clinic; monthly reports of the clinic activities are made to the operating agency, which makes

monthly reports to the firms, including the number of patients visiting the clinic departments and the reason for the visit.

It should be pointed out that the nurse in the units tends to become the key to the permanent success of the service even more than does the physician. She must assemble the cases needing the physician's attention so as to utilize his time in the plant to advantage. Her schedule of visits places her in the plant prior to the doctor's arrival, so that she may do this. The doctor relies upon her for the first handling of many matters which he reviews when he reaches the clinic, definite instructions having been formulated regarding various situations which she will meet. It is evident from this that the industrial nurse in a unit must have administrative ability. When to this is added a good personality, she becomes the essential factor in maintaining the service. Her better acquaintance with the employes and with the firm renders her indispensable and makes it possible later on to transfer the unit to the administration of the plants themselves, provided her services are also transferred.

The cooperation of members of the firm, and particularly of the foremen and forewomen, is essential to the successful administration of this service. In order to secure this, special meetings of these persons are held for conference and mutual information. To supplement the educational aspects of the unit, a monthly health poster service is maintained, motion pictures occasionally are shown, and health classes of women workers have sometimes been organized.

The transfer of the service to the administration of the plants.— Since the health service carried on by the Philadelphia Health Council is in the nature of a demonstration of the practicability of joint health service among smaller plants, the work is not completed, so far as the organizing agency is concerned, until it has been transferred. When integrated into the plant routine, and well established, it is finally turned over with a physician and the nurse to the administration of the plants themselves. The experience during the demonstration period

has enabled the clinic staff to become familiar with the health needs of the plant, and the amount of medical and nursing service which is permanently needed can be definitely determined. This may not be the amount originally scheduled. When the service is turned over, therefore, the final schedules are adapted to the actual requirements of each plant. The cost depends upon this schedule but does not differ greatly from the amount paid during the demonstration period.

Upon the transfer, each plant agrees to cooperate and to use its part of the joint schedule of medical and nursing work at its proportionate cost. A definite memorandum is made of the time to be spent in each plant by physician and nurse, the amount of salary to be paid to each of these workers, and the proportion which is each plant's share of the total salaries. This memorandum is given to each plant. An understanding is also reached that any one of the plants may call the physician or nurse from the other plants in case of an emergency.

The nurse is relied upon to see that the unit is kept together after transfer and she is able to do this since she is the same nurse who has previously served in these plants and knows the situation and the personnel of employer and employees. If nurses are employed at the beginning who have administrative ability and who look forward to having a unit of their own, little difficulty is experienced in continuing under the plants' administration.

There has so far been no break-up of any unit turned over, although adjustments have had to be made. The oldest of the units has now been in operation for five years. The organizing agency holds itself ready to step in and make necessary adjustments, and during the first year after the transfer makes an occasional check-up of the work and reports to the plants. After one year of successful operation of a unit, the demonstration agency considers that its work has been finished and divorces itself entirely from the group.

It is felt that this turning adrift of the units is hardly satisfactory, and the plan is in mind of organizing an Association of

Industrial Clinics by means of which contact may be maintained among the physicians, nurses, and the organizing agency.

A summary of the work up to the present time in Philadelphia as to plants and employees is as follows: number of plants served, 31, with 9,218 employees; discontinued before completion of demonstration, 9, with 895 employees; transferred to own administration and continuing independently for a year or more, 14, with 6,195 employees; demonstration now being made in 8 plants, with 2,128 employees.

The total expenditures of the service over a five-year period are interesting. The amount paid by plants during the demonstration period was \$51,034. Since the plants assumed the administration of the service, they have expended \$53,155. Thus the total expenditures by firms has been \$104,189. These figures do not include the costs of clinic equipment and of supplies required. To secure this expenditure the organizing agency has paid from its own funds \$39,225.

The effects of the present depression upon the service have not been so great as was anticipated. This is perhaps because the plants secured were those in a strong financial condition. Many were food manufacturing concerns where, of course, production has continued. The chief effect has been the impossibility of securing new plants with a consequent continuance of the demonstration period longer than would otherwise be the case in the plants now being served. Some plants, however, where the service had become independent have gone out of business, and two plants in which the demonstration is now being made have reduced the amount of service during the past year. Two demonstration plants have discontinued the work. On the whole, the economic stress of the times has indicated that the health service in most plants has been thoroughly integrated as a necessary part of their operation.

There are certain relationships of this service to other agencies which should be mentioned. First is the relationship to the private physician. The work of the units confines itself to the treatment of sickness and injuries only as long as the condition

is not sufficiently serious to take the employe from his job. When an illness or accident is of such a serious character that the employe must stop work, he is referred to his personal physician or to a hospital, the reference being made directly by telephone or letter.

If, upon health examinations, defects are found which are correctable, the employe is referred to his physician, the clinic, a hospital, an oculist, or dentist, as the case may be. The employe remains under the private physician or hospital until he returns to work. If redressings are made after the employe returns to the plant, they are done by the plant physician to save the employe's time; and a charge is made to the insurance carrier which is credited on the payment by the plant for the service.

Recently the character of the service in its relation to the medical profession was considered by the Philadelphia County Medical Society. Their committee reported that in its judgment the service was of a proper character, that the motives of the Health Council were altruistic, and that the concerted efforts being made (throughout the country) to conserve human life and health mark a great advance in American efficiency and humanitarianism.

A second relationship, that of industrial units to insurance carriers, is an important consideration. The charge for compensation insurance coverage is determined by rates fixed by the State Rating Bureau, based upon the accident experience over a period of five years. The insurance carrier is much interested in lowering the accident rate, in order to make the insurance costs to the firm as low as possible. Otherwise, the standing of the carrier would be lowered and the amount of business secured would decrease. The service provided by the health units is therefore approved by insurance carriers, since it tends to reduce the accident rate.

The health unit also enables the insurance carrier to care for certain compensable accidents at less time-loss expense to the plant than where the carrier does this in its own dispensary. Minor accidents are easily handled by the unit physician, and

the time which the worker loses is greatly reduced, the charge to the insurance carrier being a minimum one. Where injured workmen are obliged to be sent to the carrier dispensary or to a hospital for first treatments, frequently redressings need to be made over a considerable period of time after they return to work. These are made by the unit at a minimum cost, and the loss of time of the employe in going to the outside agency is saved to the employer.

A third relationship is that to labor. The attitude of organized labor to the service has been uniformly friendly. The examinations made are not for the purpose of excluding handicapped workers from employment. But when handicaps occur, recommendations are made regarding the kind of work which can be done with safety to the employe and to his fellow workers. This, together with the further fact that the records of the service are kept confidential, removes any objections which the interests of labor might have.

The plan described is not considered the only way in which a small plant may have health service or in which a joint service may be organized. It is only one way—one which has proved reasonably successful. Various modifications are possible. One which has been suggested is the use of the Visiting Nurse Society for the nursing service in a set-up similar to this. This might have advantages from a public health point of view, but certain practical considerations have so far prevented us from adopting it in our pioneer efforts.

Dr. Haven Emerson, in his report of the Hospital and Health Survey of Philadelphia, characterized the service as

a unique type of combined medical, diagnostic and sanitary service available on a contractual basis for the convenience of small shop and plant groups, as a means of demonstrating the need of medical examinations to detect pulmonary tuberculosis, and other preventable diseases related to the character and conditions of employment. . . . It appears that this service is of great value in safeguarding the health of the employes, particularly in pointing out unnoticed defects or incipient cases of serious illness and in arranging for more suitable work for employes with any special predisposing conditions of illnesses.

HIDDEN PROBLEMS IN HARD TIMES

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AT A time like the present, when every commercial and industrial concern is analyzing expense more closely than ever and searching for hidden cost factors, it is not surprising that there has been a marked revival of interest in those costs, borne by industry, due to syphilis and gonorrhea.

To many members of this audience it may be surprising to learn that both syphilis and gonococcal infections rank among the "Big Six" of infectious diseases. Studies by the American Social Hygiene Association and the United States Public Health Service in 25 millions of the population indicate that almost 1 per cent of the people of this country are constantly under medical care for syphilis or gonococcal infections. It is well known that this represents but the minimum number of existing cases. There are, in addition, other hundreds of thousands who resort to quacks and druggists, and still others who receive no medical treatment whatever.

For the first time in the five centuries or more of the history of syphilis there is, in our generation, the means of its control by medical methods. We can diagnose it accurately; we can treat it effectively; we can quickly render patients non-infectious; and we can cure those who come to us early and who persist in treatment. Health officials, local and state, have been provided in most places with ample authority to deal with syphilis as a communicable disease. Our methods and means of dealing with gonorrhea are perhaps less effective, but they are certainly worthy of attention and application. Were our present knowledge of syphilis generally and effectively applied, this disease could be conquered in one generation. The effect upon the

mortality rate would be spectacular, for syphilis is hidden in mortality statistics in a manner which tends to make the public unaware of its importance. When we recognize the toll of syphilis in such conditions as angina pectoris, apoplexy, Bright's disease, epilepsy, encephalitis, meningitis, cirrhosis, congenital debility, icterus, sclerema, organic diseases of the heart, diseases of the arteries and of other vital organs, and add to them specified manifestations of syphilis, such as, general paralysis of the insane, tabes dorsalis, this disease ranks, as Osler said, "with the greatest killers."

Unlike certain other principal causes of death, such as cancer, syphilis mortality is preventable. About 15 per cent of organic heart disease and about 11 per cent of new admissions to mental hospitals are due to syphilis, and yet both of these conditions are preventable or controllable by early and thorough treatment. Similarly, syphilis of other vital organs, such as cirrhosis, meningitis, and syphilitic aortitis, is preventable by early treatment, while all of the manifestations of congenital syphilis are preventable through the treatment of syphilis in pregnancy.

During and following the World War, much was accomplished by the United States Public Health Service and the American Social Hygiene Association through application in industrial communities of those principles of preventing and controlling syphilis and gonorrhea which had proved valuable in the army and the navy. More than 50,000 industrial and business concerns throughout the United States were drawn into these activities in cooperation with official and voluntary health agencies. Representatives of more than nine hundred railway companies were brought together in two conferences. Seven hundred thousand pamphlets and other thousands of posters were distributed. In addition, many industries on their own account reproduced and distributed these and other materials suggested to them by the United States Public Health Service and the American Social Hygiene Association. Clinics and other facilities for the treatment of venereal diseases were established in many industries for the first time, and more attention than ever

before was given to syphilis and gonorrhea and their prevention as important industrial risks and hazards. Much of this valuable work has been continued, and new facts have been added to our knowledge of venereal diseases in industrial and community life.

Reference has already been made to the prevalence of syphilis and gonococcal infections in the general population. Other studies have been made of selected industrial groups which indicate that syphilis especially is a very heavy and serious burden. A group of railroad employes were 11.7 per cent syphilitic; barbers, 12 per cent; milk handlers, 4 per cent; food handlers and drivers of public conveyances, 3.7 per cent.¹

Studies of a large number of cases of syphilis and gonorrhea, and the age at first onset of the disease, indicate that the peak age for both infections, and for both sexes, comes in the twenty to twenty-four year age group. And over 70 per cent of all cases come during the most productive period of adult life—between twenty and forty years of age. This age group in the population constitutes only slightly over 30 per cent.

A few cases may be cited to illustrate ways in which these infections, syphilis especially, are sources of industrial as well as community loss:

¹ Syphilis among industrial groups:

	Number Examined	Per Cent Syphilitic
Stokes and Brehmer (Mayo Clinic):		
Railroad employees	128	11.7
Laborers	243	6.1
Merchants, tradesmen	236	3.2
Farmers	536	1.4
Oklahoma (State Health Department Examination):		
Barbers		12.0
San Francisco (City Health Department):		
Milk handlers	700	4.0
Seattle (City Health Department):		
Food handlers, and drivers of public conveyances	26,408	3.7

A locomotive engineer was given 90 days for his responsibility in a wreck. He explained that one of his "spells" had come on him and he had run by a siding. Examinations showed the presence of general paralysis.

An iron worker fell and broke the long bone of one leg. While an X-ray showed a clean fracture, the bones failed to unite, and one year later the iron worker was still incapacitated. Meantime the insurance carrier had paid one year's compensation besides medical service and hospital bills and yet the case report stated: "The chances are very much against his ever recovering sufficiently to work." Consequently the compensation will continue indefinitely. The failure of this fracture to unite was attributed to syphilis.

The relief department of a railway company requested medical examinations of 300 employees whose cases were characterized by delayed convalescence and prolonged disability. Syphilis was found in 35, or about 12 per cent, of the cases. Commenting on this finding, the physician in charge said that the total amount of time lost for these 35 employees up to the time of examination was 13,946 days. The cost to the company in relief and compensation was \$48,711.

A medical investigation in a great industrial concern in which personnel efficiency had dropped below expectations indicated that one employee in every ten had syphilis or gonorrhea; that 68 per cent of the non-effective employees were on the sick list because of one of these diseases; that every person who had syphilis or gonorrhea lost, on an average, three times as many hours from work as persons not infected; and that each person with syphilis or gonorrhea was paying out, on the average, \$75 per year for such treatment as was being received, a total of \$50,000, with a loss of time greatly exceeding in money values of this amount. This survey convinced the officials that it would repay them to take steps to remedy the situation. They asked for cooperation in the establishment of clinics where employees could be treated adequately and assistance in dealing with bad environmental conditions. In a comparatively short time the

cost of all medical and social measures was offset by increased productions.

A West Virginian manufacturing concern, acting on the advice of a health worker, installed a clinic for the free treatment of syphilis and gonorrhea at a cost of between \$5,000 and \$6,000 for the first year. The president of the firm reported that as a result of the work of this clinic labor efficiency was improved about 33 per cent.

The cases cited could be multiplied many fold, and indicate that costs to industrial and commercial concerns due to syphilis and gonorrhea, though not always on the surface, are not only heavy but preventable.

In addition to the fairly obvious costs just mentioned, there are others which are less conspicuous: inefficiency of workers who still hold their jobs in spite of an acute gonorrhea; cost of replacing temporarily or permanently workmen who drop out because of one or other of these prevalent diseases; damages to property due to impaired sense organs or defective judgment attributable to syphilis; last, but by no means least, taxes for the construction and maintenance of institutions for the care of the victims of syphilis and gonorrhea. That these latter costs are high may be indicated by the following facts:

In a period of five years 113 patients suffering from neurosyphilis were admitted from one city to one state mental hospital. Of these, 58 have died and 29 are still in the hospital. The cost to the state was \$131,300. Bear in mind that syphilis is preventable and that early adequate treatment would have cost less than one-tenth of the expense already incurred and would have saved more than \$100,000, to say nothing of the suffering and loss of economic efficiency.

To take another example, a city in the course of six years sent 146 children, blind from gonococcal infections, to one school for the blind, at a cost to the state of \$109,500. This is a shocking figure in view of the fact that gonococcal ophthalmia in newborn children is preventable by simple medical procedure.

It is estimated that about \$15,000,000 a year are spent on

out-patient treatment of the venereal diseases; that the marine hospitals of the United States spend about \$1,000,000 a year on the treatment of these diseases; that about \$11,270,000 a year are spent on the care of general paralysis of the insane and other forms of neurosyphilis in the mental hospitals of this country.

These items represent, to a large extent, the taxpayers' money. As the industrial and commercial enterprises of the nation contribute heavily to the taxes of our country, the cost of construction and maintenance of institutions for the medical and social care of syphilis and gonorrhea is a burden which rests with greatest weight upon them and is preventable. In addition, business leaders are everywhere the principal contributors to all sorts of voluntary hospitals and institutions which number among their beneficiaries many who need care due to syphilis or gonococcal infection. These costs are colossal but preventable, for the late disastrous effects of these diseases can be avoided by early and persistent treatment. The fact that the costs are hidden in the statistics of morbidity and mortality and in the budgets of hospitals and other eleemosynary institutions does not make them less real.

It has been estimated on a conservative basis that lost time due to syphilis and gonorrhea costs the wage earners of this country about \$84,000,000 a year. The cost of treating syphilis in private practice is about \$300 a year at the minimum, while in pay clinics the cost is at least one-half that amount. Further, it is estimated that 80 per cent of cases of syphilis cannot, even in normal times, afford private care, and that but 50 per cent can afford to pay the fees of a public clinic. This leaves at least 50 per cent of the cases of syphilis requiring in normal times free clinic care, or some form of subsidy.

In "hard times," with industry at the lowest ebb in many decades, the number who can afford private care and those who can afford pay clinic care are greatly decreased. As these patients are often referred for treatment to the free clinics, there is a proportionate increase in the demand for free clinic care.

That this is precisely what is happening in the United States

at the present time may be shown by the following figures: From Portland, Oregon, it is reported that new cases at the venereal diseases clinic were 14 per cent greater in 1930 than in 1928, and conversely there was a decrease of 16 per cent of cases in private practice from 1928 to 1930. The Clinic of the Illinois Social Hygiene League reports an increase in treatments from 1930 to 1931 of 44 per cent, but during this same period free treatments increased 192 per cent. Where in 1930, 37 per cent of treatments were free, in 1931, 74 per cent were free. Erie, Pennsylvania, reports, regarding the venereal diseases clinic of that city: "The number of patients have nearly doubled, but it is impossible to tell whether this is due to increased incidence of venereal diseases or because of lack of funds for treatment by private practitioners." The Kansas City General Hospital Clinic reports in 1931 a 19 per cent increase over 1930 in syphilis and gonorrhea patients. The Venereal Diseases Clinic of Los Angeles reports an increase in patients in 1931 of 25 per cent for males and 42 per cent for females. In West Virginia, 17 clinics reported an increase of 29 per cent in patients between July and December, 1931. Sixty upstate New York clinics reported that in 1931 there was an increase of 28 per cent in new patients with syphilis. The Gynecology Clinic of the Metropolitan Hospital in New York reports an increase of 50 per cent in patients in 1931. The Bellevue Hospital of New York reports an increase in 1931 of 35,000 visits for syphilis and gonorrhea, amounting to 61 per cent.

On the other hand, it is known that the number of patients attending pay clinics has decreased substantially, the amount being variously estimated at 40-60 per cent of the 1929 case load. It has not been possible to determine the decrease of the number of patients attending private practitioners for medical care of syphilis or gonorrhea, but it has been estimated at from 25 to 40 per cent.²

It is well known that many free clinics were already over-

² Unpublished paper by Dr. C. Gordon Heyd, delivered at the Regional Social Hygiene Conference in New York City, January 22, 1932.

crowded and understaffed in normal times. Their quarters were cramped, and their personnel hardly adequate for the medical care of their patients even on the basis of minimum standards. With the deepening of the depression and the vast increase of case loads, conditions in many clinics have become so intolerable that patients do not continue treatment. Often one visit to the clinic is sufficient to discourage a patient who may be suffering no actual pain, but who still may be highly infectious.

Syphilis patients not under medical control are liable to spread disease. The more uncontrolled infectious patients at large in the community, the greater are the risks of the infection's spreading among its citizens. The present situation, therefore, presents a real emergency; and unless urgent measures are taken, we shall surely have an increase in syphilis and gonorrhea.

But syphilis especially is a chronic disease. Contracted today, untreated tomorrow, it may kill or maim perhaps twenty or thirty years later. Until it is established in the body beyond the hope of cure, it is often a painless disease. It lies lurking in the tissues, hidden from all but the skilled physician, only to spring out upon the unsuspecting victim years later under the disguise of "heart disease," "paralysis," "liver trouble," "deafness," "blindness," or other popular name. Syphilis hidden away in hard times and untreated will exact the lives of men and women many years after the depression becomes history.

It is much less expensive, as well as more efficacious, to treat syphilis in its early stages. The great majority of early cases can be treated as out-patients at a cost of not more than \$1.00 per visit with treatment usually once a week. The hospitalization of cases of late syphilis over long periods of time may cost as much as \$4.00 per patient a day, and the result then may be highly unsatisfactory. The expense of hospitalizing cases of late syphilis may be shown by the following figures: Thirty patients suffering from late syphilis were given 1,236 days of hospital care during a period of three months at a cost of \$4,215, or about \$3.41 per patient day. The results were as follows: improved,

14; unimproved, 8; dead, 8. In a certain great hospital \$51,614 were spent for 33,735 days of bed care of late syphilis and complications of gonorrhea. At the same hospital's rate of cost for out-patient care of syphilis and gonorrhea this same amount would have provided 234,600 weeks of ambulatory treatment for early cases. In another hospital, bed care of late syphilis and of gonorrhea cost \$24.50 per week, while the ambulatory care of early syphilis or gonorrhea cost \$0.85 per week. This contrast is characteristic and can be duplicated in hundreds of hospitals and clinics. It is obvious that if we are determined to avoid these hidden costs which are being piled up, a huge mortgage against the future, facilities must be provided as an emergency for the care of those who, in this period of economic stagnation, are unable to pay for medical care.

Today's situation presents a vicious circle of hidden cause and effect. Syphilis and gonorrhea are expensive to industry and commerce. They constitute a heavy burden in expensive inefficiency, in compensation charges, in cost of accidents to persons or property, and in taxes. With the communities' industrial leaders struggling to make earnings balance cost, syphilis and gonorrhea are among the factors which drive industries "into the red." Being in the red, they curtail or discontinue operation and add thereby to the ranks of those who are not economically self-sustaining and who are unable to pay for medical care. Those who have syphilis may be referred to the free clinics, which are already crowded beyond their modest capacities and which are too often unable to hold patients long enough even to render them non-infectious. Infectious patients inevitably increase the number of infections, and these in turn under present conditions remain untreated in a serious proportion of cases. Later these patients, and many of those whom they have infected will be numbered among the inefficient employes, the victims or causes of accidents, and the compensation cases. Still later they will occupy hospital beds for many months at \$4.00 per day and contribute substantially to the burden of taxes which productive industry in the last analysis has to bear.

This vicious circle can be broken and the hidden costs avoided if industrial leaders will support medical and health workers in their efforts to meet the emergency that exists and follow an aggressive line of action against syphilis and gonococcal infection, applying the scientific methods in hard times even more earnestly than in times of prosperity.

If we would make sure that economic distress does not result in an increase in syphilis and gonorrhea, with their great though hidden cost, we must make certain that ample facilities are provided for the treatment of those infected persons who are unable to pay for private care. Let no social or health worker be complaisant about this challenge until he has looked into the situation in his own community and ascertained that these facilities are adequate. Such an inquiry will bring startling revelations to many of you.

The important contributing factors also demand attention. Ignorance of the simple factors regarding these diseases leads to exposure to infection, failure to employ early preventive measures, and neglect of early symptoms of disease, and consequently failure to secure treatment at the most strategic time. In hard times idleness and the heightened activities of the promoters of prostitution favor an increase in promiscuity. In addition to providing facilities for the treatment of existing cases, popular health instruction and persistent vigilance against the breakdown of social protective activities and agencies are of prime importance.

The hidden costs of syphilis and gonorrhea in hard times will assuredly be increased and will be felt over many future years unless today's emergency need for treatment facilities are met. The cost of neglect of this urgent need may be hidden in industrial inefficiency, in labor turnover, compensation charges, accident expenses, and taxes. The costs in lives are usually hidden in the mortality statistics. These costs are none the less real, and they reach a staggering total. But syphilis and gonorrhea are preventable and curable, and the burden which they lay upon the productive enterprises of the community can be radi-

cally decreased by the application of well established methods of social hygiene.

It is the social and health worker, whether engaged in industrial or community activities, who has the best opportunity to see the problems and the disasters due to syphilis and gonorrhea. The first step in solving the problems and in preventing the disasters is to uncover the hidden facts so that business and industrial leaders, local and state officials, and the general public may see and understand them. With the facts of syphilis and gonorrhea no longer hidden, it is possible to chart a course which should include instruction to the public regarding the prevalence, the dangers, and the means of preventing these diseases; provision of adequate treatment facilities embracing both medical and social care; development of effective public health control measures; repression of quackery and the exploitation of the sick; amelioration of environmental conditions, such as prostitution, which encourage exposure to infection.

Such measures have been found effective and represent, after all, only the application of well established principles of communicable disease control. They are recommended to those who wish to assist their communities to avoid hidden costs in these hard times.

TO WHAT SHALL WE HOLD FAST IN NUTRITION DURING PERIODS OF LOWER INCOME?

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WE HAVE reason to believe that proper nutrition is the most important single factor in the maintenance of good health. The appalling consequences to health resulting from a shortage, especially of certain protective foods which were evident in some of the European countries in the later periods and after the World War, may not become apparent immediately in our present financial crisis. There will probably be relatively few fully developed cases of the deficiency diseases—scurvy, pellagra, beriberi, and xerophthalmia. However, some of the results of an unsatisfactory dietary régime are likely to be overlooked in their early stages. Among these are indigestion, constipation, nervous disorders, retarded growth, malformed teeth, poorly shaped bones, lowered resistance to disease, and premature aging. These results of the insidious undermining of health may have a lasting effect on the health of our nation, and must be recognized and avoided.

It behooves us therefore in this present situation, when economy has become the watchword of the times, to apply the pruning shears with discrimination. In a widely quoted article on emergency nutrition prepared for the American Child Health Association in cooperation with the work of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, Professor H. C. Sherman points the way. He says, "The guiding principle should be to provide those nutritional essentials of which a shortage tends to permanent injury and to do this (while necessary), even at the cost of a sacrifice of other features of the dietary which are normally desirable, but not absolutely essential."

Let us then consider those nutritional essentials of an ade-

quate diet. The body is an active working machine and must be supplied with fuel. Numerous investigators, both in this country and abroad, have determined with reasonable accuracy what are the energy needs of individuals of various ages and sizes engaged in different activities. Edith Hawley,¹ of the Bureau of Home Economics in Washington, has studied the five energy scales that have been widely used in the United States, and as a result has proposed a new scale for calculating the fuel needs of the family. The committee on the Chicago Standard Budget recently revised its energy standards, basing them largely on Miss Hawley's new scale. They have, however, adopted, especially for the adolescent boy and girl, somewhat more generous allowances to provide a larger margin of safety.

The standards generally accepted for the protein needs of the body are based upon a statistical study by H. C. Sherman² of 109 metabolism experiments upon normal adults reported in the literature. A summary of the findings indicated a minimum requirement of 44 grams of protein for a 70 kilogram man per day. To this minimum Sherman suggests an addition of 50 per cent to allow for a reasonable margin of safety or an allowance of approximately one gram of protein per kilogram of body weight. In practice, however, with increased activity, and therefore increased total food consumption, there is ordinarily a proportionate increase in actual protein consumption. Upon this is based the allowance of a sufficient amount of protein in the diet to furnish from 10 to 15 per cent of the total energy value of the diet.

Numerous feeding experiments with rats, notably those of Osborne and Mendel, of Yale University, have indicated that not all proteins are of equal value. Some proteins are deficient or even entirely lacking in certain amino acids that are essential to the building of body protein tissues. It is important there-

¹ E. Hawley, *Dietary Scales and Standards for Measuring a Family's Dietary Scale*, Technical Bulletin No. 8, U.S. Department of Agriculture (1927).

² H. C. Sherman, "Protein Requirement of Maintenance in Man and the Nutritive Efficiency of Bread Protein," *Journal of Biological Chemistry*, **XLI** (1920), 97-109.

fore, particularly during the period of growth, that all the amino acids necessary for growth be available. We must make certain that the diet contains proteins of high biological value. The proteins of milk and its products, of eggs, and of meat are of special value in this respect.

Sherman³ made reviews, similar to his protein study, of the calcium and phosphorus metabolism experiments that were available; and on the basis of these studies proposed 0.67 grams

TABLE I
ENERGY ALLOWANCES AT DIFFERENT AGES, EXPRESSED IN
CALORIES PER DAY, ADOPTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON
THE CHICAGO STANDARD BUDGET (APRIL, 1932)

<i>Individual</i>	<i>Calories per Day</i>
Man at light work.....	2,500-3,000
Man at moderately hard muscular work.....	3,000-3,500
Man at hard muscular work.....	3,500-4,000
Woman at light work.....	2,200-2,600
Woman at moderately hard muscular work.....	2,500-2,800
Woman at hard muscular work.....	2,800-3,000
Boy 15-18 years.....	3,000-3,700
Girl 15-18 years.....	2,700-3,000
Child 12-14 years.....	2,500-2,900
Child 9-11 years.....	2,000-2,400
Child 5-8 years.....	1,600-1,900
Child 2-4 years.....	1,200-1,500
Child under 2 years.....	900-1,200

of calcium and 1.32 grams of phosphorus per man per day as the standard requirements for these minerals. Both allow a 50 per cent increase over the minimum requirements for these elements. Sherman and Hawley⁴ a few years ago published the findings of a very extended experimental study of the calcium and phosphorus metabolism of twelve children from three to thirteen years of age. The calcium in the diet was fed at different levels by varying the amount of milk in order to determine

³ H. C. Sherman, "Phosphorus Requirement of Maintenance in Man," *Journal of Biological Chemistry*, XLI (1920), 173-79; *idem*, "Calcium Requirement of Maintenance in Man," *ibid.*, XLIV (1920), 21-27.

⁴ H. C. Sherman and E. Hawley, "Calcium and Phosphorus Metabolism in Childhood," *Journal of Biological Chemistry*, LIII (1922), 375-99.

the amount of calcium which would induce optimum storage of this element. As a result of this piece of work they suggest one gram of calcium and one gram of phosphorus per day for the growing child. The study further shows that the source of calcium is a factor in utilization. A more favorable balance was attained when each child received one quart of milk per day. Optimum storage did not occur when half the calcium was furnished by vegetables. The calcium from milk is more readily and more completely utilized than calcium from vegetables and fruits. To take care of the increased demand for calcium during gestation and lactation, it is advisable also during this period, which is so important to the future of both the mother and the infant, to increase the mother's allowance of calcium to one gram per day.

The data upon which to base the iron requirement of both adults and children are exceedingly meager. Sherman⁵ suggests a daily allowance of 15 milligrams per day for the adult. Pregnancy and lactation doubtlessly increase the iron requirements of the mother. To provide for this he advises an additional allowance of 3 milligrams of iron per day. The standard suggested for children by Mary Swartz Rose⁶ is 5 milligrams for every 1,000 calories provided by the diet.

Though it is not, as yet, possible to express the requirements of iodine quantitatively, it is well to remember that this element is an important factor in preventing diseases of the thyroid gland, which functions as a regulator of basal energy metabolism. Sea foods have a relatively high iodine content; it is advisable to include these foods in the diet occasionally, especially in certain localities where, because of the low iodine content of the soil, locally grown products are low in this element and where for this reason diseases of the thyroid glands are prevalent.

⁵ H. C. Sherman, *The Chemistry of Food and Nutrition* (3d ed.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1926).

⁶ M. S. Rose, *Laboratory Handbook of Dietetics* (3d ed.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1930).

Research has established that normal nutrition requires another group of substances, the so called "vitamins." At least six vitamins are now recognized as essential to good health and nutrition. When vitamin A was first discovered simultaneously in 1913 by Osborne and Mendel and by McCollum and Davis, they found that rats fed on a diet lacking in this vitamin ceased to grow and developed an eye disease known as xerophthalmia. Because of these early findings, vitamin A is referred to frequently as the growth-promoting or anti-ophthalmic vitamin. More recently we have learned that a diet low in vitamin A causes a weakening of the body and increased susceptibility to bacterial infection, especially of the upper respiratory tract. Hence it may also be called the anti-infective vitamin. Cod liver oil, milk, egg yolk, and the green and yellow vegetables are the most important sources of this vitamin. Some fruits, as apricots, yellow peaches, bananas, oranges, and prunes, are also good sources. Recent work, notably that of Moore of Cambridge University, has established that certain yellow plant pigments have a definite relation to vitamin A and are readily converted into this vitamin in the animal body. Green or yellow vegetables are richer in this vitamin, or its precursor, than the corresponding white ones. The yellow rutabagas are richer in vitamin A than white turnips, and yellow corn is richer than white corn.

Vitamin B, the anti-beriberi vitamin, promotes normal growth by stimulating normal metabolic processes and maintains good appetite and digestion. It has another very important function, being essential to normal reproduction and lactation. A deficiency of vitamin B may result in sterility due to a cessation of the oestrus cycle and in impaired growth of the young due to a lowered vitamin B potency of the mother's milk. It is widely distributed in foods—yeast, whole-grain cereals, and egg yolk being the outstanding sources. Fruits and vegetables, some of the internal organs, and milk are good sources.

A lack of vitamin C in the diet causes scurvy. Retardation in growth and irritability in children may be due to insufficient

vitamin C in the diet. Dr. Percy Howe, of Boston, points out that vitamin C may be an important factor in tooth decay. The so called "growing pains" in children and rheumatism in adults are probably due to too little vitamin C. The citrus fruits and tomatoes, raw or canned, and raw cabbage furnish this vitamin in abundance; but other fresh fruits and vegetables—apples and bananas, carrots and turnips—are good sources.

Vitamin D is concerned with metabolism of calcium and phosphorus and helps to prevent rickets in children and is also important in preventing dental caries. Liver and egg yolk furnish liberal quantities. Cod liver oil is the best source. Milk is also a good source but is more variable and therefore cannot be relied upon to furnish the necessary amounts. Sunlight or artificial irradiation by ultra-violet light acting upon ergosterol, present in the skin, transforms this substance into vitamin D. Therefore, in the summer, sunshine is an economical source of vitamin D; but it must be remembered that it is not equivalent to cod liver oil, as this is also rich in vitamin A.

Vitamin E, which was discovered by Evans of the University of California, is essential to normal reproduction. It is evidently, however, required in such small amounts that it need not be specially emphasized. A diet which is adequate in other respects will also furnish sufficient vitamin E.

Vitamin G was termed the "anti-pellagric vitamin" by the late Doctor Goldberger and his associates. Some investigators are of the opinion that what is called vitamin G is not a single entity but a complex, consisting of at least two factors. What is now known as vitamin G is essential to normal growth and normal nutrition. A diet deficient in this vitamin may cause digestive troubles and skin lesions, a greater susceptibility to infections, and premature senility. Yeast, the glandular organs, eggs, and milk are excellent sources of this factor. Lean meats and green leafy vegetables are also good sources; but cereals which are rich in vitamin B, the anti-beriberi factor, are relatively poor in the vitamin G.

To provide adequate nutrition, the diet of a family must furnish enough carbohydrates, fats, and proteins to yield the standard energy needs of the various members of the family group. In interest of economy, we must make these the carriers of the other dietary essentials: first, sufficient proteins of good quality for growth and maintenance of body tissues; second, enough of the essential mineral elements; and third, enough of each of the necessary vitamins.

During the World War, when food saving and economy became necessary, Miss Lucy Gillett, of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, gave the following advice: Divide your money into fifths and spend one-fifth more or less for fruits and vegetables; one-fifth or more for milk and cheese; one-fifth or less for meat, fish, and eggs; one-fifth or more for bread and cereals; one-fifth or less for fats and sugars and other groceries.

This is still good advice. Many families on restricted incomes would live more economically, and at the same time eat more healthful food, if this plan were followed. If further retrenchment is necessary, this should not be effected by reducing the amount of milk in the diet. The expenditure for milk may well amount to one-third of the week's food budget, and somewhat more than one-fifth should be spent for fruits and vegetables. Cereals, the cheapest source of energy, if well chosen may also supply some of important minerals and vitamins and should not be reduced. The saving should take place in the other two groups of foods, namely, meat and fish, and, fats and sugar. Sherman has cogently stated this in a recent paper:

One can forego the flesh, fish and fowl and most of the sweetened and shortened products of the bakery and most of the miscellaneous foods bought in the grocery, if one gets enough milk in some form and of some fruit and vegetable to provide the absolutely essential minerals and vitamin and if to these foods enough breadstuffs be added to prevent actual weakness from hunger. Almost always the other foods are less economical in meeting these absolute nutritional needs.

A leaflet on *Emergency Food Relief and Child Health* prepared by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of

Labor and the Bureau of Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture, with the advice of E. H. McCollum, L. B. Mendel, and H. C. Sherman, the three outstanding investigators in the field of nutrition in this country, suggests another and more detailed outline for providing an adequate diet at minimum cost. It also suggests an apportioning of food when "emergency measures are necessary." It is to be hoped that this contingency of extreme want may be avoided, as such a program of underfeeding, if continued for long, would permanently impair health and growth.

A third helpful guide in the planning of a low cost dietary is found in the instructions for meal planning, which, with slight variations, are very generally being used.

GUIDE FOR MEAL PLANNING

EVERY DAY

Milk, a pint for every one; children should have more if possible

Bread and cereals, such as cornmeal, oatmeal, wheat cereals, rice

Oranges or canned tomatoes, especially for children

Potatoes

Another vegetable, fresh or canned. Two or three times a week this vegetable should be a green one such as spinach, cabbage, turnip tops, string beans.

TWO TO FOUR TIMES A WEEK

A fruit, dried or fresh

Dried beans or peas

Eggs, especially for children

Meat, fish, or cheese

No matter what scheme is followed in planning well balanced diets, milk is of paramount importance and should be given first consideration. It should never be omitted from the diet, no matter how limited the budget may be. The ideal allowance is a quart of milk for every child and for the pregnant and nursing mother. Everyone should have at least a pint of milk each day. If the price of fresh milk precludes its generous use in the diet, evaporated milk and sometimes dried milk may be substituted

at a lower cost. Evaporated milk diluted with an equal amount of water and reconstructed dried milk have the same food value as the more expensive fresh bottled milk.

Cereals and bread, of necessity, make up the bulk of a low cost dietary. They constitute our cheapest sources of energy. Some whole grain cereals, such as oatmeal, whole wheat cereal and brown rice, should be included, since they are particularly rich in vitamin B, in phosphorus and iron. Prepared cereals, because of their relatively high cost, have no place in a cheap meal. There is considerable saving, too, when cereals are purchased in bulk. If the local grocer does not stock these, he should be urged to do so.

Fruits and vegetables are the third essential group of foods. The citrus fruits head the list in importance and should be used generously when they are cheap. Fortunately, when this is not the case, tomato juice, either canned or fresh, may take their place in the diet as a valuable source of vitamin C. Only fruits in season should be chosen. Apples may be bought at a low price during most of the year. Bananas are often cheap and, when properly ripened, are an excellent food, even for children. The dried fruits, especially prunes, apricots, peaches, and black figs, should be used generously. They are cheap and an excellent source of iron.

Vegetables, along with fruits, deserve a prominent place in the diet. Potatoes should be used at least once a day or even more often in extremely low cost diets. Sweet potatoes are a good source of vitamin A and may be used in localities where they are cheap. In some regions they may often be purchased for less than the cost of ordinary potatoes. At least one other vegetable should be provided each day. As frequently as the budget allows, this should be a green leafy vegetable. Serve vegetables raw three or four times a week. In the cooking of vegetables, the nutritive value is inevitably decreased; and when eaten raw, this loss is avoided and all of the food value is saved. Certain precautions may be taken in the preparation of vegetables to decrease these losses in cooking. When vegetables

are cooked in water and the skins not removed, there is less loss of minerals and vitamins by solution. Also in baking, the destruction of vitamins by oxidation is decreased if they are not pared. If they are to be pared and then boiled, cut lengthwise and not across the fibers, as there is less loss of nutrients if prepared in this way. Cook vegetables in a small amount of water and, except in the case of those with strong juice, save the cooking water for gravies and soups. When they cost less, canned vegetables may replace the fresh ones in the diet. Eddy and Kohman⁷ have shown, by means of experimental tests with animals, that modern methods of commercial canning preserve most of the vitamins present in the original product. It is now well established that certain products, like carrots,⁸ canned at home, lose practically all of their original vitamin C value, and that others, such as tomatoes,⁹ lose a considerable portion of this vitamin even when they are cold packed and processed for only a short period. The vacuum process used in commercial canning is effective in preserving the vitamin from destruction by oxidation.

It is well to remember in buying meat that the cheap cuts are just as nutritious as the more expensive cuts. The expensive porterhouse steak contains no more iron than equivalent weight of chuck of beef. Pork liver is as high in iron as the much more expensive calf's liver. Dried beans and peas are rich in the muscle building proteins. Flavored with a little meat, they are very palatable and may be substituted for meat two or three times a week. Eggs too, when they are cheap, should be used in place of meat. Baked one-dish meals flavored with a small amount of meat, and stews combining meat and vegetables, are excellent

⁷ W. H. Eddy and E. F. Kohman, *et al.*, "Vitamins in Canned Foods," *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*, (I) XVI (1924), 52; (II) *ibid.*, p. 1261; (III) XVII (1925), 69; (IV) XVIII (1926), 85; (V) *ibid.*, p. 302; (VI) XX (1928), 202; (VII) XXI (1929), 347; (VIII) *ibid.*, p. 859.

⁸ A. Spohn and A. Hunter, "The Antiscorbutic Vitamin in Home-Canned Carrots," *Journal of Agricultural Research*, XLIII (1931), 1101.

⁹ A. Spohn, "The Antiscorbutic Vitamin in the Juice of Home-Canned Tomatoes," *ibid.*, p. 1109.

economy suggestions. In a recent number of *Zeitschrift für Ernährung* are given a week's menus for a German family of four living on from 1.7 to 2.0 marks per day. *Irlandisches Mischgenicht* and *Eintopfgericht von weissen Rüben, Hammelfleisch und Kartoffeln* are two of the economy suggestions in the week's menus.

Fats are important in the low cost dietary to retard digestion so that hunger may not become too apparent before the next meal. A diet in which the energy is supplied mainly by carbohydrates and protein foods would be exceedingly bulky, and some concentrated energy in the form of fat is advisable. If the diet contains sufficient whole milk and eggs, and green and yellow vegetables, butter is not essential and the less expensive margarine may be substituted. But even from the standpoint of its vitamin A and D content, we can no longer justify butter in the low cost diet. Fetter and Carlson¹⁰ and others have shown that animal margarines contain as much vitamin A as does butter and may be superior to butter in vitamin D potency.

Just how the standard requirements for good nutrition may best be provided is a problem which must be solved by each community. The money expenditure necessary will depend on market facilities, transportation, and local resources. The dietary habits of the people play an important part of course, in some cases serving as a help, in others complicating the problem. In Chicago at the present time, the standard weekly requirements with reasonable allowance for variety in the selection of food, may be purchased for children at a cost ranging from \$1.15 for the infant to \$1.85 for the adolescent boy, with an allowance of \$1.50 for the unemployed father of the family and \$1.40 for the mother. There are certain percentage additions for the small family with the smaller budgets, to make provisions for the disadvantage in purchasing food in small amounts. On the other hand, because of the advantage in buying in large quantities there is a small deduction made from the larger fami-

¹⁰ D. Fetter and A. J. Carlson, "The Vitamin A and D Content of Some Margarines," *American Journal of Physiology*, XCVI (1931), 257.

ly budgets. The cost per person ranges from 32 cents per day for an adult man living alone to 18 cents for the individual member of a family of twelve. For a family of five the total budgets for the week range from \$6.70 to \$8.15, the smaller amount being allotted to the family of five with young children and the large amount is required for the family with children of adolescent age. Each family receives a monthly ration of staples, the size of the ration depending on the number of persons in the family. The cost of this ration is, in all cases, less than one-third of the total food budget for the family, and for the larger families constitutes a much smaller proportion of the total budget. The ration gives the family the advantage of receiving some foods at wholesale prices. The family also receives a pint of fresh milk for each child under sixteen and an extra quart of milk for the mother during pregnancy and lactation and for the child under one year of age, not breast fed. Then there is issued a grocery order for the remainder of the allowance with which the housewife may purchase commodities listed in the order. This restricts her in her purchases to the less expensive foods in the market at the time. Meats are restricted to those that may be purchased at 15 cents a pound or less, fruits to 6 cents, green vegetables to 8 cents, and the root vegetables to 5 cents.

When food allowances are low, some supervision in the expenditure of the money is advisable if the family is to be adequately fed. Because this close supervision by the case worker is impossible in the present situation, the method of "partially controlled buying," which I have described, is at present being tried in Chicago. Other communities have undoubtedly attempted to solve the problem of adequate diets on reduced incomes in other ways. These are individual community problems, and no general rule can be applied.

In this connection, I should like to emphasize the need of education in the planning of meals and in the purchasing of foods. We know that adequate diets can be secured at relatively low cost, but with a limited food allowance there is need for increased knowledge of what constitutes an adequate diet and of

sound practices of economy in buying. Is this not the propitious time to teach the lessons that necessity forces upon us? There is every hope that a relatively small outlay for education will bring results—results that will be far more beneficial and permanent than the same outlay would bring in times of prosperity. In the stress of the present emergency we are forced to learn how to employ our limited resources with maximum effectiveness. Necessity has created a vital interest. This interest will guarantee returns from well directed educational projects.

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVED IN 100
PER CENT REGISTRATION IN SOCIAL SERVICE
EXCHANGE: FROM THE STANDPOINT OF HOS-
PITAL SOCIAL SERVICE

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DISCUSSION of the social service exchange from the point of view of hospital social service calls for recognition of some elements in our situation not common to non-medical social agencies. Coincident with the growth of hospital social service has come increased recognition by case workers generally of the significance of the client's sickness to his social problems.

We medical social workers undoubtedly have been in part responsible for this increasing consciousness by constant insistence on the relationship of sickness and social distress as we have steered through clinics patients under social care of non-medical case work agencies. In many cases the medical interpretation of the social situation has proved illuminating. Explanation of an obscure anemic blood condition that caused marked lassitude in a man who "did not look sick," or the early thyroid disease of an irritable woman, have made social workers recognize medical social implications of the client's condition.

In the pioneer social service departments, the social service exchange was recognized as an essential instrument for fostering interagency relationships, a starting point for joint service to patients. Registration at the exchange of all patients cared for by social service was a common practice. Non-medical agencies agreed that medical social service registration was a valuable index to follow in case investigation. The medical social interpretation became a familiar and valuable asset. But what has happened?

Formerly the 100 per cent registration of a social service department was assumed as evidence of 100 per cent case work responsibility for patients indexed. These were days when departments were under less pressure and when patients with only the more obvious social problems were under care. I believe that no social service department could now claim that it was assuming case work responsibility for all patients with whom it has contact. There may be protected units within a department where 100 per cent of all patients are referred for case study and treatment. Where such circumstances exist, the 100 per cent registration seems to me reasonable. But as years have gone by the social worker in the medical institution, especially in the dispensary, is increasingly called upon to give social review of patients for the purpose of discovery of those with social complications and to render minor personal services. While social judgments are exercised in these interviews, yet many of these contacts lead to no full case work responsibility. With explanation and advice, many patients can take full advantage of the medical service of the clinic; or the advice may be given to some member of the patient's family, where responsibility may properly rest. Thus discrimination, control of intake, of cases for full social case work responsibility has developed.

The social service exchange has become so necessary a tool in our interagency relationships that we social case workers tend to think of it in a possessive way. It has taken a lot of abuse from us. But it should be recognized as having an integrity of its own. We need to remind ourselves of what the creators and guardians have stated as the processes for its intelligent and discriminating use. Thus, if identification follows the inquiry, there should be three subsequent steps: follow-up of sources reported by the exchange, conference with other agencies interested in the client, and action based on knowledge of the facts so secured.

Also, it is implicit in our use of the exchange that when making an inquiry we give the most exact identifying data we can get. On the accuracy of these items of identification hinges the capacity of the index to serve its purpose. What obvious state-

ments these are! And yet it is in the neglect of these primary requirements for use of the index that we hospital social workers have often failed in our pursuit of the idea of 100 per cent registration.

In a medical history one usually finds a statement of the "presenting symptom" so called. We hospital social workers in our social interview watch for the presenting symptom of social difficulty. The social review of patients in a clinic is carried only far enough to assure the case worker that there is no major social difficulty in the way of the patient's carrying out the medical plan. Bulk of patients and pressure of time have entered into this situation. When we realize that a social worker may interview from ten to thirty patients each clinic period, it is clear that full social data for adequate registration cannot be secured. Nor are we justified in securing such data unless we can make clear to the patient why we need what may seem to him irrelevant to the immediate personal reason for his seeking medical care. When his physical need leads obviously into a social need, there is no difficulty in having him understand questions. No explanation is needed. But can such an interview be properly done in less than ten or fifteen minutes? I doubt it. If we should place that time period as the minimum for social interview for registration at the exchange, we would have a great reduction in inquiries, I believe.

In Edith McComb's article on "The Use of the Social Service Exchange," published last year,¹ we find that 85 social service departments were registering 100 per cent of their patients. Fifty departments were not. We have no evidence that the 50 departments that did not register 100 per cent were discriminating in selection. But I believe that, as bulk of cases increase, any routine procedure becomes mechanical and sterile of quality. There is a minimum of mental process in routine. Therein lies its value and its danger.

May I confess to an aversion to 100 per cent in anything. The

¹ *Hospital Social Service Magazine*, September, 1931.

implied perfection loses out when quality is more important than quantity. We hospital social workers, at least those in the big clinics and hospitals, see the tragedy of bigness, the danger of organization, overwhelming the individualization that we are striving to foster, as are case workers everywhere. As the number of patients referred to social service has increased, hospital social workers are struggling to get a discrimination in selection of those to be accepted for case work. We wish to encourage that discrimination.

In our inquiries concerning the use of the exchange, we found that a considerable number of the hospitals and dispensaries in which social service was functioning were registering 100 per cent of all the patients admitted. In 1927, 30 hospitals reported 100 per cent registration of all patients admitted to clinics; 51 registered 100 per cent of all patients admitted to the wards, free or part pay. One hospital reported all patients admitted to wards, all admitted to clinics, and all referred to the social service department. Thus, one patient might be registered three times from this hospital. This seems to have been the limit and reason for revolt of some of our group.

There are two points that I wish to make from the point of view of one in a hospital. We have not anywhere, so far as I know, an estimate of the total cost of registration. It has been stated that for the clerical staff in a hospital, the registration takes about 4 minutes and costs $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per case. This estimate does not include cost of the process in the exchange nor suggest cost of answering by the hospital social worker inquiry that may come from outside. Many of our group would like to testify to the weary hours they have spent in trying to make positive the identification of a routine inquiry from a social agency on a case not known to the social service department. In some of our departments the futility of handling such inquiries, with the meagerness of the medical records and little chance of getting the help of the doctor who examined the patient, has resulted in placing back on the hospital administra-

tion the answering of all letters concerning patients not known to the social service department. Thus, routine answers follow routine inquiries, and general futility results.

Some of us believe that clerical service that is now involved in registration of 100 per cent admissions might well be diverted to help physicians keep more accurate medical records and so secure data which would make possible more valuable answers to inquiries.

Another consideration is an ethical one. The 100 per cent registration of all clinic cases becomes a medical, not merely a social, registration. Thus the exchange extends its method of registration out of its distinctly social field into the realm of another profession that has traditions of its own, without recognizing the full implications of such a step. I believe that the tradition in medicine of protecting medical diagnoses is sound and wise. I regret any tendency to break this down unless we can be assured that the patient and the community is thus better served. I believe that the report of a diagnosis should not be given without a clear understanding of who wants such information, why it is wanted, and what use is to be made of it. And I do not believe that such reports can be handled by a clerical person. Medical and social interpretation are essential. Discrimination is essential. A defense has been set up in some hospitals by requiring from the inquiring agency accurate identifying data and a statement of the reason for request for information. Thus many inquiries are dropped.

When we become one of a group of social agencies that make use of the exchange, do we thereby assume obligation for exchange of information? When a medical institution opens all its records for registration, does it follow that all other agencies inquiring of the exchange shall have access to the information in the medical agency? Probably we would say "No." The law says "No" in many states. Then it must follow that back of all registration there must be a discriminating, responsible person who can accept the interagency relationship implied in registration, as well as the protection of medical information.

I maintain that in routine 100 per cent registration we are getting away from discrimination, away from a high grade of social responsibility. We need to get quality into our use of the exchange and not quantity. The measure of our thoughtful use of this important community resource is the measure of our appreciation of its value to our increasingly complex social service organization.

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVED IN 100
PER CENT REGISTRATION IN SOCIAL SERVICE
EXCHANGE: FROM THE STANDPOINT OF HOS-
PITAL SOCIAL SERVICE

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IN UNDERTAKING to discuss this question, I am not assuming the responsibility of a protagonist on the subject of 100 per cent registration, but rather that of a reporter of conditions existing as a result of such registration in a community which has supported the plan.

It should be remembered that in Cleveland there has been, for some twenty-five or thirty years, a strong drive for cooperation on a maximum scale, comprehensive as well as intensive. From 1909 on, the development of the use of the Social Service Clearing House, which was begun in that year, has reflected the urge of all social agencies and social workers that every case known to any agency giving service of any kind should be registered in the exchange. As out-patient departments of hospitals developed, and various types of social service organization gradually grew up within them, these out-patient departments accepted the traditional viewpoint of the community, and evidenced their willingness to be cooperative in the effort to prevent duplication and to provide information of value to others working with a common patient. Accordingly, without question, as each out-patient department opened, it registered its cases automatically. It made every effort to serve the patient and the community agency to the fullest measure possible in accordance with the principle that registration implies the use of a given registration as a source of information of a specialized sort. Later, about four years ago, an arrangement was made whereby the hospitals began to register their individual patients instead of just the family groups, as they had previously.

These individual registrations were available only to other hospitals, however, and not to the other agencies. It was hoped that by this method, further help in avoiding duplications in out-patient attendance would be available.

At this point, I should like to consider the result of this registration from the viewpoint of the social service department especially, but with some reference to that of the administration of the hospital as well. From the standpoint of the social service department, it is obvious that this assumption by the hospital of the responsibility to share information which is inherent in registration, must inevitably place the burden of that sharing upon the department whose function within the hospital is to interpret medical-social information to those having a right to it. If, then, the hospital in registering a case says to the social agencies, "We know this patient or some member of his family," the responsibility to interpret and to pass on that information falls naturally and logically upon the social worker in the hospital. Her problem at that point is twofold; first, to learn from the agency why the information is wanted, how it is to fit into the social picture the agency has, and what special factors need interpretation in order to be socially useful to the inquiring worker; second, to learn from the doctor just what interpretation is medically correct in the light of the social information given by the agency. She is then ready to evaluate the whole situation and compose a letter which shall embody a true interpretation of the whole matter. In a large family with many members known to the out-patient department, this may entail the scrutiny of a number of records and consultation with more than one doctor. If the hospital is one whose registered records go back a number of years, it is obvious that the bulk of such work falling upon the social service department is very considerable and is constantly increasing.

About two years ago, the group of social service department heads in the Cleveland hospitals, having become concerned about this excessive burden of correspondence, and feeling that a large share of it was of questionable value either because of

the age of the information or the inadequacy of the inquiry, had a study made of 165 letters of inquiry on new or reopened cases within a given period. These were letters sent to seven hospitals by thirteen social agencies. There is not time in this paper to discuss this report fully, but it is significant that in only 15 per cent of the inquiries was there given a full picture of the social situation, and in $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent the request was simply for medical and social information only. In the majority of instances, including some in which a full picture was given, there was only a blanket request for whatever information, medical or social, could be given. This group aggregated roughly 77 per cent of the whole. When only medical or social information was given, the medical information was not applicable in 53 per cent of the cases. In 59 per cent there was no interpretation whatever given and none attempted. From the comparison of various other percentages, it is apparent, to quote the report, that, "when the inquiring agency sees enough of the problem to state it clearly and to ask for definite information, the clearing is of value; when this is not the case . . . it is a waste of time for both agency and hospital." One other point in this connection is significant. There were 43 duplications in these inquiries, so that only 122 families were represented. Of these, 76 had been seen in the hospital within the year. Of the remaining 89, slightly more than half (39) had not been seen for from three to six years, and 12 had not been seen for from six to sixteen years. It also happened that there were no full social histories being carried on any of these families, and only 9 with minor service histories. One hundred and sixty-one had only that minimum of social data which is secured at admission, and 15 had none whatever.

From this study, it is clear that whatever bulk of such work is laid upon the hospital social worker, it is largely of a nature not within her primary function of social case work, and that, of the information given to the social agency, over half of it is wholly inadequate socially. It is evident then, from this study, that

the practical value of such registration from the social standpoint appears far less than the theoretical.

From the standpoint of the administration, the inference has been that 100 per cent medical registration has prevented duplication of attendance at clinics and has prevented improper use of the clinics by those who should not use them. When all the out-patient departments in Cleveland were small and the daily intake of the largest averaged 250 to 350 patients, there was naturally a greater opportunity to consult the sources disclosed by the Clearing House, and some progress was made in both these efforts. Even at that time, however, there was the almost universal tendency to accept registration as an end in itself rather than as a point of beginning an investigation. For example, the registration of a relief agency was often accepted by the hospital as evidence of the giving of relief, and the registration of another hospital as evidence that the particular patient applying had been treated at that hospital. This latter inference called for one of two actions if the patient were not to be accepted, either sending the patient himself back for a transfer in spite of his protest that he himself had never been there, or telephoning the hospital for further light on the subject. Since the first action was often unfair to the patient and the second impractical because of the time consumed, there was often a tendency to accept the patient in spite of such apparent duplication, except in special instances, when it became a time-consuming process for the social service workers of both hospitals. A really absurd illustration occurred recently when the worker from one hospital insisted that a previous registration should cause the return of a patient to the original hospital, in spite of the fact that she had been seen only once, and that that had been ten years ago, when she complained of sneezing. There are, of course, on the other hand, many instances in which this effort has been well repaid in preventing the duplication of expensive diagnostic services.

The extreme care in scrutinizing registrations and following

them up, which is necessary in order to prevent duplication with any major degree of success, has fluctuated in accordance with the point of view of the hospitals. In instances where doctors and administrators have wished to build up clinics from the standpoint of numbers, the initiative has come from the original hospital, when the Clearing House reported that another hospital had accepted the patient. In instances where hospitals, for one reason or another, wished to limit their intake, the initiative has come from the hospital to which the patient is applying, in an effort to have him return to the original hospital. The completeness with which either effort has been followed out has depended, of course, on the amount of time that could be given to the routine necessary.

The fact that after some ten years of 100 per cent registration, Clearing House reports on given patients still carry registrations from several hospitals, and numerous instances still occur of simultaneous treatment of a patient in more than one out-patient department, is leading some of the administrators of the Cleveland hospitals to challenge the validity of the theoretical value in the light of practical utility.

This challenge has come too recently for me to be able to give you any such concrete facts as were available regarding the letters of inquiry, but in one hospital (not an out-patient department) a two weeks' scrutiny of the use made of registrations disclosed that only 75 out of 600 were used at all, and in 37 of these 75 instances, the clearing had to be secured by telephone in order to get it more quickly.

Some two years ago it was found that the subsequent notifications of social agencies interested in registered patients was so great that the clerical force in most of the hospitals was unable to keep up with the recording of them. At that time, then, that part of the 100 per cent registration was dropped, with the result that all but one or two of the hospitals received notification only of other hospitals' contact. However, the social agencies continued to receive notification of subsequent registrations of

hospitals. The result is clear—a constantly increasing potentiality of letters of inquiry, with no relief from the necessity for special clearings, if the interest of other social agencies were to be known. Against the value which still accrues to these hospitals with small intake who can keep up with the recording of clearings and thus terminate the treatment of patients formerly known elsewhere, there must be pointed out the cost of the system as it now stands.

In 1931, there were 52,894 registrations by hospitals, exclusive of those registered as known to the hospital social service departments. If this is multiplied by \$0.07 $\frac{1}{2}$, the individual registration cost to the Clearing House alone, the amount is \$3,967.

A wholly unofficial and tentative, but a conservative, estimate of the expense of clerical work in six of the eight hospitals included above, amounts to an aggregate of \$5,950. These two items alone approximate \$10,000 without the great cost to the social service department in the matter of extra correspondence, which, so far, no one has attempted to estimate but which should certainly be included here.

It is apparent to those of us in the hospital social field in Cleveland that the continued acceptance of a traditional value, justifiable though it may be from a theoretical standpoint, must be contingent upon some definite proof of its pragmatic value. Two possibilities face us: a study which would be fairly expensive both in time and money, and an experimental period of cessation of that degree of 100 per cent registration which still maintains with the substitution of a plan of selective registration. Such a period would, of course, be valuable for comparative purposes when circumstances allow a detailed study to be made.

To recapitulate: first, Cleveland's present registration policy is based on a traditional point of view; second, practice has shown that with increased size of clinics two problems of expense have emerged—clerical expense in recording clearings, and social service expense in (a) determining propriety of transfers

and (b) answering increased bulk of correspondence; third, facts show that duplication in the treatment of patients has not been eradicated in spite of a large cost to the community and to the hospitals; fourth, the limited time of hospital social workers has been used to a great extent for a service, a large part of which has proved of questionable social value; fifth, consideration is being given to the idea that the time has come for an experimental period of selective registration.

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVED IN 100 PER CENT REGISTRATION IN SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE: FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE NURSING ORGANIZATIONS

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PUBLIC health nursing, according to a definition which has been worked out by the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, is an organized community service, rendered by graduate nurses to the individual, family, and community. This service includes the interpretation of medical, sanitary, and social procedures for the correction of defects, prevention of disease, and the promotion of health, and may include skilled care of the sick in their homes. Such service may be administered under a public or private agency—or jointly—and includes such activities usually referred to as visiting nursing, child health, tuberculosis nursing, school nursing, industrial nursing, etc.

First let us consider what is happening as far as registration is concerned and what are the accepted goals, differentiating in terms of different types of public health nursing service. To talk of 100 per cent registration in relation to public health nursing is purely theoretical, because it exists in only a few private agencies. This is in part due to the case load carried by public health nursing agencies. It would be a tremendous expense to the agency or to the exchange—dependent upon how the exchange is financed—if every case were registered. A relatively large number of the cases carried by public health nursing agencies might fall into the old-time classification of "slight service cases." The agency has done something in reference to the case, but nothing sufficiently profound; nor is its knowledge sufficiently extensive to be of any value to another agency.

No extensive study, so far as I know, has been made to discover the percentage of cases which are registered by public health nursing agencies. However, our knowledge of the situation throughout the country and a few studies made by individual agencies would lead us to say that it varies anywhere from casual occasional registration to 25 per cent and even up to 75 per cent of the cases, dependent upon the type of agency and type of service. Certainly public health nursing carried on by private agencies—usually visiting nurse associations—registers far more cases than that carried on by public agencies—departments of health or schools. This seems to me to have very real significance. Visiting nurse associations consider themselves, and usually are considered, more a part of the whole community social program. They are brought into community planning and have a much closer relationship with other social and health agencies as a rule than public health nursing under public administration. This is a commentary both ways, and I believe is the result of mutual exclusion. The activities and personnel of public agencies are not thought of nor brought into community planning as a rule. Similarly, they think of themselves as a separate group. Fortunately, increasingly this barrier is being broken down. Its reflection in the use of the exchange and the very definite bearing that this has on the relationship of public agencies to other social and health agencies is important and calls for real consideration and some effective tackling of the problem.

There have been worked out nationally, and more or less generally accepted locally, certain goals as far as registration is concerned—goals on a selective basis. It is assumed that agencies, such as visiting nurse associations carrying services for which patients pay where able, will register all free cases, as the inability of the case to pay for the service would seem to indicate such a narrow margin of subsistence that a more serious economic situation might shortly arise necessitating the assistance of other agencies. Cases showing actual or potential social problems are registered—such as problems indicating economic

difficulties, problems of family relationship, personality difficulties calling for more intensive case work, and where there is evidence of immediate or future need of the use of other social resources. Also, long-term health situations are registered whether they immediately show evidence of specific social difficulties or not. The particular ones that are usually automatically registered are those where there is tuberculosis or venereal disease. It should be stated that the giving out of information in regard to the latter situation may present certain legal complications and for this reason in certain states or communities such cases may not be registered. Also, it is generally accepted that all cases should be registered before being referred to any agency to know which agencies already are interested.

There are certain practical considerations involved in this whole question of the use of the social service exchange by nursing organizations. The purpose of registration in the minds of public health nursing agencies is to provide the possibility of giving information to, or getting information from, other agencies that would have bearing upon the problem handled by either; the opportunity to interpret the service of the public health nursing agency to another agency carrying the case; and, most important of all, the joint consideration of the case with other agencies interested and active at the same time. This opens the way to a division of responsibility or a centering of responsibility.

There are certain problems involved in this whole question. There has been a tendency to feel that one's responsibility begins and ends when the case is registered, and too often not enough use is made of the return slip from the exchange. But what use should be made of it? Should contact be made automatically with every agency listed on the slip? In registering cases, should there not be a more careful analysis as to whether the information which the public health nurse has or her activities would be of any interest to another agency, and equally in seeking information whether her immediate relationship to the individual or family would be affected by the past contacts

of other agencies? These questions obviously do not relate to cases which several agencies are carrying actively at the same time. In that case, getting in touch with each other necessarily should be automatic. While, on the one hand, I think public health nursing agencies often do not make sufficient use of the information which they obtain as to interested agencies, sometimes they may make too much automatic use which cannot possibly be productive in terms of their own relationship to the case. In other words, I should feel that not only should there be careful selection as to cases registered in terms of whether the public health nursing contact would have anything of value to another agency, but also there should be much more selection both ways as to the use of the information received from the exchange.

Another problem which registration by public health nursing agencies presents to other agencies is that our records are usually slight—no matter whether the service is slight or not. In other words, our records are apt to be factual and not dynamic. Old records without the worker who carried the case may be of little use unless her supervisor knew the case. On current cases, a conference with the nurse carrying the case is needed—but after all, that is pretty universally true.

In conclusion, I would say that the possibilities of registration as a device for developing community relationships through public health nursing are far from being realized. Public agencies need to be brought into the picture. The practical use of registration needs to be much more carefully analyzed. In spite of what I have said about records, public health nurses themselves in their conception and performance of their responsibilities have much of value to give to other agencies interested in the same families. Increasingly public health nurses know their families and are in a particularly strategic position to know them. While they approach the individual or family from the health angle, their awarenesses of other conditioning factors go far beyond a restricted field. This makes it all the more impor-

tant that their work should be closely related to that of others working with the same individuals.

While registration seems an objective, practical device, after all, it is a symbol of community relationships. The extent of its use goes far beyond mechanical procedure. Also, it can be one method of bringing about community planning and a community program.

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVED IN 100 PER
CENT REGISTRATION IN SOCIAL SERVICE EX-
CHANGE: FROM THE FAMILY WELFARE ORGAN-
IZATIONS' STANDPOINT

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SOCIAL service exchanges came into existence largely to further community relationships. They arose out of a desire to make it possible, through registration, for agencies in the family welfare field to intersect at points to its advantage, rather than run along at parallel or divergent roads, under the old system of nobody knowing where the other fellow came in, or indeed, that he came in at all. Just as the family was the focal point around which the registration idea centered, so the family agency was the outstanding agency in the community set-up. Nobody thought of the family agency as a specialized agency. It was there to do the whole job. While the community thought of its function largely in terms of relief (as, alas, it is still prone to do), it was nevertheless the catchall—when in doubt, turn to the family agency. In those days, except for placing a child, there was very little the family agency would have hesitated to accept. The family agency itself was vague in its conception of function, and had not begun to turn the searchlight on itself.

One hundred per cent registration was taken for granted at a time when the family agency had most of the contacts and was accepting nearly all applications. Whether the information was of value was not questioned in the natural desire to take full advantage of the opportunity registration afforded. The family agency was proud of the fact that it registered every case; and the immediate outgrowth in Philadelphia, and I imagine in other large cities, of this pride from the point of view of registration, was probably unforeseen. It no doubt arose out of the pro-

tective, or paternalistic idea, pretty general among the family agencies of the early days of exchanges. A family belonged to an agency, much as a child does to a parent. We did not believe in freedom of choice for families any more than we accepted such an idea for children. While a case was registered, in order that other agencies, or individuals in the community, might know of the family agency's interest, registration was something like staking a claim. In a small community, with one or possibly two family agencies, this would have little effect; but in a city the size of Philadelphia, with four or more family agencies, the claim idea became momentous. The agency that first registered assumed the responsibility for the family. The stake—or registration—proclaimed Society for Organizing Charity, City Mission, or whatever it might be; and this meant "hands off" as far as any other family agency went. An application was accepted and registered; but if another family agency was found to have known the case previously, the answer to the family was simple—"We cannot help you, you belong to them." There was no working out between agencies what might be best for the family, no consulting the family as to its choice. The result of this was to make 100 per cent registration something of a farce, as a glance at old slips in the exchange would show. There may be registrations for three or four family agencies; but all but one of these will signify only an application, since the agency first registering—even if it was back in 1900 and this was 1930—would be the one serving the family. I have before me several of these old slips. The first shows two family agencies registering on the same day, back in 1900. There are sixteen subsequent registrations, one by a third family agency as late as 1929. Since there has been no re-registering, the registrations on this slip are meaningless without a research study. The second slip has one family agency registering in 1921, followed by a second family agency in 1924. The second I assume is worthless, since the first, though it was three years earlier, would have had the claim. Even as late as January, 1931, in a statement drawn up for the guidance of the agencies administering the money for the

Committee for Unemployment Relief (the Lloyd Committee) we find the following definition: "It is understood that cases will be accepted in this emergency without prejudice as to future handling by another agency."

This is enough history to give a picture of the 100 per cent registration development in the family agency. The agencies, as well as the exchange, having grown tremendously in volume of registrations, and especially of meaningless registrations, began to take stock; and that some changes in policy have taken place is shown by the study just undertaken by the National Committee of Social Service Exchanges. I have had the privilege of seeing the returns for the Philadelphia family agencies, which show that belief in 100 per cent registration is still general, although there is now considerable variation in the interpretation. One large agency still registers all applications, later canceling those rejected. Another registers cases accepted for relief and service, after investigation. A third agency registers only those cases which it handles. In the Jewish Welfare Society, we register all accepted cases. This seems to be the trend, although the method is far from uniform. Most of the agencies also believe in some form of re-registration or cancellation, but the plan in general use is to re-register every two years or when a case is reopened. In the light of history, some of the answers to the question as to whether or not the agencies think the exchange should be notified on all closed and reopened cases are interesting. One agency believes in both notification on closed and open cases and in cancellation, because it clears the way for another agency to work if it desires. A second agency says: "It is not necessary on all closed and open cases but advisable on all permanently closed cases, to indicate that the registering agency has relinquished responsibility, and that another agency may accept the case." This shows the possessive instinct still persisting.

On the whole, these replies seem to indicate that the idea of

selective registration is growing, and I want to devote the rest of my paper to the discussion of an experiment which my own agency has been working out with the Social Service Exchange. This experiment is a result of a further experiment in our reorganized Application Department. The method of selective intake, through initial interviews, which we have developed has been described elsewhere, and only one phase of it need be mentioned. Soon after we began having application interviews taken by an experienced case worker, we found that we were able to meet the problems of some clients—in growing numbers, as we became surer and more experienced—without an outside visit. That is, the service needed by these clients was one that could be rendered from the desk. For some clients it might be completed with a single interview; for others, longer contact might be needed; and others might later be referred to another agency. Many, in fact, did have to be referred to the Committee for Unemployment Relief, or become “under care cases” with us. Though many could be classified as incidental service cases, they formed a distinctive group of “short-time contact cases,” and we felt the need of a separate classification for them. For our own purposes, we invented a new term—“desk service.” At first we did not concern ourselves about the form of registration. Some fell through as not really accepted, and others were registered in the regular way. We soon felt, however, that all should be registered. Even though the information we had was often slight, if we knew in considerable detail a client’s story and his present situation, for his sake, as well as for the benefit of any other agency or individual who might become interested, ought not this information, of passing value though it might be, to be made available? Miss Harlin, of the Social Service Exchange, heartily agreed with us. Together we worked out a form of registration. The hospital social service departments were already designating certain cases by the self-explanatory term “medical information only.” Although our problems differed, this gave us a starting point. We therefore decided that

the exchange should indicate, on these cases, after the date—"S.I.O." or "service information only."

This form of registration has been in use since early fall and has, so far, proved satisfactory. It seems possible that it is the beginning in the exchange of a classification of registrations which will in some small measure correspond to the "under care" and "incidental service" classification in general use by family agencies. Whatever the future of the form, the question now arises as to whether the registrations themselves should be permanent. Are they of value after the service is completed and the passing need met? Probably some are and some are not. Is the next step to go through these "desk service" cases at a given period of time, possibly destroying those that have no further meaning, at the same time canceling registrations or even canceling registration where the agencies may find it necessary to keep the record? Our exchange has, in fact, developed an interesting method of meeting the emergency which arose when certain family agencies gave temporary relief to families under care of the Committee for Unemployment Relief, during an interim period when the Committee was unable to function. A temporary card, which could be automatically withdrawn, was filed with the permanent card; and Miss Harlin is beginning to wonder if it will be worth while to follow a similar plan for slight service cases, such as our "S.I.O." group.

The object of the family agency today, it seems to me, is no longer simply 100 per cent registration as such. Just as the exchange is working toward the elimination of meaningless registrations, the family agency is beginning to feel that it can best serve both its clients and the community by giving its registrations a quantitative meaning. I do not believe, as has been suggested, that registration in a social service exchange should be more than an index. It would, no doubt, be simpler for an interested individual or agency to be able to get information directly from the exchange, in an emergency period, the amount of relief given; at another time, some indication of the situation or serv-

ice rendered. The experience of agencies shows that better relationships arise out of direct contact with the person inquiring, and that only the agency interested can give out such information as will be of real helpfulness. Information, without interpretation, no matter how reduced to a minimum, is subject to many dangers. Is not this new form of selective registration, or registration that gives some indication of the nature or duration of contact, a step in the right direction?

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THE CASE WORKER'S RÔLE IN TREATMENT

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CASE workers will agree that we have under consideration a subject which is not easy to discuss. Two or three years ago no one of us would have hesitated to make a statement concerning the rôle of the case worker in treatment. Today the subject seems both complex and confusing. Familiar ideas seem to have acquired new names: new ideas are in the air. We question our goals, our methods, our procedures; and the worker is on shifting ground who attempts publicly to discuss her contribution to her daily task.

Attitudes of thinking, questioning, doubting, indicate progress, although temporarily our work and discussion may suggest confusion. But the maintenance of equilibrium in a world where at times the case worker's feeling of assurance seems to be in inverse ratio to the demands made upon her requires a nice balance. On the one hand, we accept uncertainty, recognizing that treatment truly is in that "fluid" state of which we so frequently hear; on the other hand, we grasp firmly the certainties which experience has shown to be sound.

Are we clear as to our field, or does social case work need redefinition? Does it not still deal with the individual who, without aid or emotional release, is unable to meet his life experiences in a manner acceptable to himself or to society? Certainly the case worker sees one to whom, seemingly, the demands of living are too complex for his equipment. His gears are not meshing with the social machinery: he is unable to make a "go" of life. He turns to the worker with his problem—how does she see herself in relation to it? What does she feel her responsibility to be? What is her attitude toward her client? What does

she do, what can she do, in this situation created by the applicant's appeal for assistance?

We are increasingly aware of the limitations of the case work situation. It is bounded, on the one hand, by the equipment and capacity of worker and client. It is shaped by the habit patterns of others and the difficulty of offering to them experiences which will arouse a new response. It is circumscribed by inadequate resources and the immobility of environment. And, above all, it is limited by what we see in a situation, by what the client wants for himself, and by community demands or expectations. This awareness of limitations, far from stultifying, has a positive value. We take our own measure, concede our fallibility, and then tend to concentrate on the possibilities that lie within the situation. We perceive with increasing clarity the potentialities of the other person, the unharnessed energy of which we have not always been aware. And we are alert for the moment when our withdrawal from the situation may be inevitable or desirable. For what is the client really asking? What can he do to solve his problem? Can he use us? What have we to offer? When shall we have ceased to be of service?

In the case work situation the worker has three major resources: she can make available to the client services, material things, and a relationship. The use of services and gifts is determined by the needs of the case and case work objectives, but the worker-client relationship is implicit in every situation. It varies from the tenuous to the intense; but whether slight or meaningful for the client, it is significant for the case situation. It has a bearing on the effort which the client will put forth on his own behalf and the value which he will place on contributions of time, of effort, of relief. From contact with the worker as well as her use of her tools he may derive the emotional release, the confidence in himself which he needs for the accomplishment of his purposes. For in case work we perceive a relationship that is different from the affection, the solicitude of the family, or the comradeship of friends. The case worker has the will to understand and to accept the client without feelings of

anxiety, rancor, prejudice, or disapproval. If his need requires it, the client may say aloud the things that he has not had an opportunity to express. In the worker he should be able to find the one who will neither feel nor voice irritation when he slips from the level of adult behavior.

The case worker sees the client not as someone to be made over, one whom she will persuade to "change attitudes." The worker perceives the impossibility of accomplishing these objectives and the destructiveness of attempting them. She respects the personality of the individual, seeing him not as someone to be manipulated but as a human being with possibilities for growth. She recognizes that she cannot change the attitudes of another, that people themselves change when they have the feeling that another type of behavior or activity will be more satisfying. What he may become she does not know, but she gives him the spur of awareness that in his relationship to her he, the client, is a free man. For the problem is the client's—whether she leaves it with him or shares the responsibility for it, the worker endeavors to give to the individual the satisfaction of carrying his own burden and a feeling that he has been instrumental in working out a solution of his difficulties. From the first contact to the last, the worker is maintaining an awareness that this problem is another's. If she is in his life by invitation, she has no right that he does not give her except the right to withdraw at her discretion. If by virtue of agency function she has the legal right to exercise authority, then, least of all, is she justified in unthinkingly taking from him the direction of his affairs. For there is no experience which gives to the individual a sense of accomplishment comparable to that derived from a realization that he has overcome an obstacle or weathered a crisis. By making decisions he learns to make them. Hence, to ignore the opportunity to leave with him as much of his burden as he is capable of assuming or willing to shoulder is to fail to acquit herself of one of the major responsibilities of case work—the responsibility for helping the client to become to some degree a self-maintaining person.

The delicacy and complexity of the process by which this goal is achieved become daily more apparent. Treatment we see as a continuous process beginning with the manner in which the application is received and ending with the last contact. It includes things said or, more important, left unsaid; the questions that the worker doesn't ask; assurances given or unspoken. Everything that transpires to establish the relationship between worker and client, every move that serves to clarify or define the problem, is treatment. So, also, are those things voiced or unspoken which affect the client's feeling of responsibility for the solution of his difficulties, which build up confidence in his ability to proceed.

We have ceased to departmentalize our activities; we are constantly and simultaneously securing information, appraising and reevaluating, developing a relationship, shifting emphases, meeting material needs. And we are taking literally the familiar statement that "treatment begins with the first contact," because we realize the significance of this first meeting between the participants in the case work situation. In the give-and-take of this coming together the quality of a relationship will be determined, a problem may be clarified, initiative may be perceived and fostered, responsibility accepted by either or shared. Most important, there may be engendered a feeling of self-esteem comparable to electricity in a battery run down, a feeling of self-appreciation which will enable the client to accept and work through his difficulties.

Is there a better method of arousing self-esteem than by respectful consideration of the problem of another? The manner in which an application is received carries conviction to the client as to his standing with the worker. To listen, to assume that the ideas of the applicant about his own situation are of primary importance, to accept the client's statement without cross question, is to treat. For by this method the worker conveys the impression that the one who appeals to her for help is a person whose opinion she values and whose reticence she respects. Listening, as a case worker technique, is increasingly appreci-

ated and consciously utilized. It is one means by which we gain understanding of the situation into which we are being drawn. There have always been workers who have recognized the value of "letting the client unburden himself" before pressing for seemingly irrelevant information. And there has been a growing tendency to meet the emergent situation without a display of exaggerated interest in the grandparental birthplace and cause of death. But we recognize the sterility of information pried from an informant. We have learned that the case situation frequently is blurred or obscured by the worker's show of interest in all phases of the applicant's life and past experience. We see with growing clarity the destructive effect on relationship of a premature or undirected delving for "background."

Comparison of many early interviews with later information given spontaneously will show how misleading or non-informative are the earlier data. We can, by direct questioning, induce a recital of the events of a lifetime; but the feeling of the individual about these experiences cannot be elicited at the will of the worker. The really intimate and enlightening revelations are given when the client feels a need to reveal himself, when he perceives that solution of his difficulty hinges on a mutual understanding of past events. Or they are offered spontaneously when he knows and trusts the worker. If we let the client tell us what he thinks and wants, he may discover that he doesn't need us. If we give him an opportunity to reveal himself, we may find the problem illuminated and clarified as it could not be by the most determined effort to "get history." On the other hand, when an applicant has given many references, answered numberless questions, or at our request discussed the events of his life, he may feel that we have automatically accepted his problem and that he is therefore entitled to the type of assistance for which he is applying. How often we have heard it said, "I have answered your questions, you have investigated, now what are you planning to do?"

A listening attitude, inactivity on the part of the worker, frequently throws the burden of proof on the client. He feels the

need to explain in order to make his position clear, instead of leaving it to the worker to find out what she can about him. We are beginning to appreciate the value of silence. We realize that fear of a pause in conversation sometimes causes us to indulge in meaningless talk, reassurances, efforts to allay anxiety. The worker who is sufficiently sure of herself to wait, to listen and accept the tempo of the other person, is usually rewarded by a contribution from the client which may be truly clarifying.

Finally, we are aware that relationship with the client may be jeopardized by a too energetic effort to inform ourselves concerning his past. If it is our desire to fortify others by building up their self-esteem, we defeat our own ends when, on first acquaintance, we seek to uncover their past and send them out feeling as though they had left behind them their spiritual clothing. An individual is released from pressure when he voluntarily puts into words the things that trouble him; but his self-esteem is enhanced when he is allowed the privilege of reticence at points where he is unwilling or unable to reveal himself.

A middle aged woman of some refinement applied to a relief agency out of work and out of funds. She wept hysterically, referred to the fact that her husband had "ruined her life," and said that she needed employment. She said that she had no plans for herself and asked the worker who had been listening to the story what plans she had for her.

The worker said, "What would you like us to do for you?"

To this the applicant replied, "I have no idea."

There was a pause after which the client said, "I need food and a place to sleep." She said that she was in a furnished room but might not be able to stay.

The worker suggested that the woman discuss the situation with the landlord and see if she might remain temporarily.

She showed much agitation but the worker's question "What trouble have you been in?" brought no response other than tears.

The inquiry was not pushed, and the applicant was given some relief and an appointment which was not kept.

One month later the applicant returned; she had secured a made work job at sewing and asked help with food and rent. She wept and said that she was paying back debts which staggered her.

The worker named the amount of relief which could be given and suggested that back bills wait. The woman showed extreme agitation; she seemed overwhelmed by the thought of the bills.

The worker's hint concerning the client's "real difficulty" brought no re-

sponse, but she volunteered information concerning relatives and the friends who had tired of her. She said, "But I have your organization for a friend, haven't I?"

The worker said, "Talking of our troubles helps."

The woman replied, "But I must forget mine."

Her complaint of not feeling well brought forth an offer of medical care which was not taken up.

A check-up with the agency giving made work showed that the woman was employed and doing well.

In two weeks she returned asking for money with which to buy a sewing machine. This was refused, but an unsuccessful effort to secure the use of one was made.

Later in the day the woman returned and told of her furniture in storage and her own machine which was being held. She asked for money to secure its release.

The worker made an unsuccessful effort to secure its release, and then discussed with the woman the possibility that she might save the money for this purpose. A call at the place of storage was unsuccessful in securing the machine.

Four days later the client called at the office with half the needed amount. She was told that the agency would supply the other half; and she then volunteered details concerning former employment, a little manufacturing business of her own, and plans for the use of the sewing machine. She asked for work other than the made work and was given a card to someone who might be helpful. She then talked freely concerning her education and former occupation.

A week later she phoned, thanking the worker for her courtesy and expressing appreciation of being able to turn to the agency for help. She has not since been heard from.

A check-up at the place of employment shows her to be at work and demonstrating considerable ability.

To the writer this case illustrates several significant points, one of which is this: that the client may be able to get back on his own feet without telling us "all." This woman recognized a problem; she was resourceful. If we could have secured a full social study, to what use would we have put it? A picture of her life experiences would have helped us to understand how she came to be enmeshed in her predicament. The way in which her life patterns had developed would be clear, and her behavior might be predictable. But we should still be confronted with a critical situation and the necessity for rousing the woman to action. It is true that her fundamental difficulty was not un-

employment, but that is the problem that she recognized and was prepared to discuss. And the worker felt no responsibility for forcing her confidence, revealing to the client, as well as herself, problems unperceived or possibly inaccessible to case work.

What was the contribution of the case worker? First an attitude—at no time did she share the anxiety of the client. If fright is contagious, so also is assurance. The worker was composed when the client was hysterical. The worker seemingly was confident that the woman could still direct her own activities when she herself was ready to give up. She did not lift the burden from the woman, but she lightened it, and in such a way that self-esteem was enhanced and self-direction encouraged. She listened with an interest and respect calculated to tell the woman that the things that she had to say about her own situation were worth saying. She became active on the problem at every point where the client herself showed activity, so that the worker's efforts were a recognition and reinforcement of the initiative displayed by the other. To the applicant there were no inexplicable activities or gratuitous suggestions; both met needs which she herself voiced. Moreover, outside contacts were made in such a way as not to give to the woman the impression that she was being checked up or her affairs taken over. The worker informed herself without appearing to assume control of the situation. Finally, the worker was willing to let the client proceed alone.

To some it may appear that the worker accomplished nothing, that this case illustrates nothing more significant than the accepted fact that some of us can function without the aid of case work. Or it may be contended that a more active participation of the worker would have saved time and accomplished the same result. This cannot be disproved. Others may feel that we cannot tell whether the woman had been the gainer from the contact or whether she seemed temporarily to be better able to direct her own affairs. To this there is no answer. The woman herself said, "That first day I knew I wasn't down and out because you listened and asked me what I thought."

To listen and to wait is not to be inert. The worker must be on her guard lest an attitude motivated by a desire to give the client an opportunity to exert himself degenerate into lethargy, for which it serves as an alibi. There are interviews where, to the client, questions not only are indicative of interest but where their omission implies to him lack of regard, a desire on the part of the worker to dismiss him. A question may mean reassurance to one who is frightened or bewildered. And there are many cases in which movement depends on discussion of topics which the client would not voluntarily broach. Movement may also depend on the utilization of every known means for adding to the worker's understanding of the situation. In evaluating the potentialities of an individual, we consider his current response, true, and the information that he gives concerning his past experiences and behavior. But we cannot afford to disregard the experience of others in dealing with our client.

Since, presumably, we all realize the cost of becoming involved in situations where the client's revelation of himself is inadequate or misleading, there is an element of humor in mentioning at this date the value of collateral information. But it may not be superfluous to remind ourselves of the importance of an early and systematic use of public documents, local exchanges, the intercity bureau. And collateral visits still have value. We use them with discrimination, with an awareness of the effect on the client, on the case situation, on our case work objectives. It is excellent so to handle the situation that the suggestion of a collateral contact comes from the client; it is essential, save in exceptional cases, to make it with his consent and participation. But to neglect such sources of information or cooperation is to cripple our possibilities for usefulness. We do our client a service when, through the use of established means of informing ourselves, we become aware of potentialities or limitations hitherto unperceived.

Recently a client was accepted as a sensitive, inexperienced person of high standards, and an expensive program was soon under way. It included lengthy interviews supplemented by services and relief. A belated use of inter-city bureau made it clear that the client's past experience indicated inability to

profit by the methods employed. Indeed she might have written a monograph on "Social Workers I Have Met—and Handled."

There is a close relationship between this awareness of capacities and the worker's use of the services and relief which she had at her disposal. Toward service and the use of her initiative the case worker today at times seems to have much the same attitude as formerly she had toward relief. Once regarded as a necessary evil and feared as destructive to the independence of the individual, relief is now accepted as a useful tool for meeting emotional as well as material needs; and it is service that is held in distrust. The worker seemingly is fearful that by doing things for people she will weaken their capacity for action. There are instances where she defeats her own end by rigidity and failure to meet the client half way. Yet, an expectation of initiative on the part of certain individuals is comparable to an attempt to draw water from a well gone dry. There are people who must receive before they can give; who must be steadied before they can step forward; who must be reassured, and in such terms as they can understand.

If her case work objective calls for the strengthening of the worker-client relationship, then the worker must do those things that will strengthen the relationship. It is true that in the past there has been a concentration on doing things for people, and each of us has had the experience of seeing a situation unchanged by all our earnest effort; yet, in our ability to serve we have a means of strengthening relationship, arousing initiative, meeting emotional as well as material needs. We break down resistance by demonstrating good will.

Fear of serving reflects the insecurity of the worker, for service is an indispensable tool in case work. It is a means of accomplishing things that the client is unable to achieve, of filling needs recognized by the community. It is one means by which the worker meets her reality situation. To serve is to meet the needs of people who are unable to cope with their environment—who are unaware of resources, and who are not equipped to find their way through the complexities of their surroundings.

They are unfamiliar with the facilities which the community offers for the solution of their difficulties.

There are people threatened by physical or mental ill health who do not see a problem, or fail to recognize its nature. On such cases the worker brings to bear a perception trained to relate the seemingly irrelevant, to grasp the implications of the situation for the client. It is not he, but the worker, who recognizes that action may prevent catastrophe or mitigate misfortune.

There are cases where the welfare of the community demands activity on the part of the case worker. And there are people who have no conception of what life might be for them. Their horizon is broadened, their capacities developed by the worker who sees a need, recognizes a possibility, and offers an opportunity. The case worker has no more important function than that of bringing to bear on the problem of another that combination of creative imagination and ingenuity which result in opportunities for growth. The skill of the worker in combining a listening, receptive attitude with active participation in the affairs of the client is illustrated by the case of Mr. X:

A man with an incurable and increasing myopia—a timid, uneducated, foreign man—asked employment as a barber.

It was the worker who discovered the eye condition, who persuaded him to secure a diagnosis, who showed him that he could not be a barber and put him in touch with training facilities for work which need not be discontinued because of waning sight.

He is a passive person; for him decisions are difficult. With the necessity for making contacts with agencies he finds himself the center of a maelstrom of workers; conflicting advice and suggestions are offered. He is confused and puzzled and fearful of the future.

The worker makes of each of her contacts with him a little lesson in self-reliance. She explains to him the function of each agency and the purpose of the people who are coming into his life. She tells him that his ideas are important, that it is for him to express his own thoughts. He must not follow the advice of each one who talks to him but must think about it, must weigh it, must decide for himself. In contacts with the worker he makes his own decisions. She says to him, "You are the important person—you are Mr. X." He tells with pride of his success in dealing with the daily problems. The worker has listened, but she has also demonstrated and taught and served. We see her client with gradually diminishing sight, with gradually increasing self-assurance, moving toward the goal of every case worker, which is this: to see the individual, in spite of difficulties, go forward alone.

CONTRIBUTION TO PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

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THE longer I deal with the problem of etiology of crime, the more clearly I see that it cannot be solved either from the sociological or from the psychological point of view alone. Criminal acts are not necessarily the result of a criminal personality or of the social situation in which an individual happens to live. Both psychological and social factors may be active at the same time; one of them may be predominant in one case, negligible in another.

An intelligent approach to this complicated field is only possible if the confusion of concepts which at present predominates is eliminated. Elaborate statistical investigations, such as Shaw's in Chicago, have shown that the number of criminal acts is concentrated in certain areas of a city. These criminal centers often supply twenty times more cases than other districts. The analysis of these criminal centers shows that they are characterized by lower social standards and are usually the places called "slums," where the new immigrants have settled. Thus this astonishing geographical distribution of crime corresponds simply to social stratification and is due to the fact that individuals belonging to certain social strata usually live together—for example, the lowest social groups in the neglected and consequently cheaper parts of the city.

This result means nothing more than the numerical corroboration of a fact which is well known, I should say, to every policeman and inhabitant of the city, and does not need further explanation. If criminality means breaking the social order which is protected by the law, it is evident that those portions of the population will have the greatest inclination to break

these rules which have the least interest in upholding them, that is to say, either the discontented elements or those who have not yet accepted the standards of the community and consider its rules as a pressure and an unwelcome interference with their freedom and old customs.

Such a statement contributes literally nothing to a deeper knowledge of the sources of criminality and adds nothing to what we already know by common sense. Science, however, begins and is needed where common sense fails. It is obvious that, even in the worst slums, a great part of the population is not criminal. The influence of the environment on the individual takes place in the form of a certain selection. Influences which induce individuals to break the law may be greater in certain social strata than in others, but work always according to an unknown selective principle which is inherent in the character trends of the individuals exposed to these influences. It is also evident that the more powerful the social factor is, the greater number of individuals will necessarily yield to it; but on the other hand, if the individual's character is especially predisposed to crime, he may become criminal even under the most favorable social circumstances.

A complete analysis of the etiology of crime necessarily must consist in the simultaneous study of both social and psychological factors. The most obscure problem, however, that of the nature of the selective principle according to which the environmental influences work, can only be solved by psychological or, more precisely, by psychiatric investigation. The first question is: Which are those character trends which make an individual more receptive to the criminal influences of the environment? Can we speak in general of a "criminal personality?"

The knowledge of the human personality which the psychoanalytic method has given enables us to answer this question with considerable reliability. It has shown that those functions which make people suitable to live in community life are acquired during the individual's early developmental periods, and that the inherited instinctual drives do not possess originally

any qualities which would guarantee social behavior. Psychoanalysis has also shown that social life is based on certain restrictions of erotic and destructive tendencies and that these restrictions are reinforced through what Freud called the "reality principle." Whereas the small child's mental processes are guided by the pleasure principle, that is to say, by the tendency to gratify immediately every need and to avoid pain, the adult learns to endure temporary dissatisfactions and even pain and to postpone certain gratifications in order to secure important satisfactions. This more far-seeing attitude of controlling the instinctual demands in an intelligent way according to the given external situation is the reality principle. It is evidently nothing else than an improved pleasure principle, because in the end it is able to improve the final balance between pain and pleasure in securing a greater amount of pleasure and avoiding more pain. For the self-imposed restrictions and renunciations the individual is compensated by the gains which he obtains as a result of these sacrifices. These gains may be of a positive or negative nature, such as rewards of the environment or avoidance of painful experiences, punishment, and losing the respect and love of others.

Social behavior is based on such a complicated balance between gratifications and renunciations. It is easy to understand that the greater sacrifices and restrictions an individual has to bear, the more liable will be this equilibrium; and, conversely, an individual who has the possibility of gratifying a greater amount of his subjective needs, no matter what the nature of these needs may be, will be more willing to accept certain restrictions necessitated by collective life. The specific capacity of the ego for enduring restrictions and deprivations is, however, dependent upon many factors and too complicated a phenomenon to be described exhaustively by this simple formulation. Apart from the amount of gratifications which compensate for restrictions, the ability to sublimate and modify unadjusted tendencies plays an important rôle.

Nevertheless, discontent always is apt to induce the indi-

vidual to give up those restrictions which he accepted only in order to secure certain gratifications. To renounce personal freedom for nothing is evidently more difficult than to renounce it in order to get something in exchange. Therefore, the original unadjusted nature of man is more apt to break through and to overthrow social restrictions in the discontented strata of the population.

This psychological insight alone is sufficient to prove that a real cure of society's disease, called "crime," can only be solved on a social basis. The more gratifications of subjective needs granted by social institutions and the greater number of the population participating in the advantages of these institutions, the more individuals will accept social order.

On the other hand, psychoanalytic and psychiatric insight into individual cases has shown that it would be entirely false to assume that only economic factors are responsible for the discontent which is apt to disturb the equilibrium—achieved with such difficulty—of gratifications and social restrictions.

Delinquency among young children is the best proof that economic factors can only have a secondary, although extremely important, significance. The economic factor plays a much more important part in the life of adults. The child suffers less directly from the financial insecurity of the family and derives even certain emotional benefits from it. This is expressed masterfully by the Hungarian author, Franz Molnar, in a little dialogue between the rich and the poor boy who meet on the street. The poor boy, without shoes, is standing in a pool on the street when the rich boy meets him and exclaims enviously, "Oh gosh, I can't do that because my father will lick me if I go home with wet shoes." In the course of his psychologically well observed dialogue, it becomes manifest how many more restrictions the overprotected rich boy has to put on his natural instincts than the poor boy. There is scarcely anything in the life of the little neglected boy which the well-protected one would not envy, and even when he hears that his new acquaintance sleeps on the floor in the kitchen on a heap of straw he deplores

the fact that he has to go to his hated bed every evening and can't sleep where he wants to. Indeed, we have to give up the point of view of the adult to understand the mental life of the child. In order to understand the delinquency of the child, we have to look for the sources of discontent which are characteristic for the child and not for the adult.

The fact that in a very considerable number of cases, the criminality of the adult is the direct continuation of the delinquency of the child, makes the understanding of the latter so important for the problem of etiology. Moreover, if there is something like a criminal personality, it necessarily must develop in childhood when all the character trends are formed. We may call criminal personalities all those individuals who have acquired during their development such character trends as make them more receptive to the unfavorable influences of the social environment. These character trends are responsible for the selective nature of the environmental influences which we have mentioned before. The most general basis of criminal inclinations is the unstableness of the balance between social restrictions and gratifications. Evidently the distribution of satisfactions and deprivations in the early periods of life is decisive in its influence on the stability of this balance. But only empirical investigation can establish those conditions which are responsible for the diminished resistance of the ego against unadjusted tendencies. It was to be expected that early deprivations undoubtedly would diminish the resistance of the ego against the tension of repressed tendencies, but also long indulgence in certain gratifications which must be abandoned in the course of development may have a similar effect.

The results of the psychoanalytic investigation of criminals which I am conducting at present with Dr. Healy at the Judge Baker Foundation have to be reserved for later publication. I can only refer at present to a few general observations which have largely corroborated those first formulations which I made with Mr. Staub in Germany. Unquestionably, there are certain easily definable character features which make the individual

more susceptible to certain influences of the environment in the direction of criminality. These character trends develop chiefly under the influence of the very first environment of the child, that is, the family.

With regard to the so frequent overemphasis of the influence of social environment, it is necessary to differentiate this closer family environment from the social environment in the broader sense which begins to exert its influence only in a later period of the individual's development, namely, after the child comes in closer contact with others than the members of the family. But even when these social contacts develop, for a long time the family, no matter whether it is the child's own or a foster family, retains a predominant rôle in the formation of character.

DETERMINING FACTORS IN PERSONALITY FORMATION

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Congenital equipment (heredity and intra-uterine influences) | } Constitution |
| 2. Dispositional factors | |
| 3. Family influences | } Post-natal development |
| 4. Influence of the social environment in a broader sense | |

A schematic view of the different etiological factors active in personality development may serve to clarify the involved concepts in this field. First, we have to distinguish the congenital equipment and will call it "constitution." We know little about it, but we have to assume its presence and importance on the basis of empirical observations, which do not allow the assumption that all human beings are born alike. All later post-natal factors act upon this inherited substratum which probably determines certain general characteristics of the instinctual life.

The first influences of the extra-uterine existence can be differentiated from the later ones through their more impersonal nature. They consist in the handling of the child's early biological functions in the field of nutrition and excretion. The influence of these processes is also considerably obscure, and what we know about it is based more on reconstructions than direct ob-

servational establishment between cause and effect. Following the etiological formula which Freud gave for neuroses and psychoses, we may call the sum of these influences *dispositional* factors. Consequently, disposition, in contrast to constitution, is something which is acquired, though acquired in the very first period of life.

Thirdly, there are the personal influences of the members of the family. This is the best studied and probably the most important part of personality development. The emotional experiences in relation to the parents and siblings are unquestionably decisive for later social behavior, since the family is a kind of society and the adjustment to this first society is the conditioning pattern of later behavior.

With the more or less defined character trends which developed under the influence of these three categories of factors—constitutional, dispositional, and family influences—the child enters the social environment in the broader sense. The selective principle according to which these environmental influences act consists in the end-result of all the three mentioned previous determining factors. Which individual will be influenced in the criminal sense in a given environment is dependent upon those character trends which have been inherited and acquired in the previous period. Bad example, deprivations, and discontent of every kind induce to anti-social behavior only a certain percentage of individuals who live in a similar environment, namely, those whose acquired and inherited character trends are susceptible to these influences.

The analytic investigation of criminal individuals has led us, strange to say, to the same family experiences which have been found the determining factors in psychoneuroses. It was not an unexpected result that both these forms of maladjustment—psychoneurosis and criminality—could be retraced to the family situation, but the hope of finding certain typical emotional situations which could account for either a criminal career or the development of a psychoneurosis has not been fulfilled.

We have found that criminal behavior in the majority of cases

is the expression of a protest against certain deprivations, a reaction of spite against certain members of the family, the expression of jealousy, envy, competition, and frequently a proof of masculinity. Often it originates from the stubborn wish for compensation for previous deprivations, or is the result of a sense of guilt and consequent need for punishment, as was found similarly in the psychogenesis of neuroses. The similarity goes even so far that these motives are repressed and consequently unconscious, just as they are in psychoneuroses. Furthermore, our investigation has corroborated the expectation that, as in neuroses, both excessive deprivations and spoiling are apt to shift the balance between repressed and repressive forces. Deprivations cause extreme tensions in the unconscious, whereas long indulgence in infantile gratifications makes the endurance of those restrictions most difficult to which the individual necessarily is subject during this later development.

The only difference which our investigation up to now has been able to establish is the greater tendency of rationalizations, the greater emphasis on certain conscious and rational motives in order to cover up the underlying and usually more powerful unconscious motives. In addition to the greater tendency, there is also a greater opportunity for rationalization which is inherent in the social situation. In such cases where actual deprivations due to social circumstances are present, these latter can easily replace previous emotional conflicts arising from the family situation. The actual rational motives run parallel with the repressed unconscious motives and may entirely overshadow them. If the social situation gives justified reason for discontent and anti-social attitude, the early emotional conflicts in the family are more likely to be worked out on the social level; and the earlier discontent from the family situation, together with the social discontent, is more apt to lead to non-social behavior than to neurotic symptom-formation.

The chief difference between neurosis and criminal behavior is that in the first case the emotional conflict results in symbolic gratifications of unadjusted restricted tendencies, whereas in

the second they lead to real actions. Those needs which are restricted from economic reasons belong usually to the sphere of self-preservation and, like hunger, cannot be gratified as easily by symbolic gratifications of phantasy as the emotional tensions of love and hate. The emotional conflicts of childhood, resentments against parents and siblings, find a powerful ally in resentment against the social situation; and this combined emotional tension seeks a more real expression, such as criminal acts, and cannot be relieved by mere phantasy products such as neurotic symptoms.

That this explanation, however, cannot account for all cases is evident, because we often see the tendency to act out neurotic conflicts in reality in individuals who have no reason for social discontent; and, vice versa, we see the development of neurosis in many individuals who would have had ample opportunity and reason to transform their neurotic conflict into an external conflict with society.

Therefore, even after my recent studies, I cannot discard my earlier assumption that the basic character of the instinctual life, its expansive nature, must be one of the factors responsible for the fact that similar emotional conflicts in one case result in criminality and in another in neurosis. The introverted nature of the neurotic, his readiness to content himself with gratifications in phantasy and renounce real satisfactions, seems to be a constitutional factor. And on the other hand, certain individuals are characterized by a more robust expansive instinctual life which contents itself only with real actions.

What I have learned since I made this earlier formulation is to appreciate more the significance of the social situation. There is no sense in searching for deeper emotional motives for the stealing by an individual who is near starvation, because hunger alone sufficiently explains such deeds without assuming the presence of any unconscious motives such as early thwartings in the expectations of love or hatred against the rivals in the family. Undoubtedly, such unconscious sources of emotional discontent are apt to enhance the dynamic power of rational motives which

derive from the social situation and thus increase the probability of anti-social behavior. Since I have observed during an analysis that after the criminal behavior has been blocked and ceased to be an outlet for emotional conflicts, a psychoneurosis has developed in the place of the criminal behavior, I have no doubt that the social situation in many cases saves individuals from becoming neurotic. Two of my criminal cases confessed to me during the analyses that the criminal act relieved them from a kind of free-floating anxiety and restlessness which had a typical neurotic character. The real sufferings and deprivations give the possibility to act out aggressions and destructive tendencies on a rational basis and at the same time relieve the need for punishment. I do not think, however, that this factor, without taking into account the constitutional nature of the instinctual life, can explain in all cases why the emotional conflicts of the family life lead at one time to a neurotic and at another to a criminal solution. The social situation determines the conscious ego's reaction to the emotional conflicts. Real deprivation is apt to win the conscious ego's consent to real action instead of merely socially harmless symptoms. The constitutional quality of the instinctual life is, however, another factor determining the outcome of the emotional conflict in action or in phantasy.

In conclusion, we may say that an unfavorable social situation makes it easier for the individual to displace emotional conflicts which were created in family life to reactions against social order and to relieve accumulated disappointments, hostilities of every kind, in the form of anti-social behavior. Thus, the manifest conflicts with the social environment become the open battlefield of underlying invisible unconscious conflicts belonging to the past experiences of life.

It would be erroneous to deny the reality and importance of the more tangible conscious conflicts deriving from the actual situation and consider them always as mere excuses for relieving unconscious aggressions in the form of anti-social behavior. In some cases, these actual social conflicts alone suffice to explain non-social behavior. Naturally there are many cases in which

there are no momentous objective reasons for unadjusted behavior, and on the other hand there are many individuals who have real reason for revolt and yet accept social order. Early post-natal experiences, especially the emotional conflicts in family life, the social situation, and in addition certain constitutional characteristics, are together responsible for these differences. In our present studies we have tried to analyze the relative importance of these three categories of factors by selecting cases of different types, individuals with favorable social backgrounds and extremely neglected ones, and hope soon to be able to formulate our results. Regarding the influence of constitution, however, the biologists still owe us information.

APPLICATION OF PSYCHOLOGY TO CASE WORK

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WHAT value can involved psychoanalytical data have for us case workers? Is it not our major obligation to deal with clients overcome by the material realities, and is there not a danger of our forgetting this obligation if we allow our attention to be diverted to the riddles of personality? What will happen to case work in its manifold aspects if we surrender to the luxury of exploring psychological subtleties? Is this the time—a time of great stress, when emergencies besiege us and so frequently find us unprepared—for delicate laboratory experiments on problems no one is asking us to solve? Of what practical use are these psychoanalytical minutiae to case workers who must struggle for time to do a minimum case work job? Moreover, what right have we to inflict upon our clients a treatment that may carry us far afield from the concrete difficulties which brought them to us? After all, what business have we raising orchids when we are so inadequate to the job of providing bread?

Even if we contrive answers to these questions, there are others still more difficult confronting us. Who is to work out these applications of psychoanalysis to case work? How are the rest of us to learn from the results of such experimentation?

Let me admit that I raised these questions knowing there would be no opportunity here to answer them. They spring from realities. However, they also spring from various states of mind the existence of which I wish to recognize. States of mind are important phenomena—outside psychoanalysis. They are important in the case worker; they are important in the case worker's clients. They are the stuff of which case work is made whether or no we are willing to concede it. Unhappily (and this

is one reason why case work is such a difficult occupation in a period of profound economic disorder), we do not cease to feel as long as life is conscious in us. If we—and our clients—cannot escape from the physical realities, except in death, it is equally true that we cannot escape from the psychological. These psychological realities are not “new.” They are not a fad. They are ineradicable constituents of human life. They exist without our choice. All that is “new” is the psychoanalytical discovery which was made forty years ago that our psychological existence is governed by its own peculiar laws which are as yet but partially understood. Our only choice is whether or not we shall recognize this discovery and recognize, as well, that it entails fresh obligations upon case work. Whatever limitations we are anxious or forced to define for case work, whatever functions we select, the necessity remains for taking into account those psychological factors which we have only recently learned operate so powerfully in ourselves and in our clients to determine what we are and shall become. The challenge to case work is to understand and attempt to bring under control forces which are present and potent in every case work situation. That this is only one of many different challenges to an art which is directly or indirectly concerned with all the unruly realities, that it is a challenge issuing from our own professional needs rather than from frank community demands, may make our task more difficult but no less a necessity.

In the recent past we case workers have relied on mental hygiene to function as the authoritative intermediary between case work and the psychological sciences. This dependence relieved us of the independent responsibility of studying source material, and concealed from us the crying need to examine further problems peculiar to the case work fields. There is every reason why organized mental hygiene should continue to function in this rôle of special responsibility. But its generous willingness to serve in this transmitting capacity should not blind us to our own need for progressive study and experimentation. We may resist admitting the need, because not all of us can indi-

vidually meet it, because the number of those who can meet it is relatively small, because we are afraid that case work will lose its familiar identity, because new knowledge always creates new pitfalls, because we are insecure about the future of case work and are painfully aware of other abyssmal weaknesses. These difficulties and dangers are not to be ignored but will have to be carefully considered and surmounted. It is well to recognize them. I should like, however, to emphasize equally the loss which we may suffer if we neglect to tap new resources from which we may draw the strength we imperatively need to attack old and besetting problems.

This is not the occasion for a discussion of all the possible uses we may make of psychoanalytical material. However, our more recent study and experimentation have done a great deal to correct the false assumption that an interest in the psychological aspects of case work can be productive only under conditions permitting larger expenditures of effort and long-time treatment of the emotional problems we find in our clients. If it is true that more sensitive insight reveals the complexity of case situations we might once have regarded as simple, it is equally evident that case work intuitions, when psychoanalytically sharpened, enable case workers to refrain from rushing in where psychoanalysts would fear to tread. Anything that will save case workers from wasting their resources on irremediable problems is a precious boon. But this is not all. Even a limited understanding of emotional phenomena helps the overburdened case worker to utilize her meager minutes to greater advantage.

Take, for example, the case of Mr. X, long unemployed, desperate from the evaporation of his familiar assets, and no better off for successive contacts with a number of social agencies to whom he had previously applied, first for advice and later for financial assistance. Because he was badly confused by catastrophes stranger to his self-directed, self-denying past, he presented what was meant to be an appeal for help in a denunciation of the economic order, a heartless society, and an irresponsible government. He concluded his arraignment with a threat

that his behavior might know no bounds were nothing done for him. Whatever this man's realities were, they were thoroughly obscured to him and to the case worker by his state of mind. There was nothing for her to do but listen and, when he quieted down, give him minimal relief to meet what would seem to be his immediate necessities. When he returned a week later, he himself initiated a matter-of-fact account of his difficulties and then took occasion to tell her that he had been thinking things over and realized he had made a scapegoat of her, the first person who had listened without argument, reproach, or fear to what was on his mind. He described his condition in his own terms, "The whole world seemed to be going to pieces, and me with it. I felt like I was lost in a dark place and no one would hear me. I couldn't think of anything else until I talked to you, and somehow that brought me to my senses. I want to tell you I am sorry for the way I acted." That first interview was simplicity itself, but the handling of it was governed by two things—first, the case worker's ability to feel the man's present problem as he in his helpless rage revealed it; and second, her willingness to let him vent it on her. This client's tirade cleared the way to a reality which might be practically, if not ideally, handled on an unemployment basis. His emotional problems were not solved. All that happened to him was a recovery of his self-responsible identity through the discharge of his resentment upon a case worker who did not need to punish him for it.

In this instance, as in many others where the case worker's time is at a premium and relief has to be dispensed on a minimal scale, the case worker's understanding of disturbing emotional factors may provide the one possible access to realities which the client has lost his power to see and face. The case work relationship, control of which might seem an impractical refinement to be cultivated only in some remote case work heaven, may furnish the delicate thread which will serve the client to maintain effective connections with the outside world. In view of the client's deeper problems which such methods do not even touch, the psychological benefit is slight; but when it is considered that

the mere manner of conducting an interview may assist the client to retain that sense of his own identity which he has been in danger of losing, we cannot begrudge the directed effort which the acquisition of greater psychological skill demands of us.

Experimentation with methods adapted from psychoanalytical practice has indicated other possibilities for more economical and socially profitable handling of case work situations. There is that group of clients whose ability to maintain themselves in the past appears an unexplained miracle. Every bit of case work evidence points to pervasive and deep-seated conflicts. Even the surface of their stories betrays them. Perhaps we need to thank the stimulus of the depression as well as that of psychoanalysis for our willingness to steer clear of depths from which neither we nor the clients would be likely to emerge. At any rate, the experimental handling of the relationship in such cases has brought into the active case work arena problems of the client's choosing, not ours—problems usually far removed from their essential difficulties but to which the clients now devote energies that are integrated and focused through the case worker's willingness to let them express to her the feelings which would otherwise block any continuous activity in the real world. In a number of such cases the clients have managed to effect a return to the same precarious, neurotic existence they led before. What has resulted from the case worker's participation may be described as a patchwork adjustment evolved by the client from slender resources his relationship to her makes it possible for him to use. The product may not be durable; but within the bounds set by the realities, the clients' own personality, and our case work limitations, it represents an advance which we owe to the contributions of psychoanalysis and the efforts of those who have tried to apply them to the handling of case work problems.

The utilization of the formerly uncontrolled relationship between case worker and client is still in its embryonic stages. It presents many problems to which we must look, not only to psychoanalytic experience but to our own future experimentation for methods that will be suitable to case work purposes and

limitations. At present there is reason to believe that whatever intensive thinking we can contrive to invest in work on this problem will be rewarded by noticeable reductions in the amount of effort we shall have to expend and the increases in the number of adjustments clients will achieve for themselves. If we can learn how to let the client reveal his own needs and how to let him determine what use he will make of us, we shall undoubtedly discover that more clients are able to work out on their own initiative problems we have too often assumed they must have our help to solve. At this point, our very sketchy experience furnishes us some evidence of possibilities for self-adjustment in clients which formerly we might have prevented their realizing because we needed to impose on them plans foreign to their emotional wants or beyond their psychological capacities.

One situation of this sort was embodied in a short record, that of a very young wife who had spent the first year of her marriage in a valiant attempt to stabilize her husband. He had insisted they must have a child and had then bewildered her by his rapid shifts from reverent devotion to cruel neglect during a difficult pregnancy. A few days after she was delivered of a seven months' child, she was shattered by his arrest for contracting a bigamous marriage with a minor. Immediately involved in a variety of legal entanglements, penniless, physically weak, and responsible for the care of a sickly infant, she consciously turned to the case worker as someone likely to be more disinterested than any of her available relatives or friends. She poured forth in floods her conflicts between pity and hate of her husband, love and rejection of his child, her desire to evade and her resolution to fight out the problems of self-support. She asked no advice about these, she knew she felt "two ways about nearly everything." The case worker listened, and incidentally extended material assistance and concrete service in ways calculated not to confuse the client in working out her conflicts. Then another catastrophe occurred, just after the husband was sentenced to prison. The client awoke one morning to find the baby dead from an

illness the clinic had dismissed as a figment of her imagination. There were added to her existing difficulties a new rebellion and guilt. During all this period she sought the worker out for frequent interviews because, as she explained, this was the only way she knew to "clear her mind."

Now in this case the worker recognized the presence of acute conflict. She also realized that physical separation and plans for a divorce did not necessarily mean psychological freedom from a profoundly neurotic husband. She was, however, following, not guiding the situation. Presently, with some assistance from her, the client found a job of the kind she wanted. Somewhat to the worker's surprise, this was all the client felt she needed, for within a few weeks she came in to thank the worker. She explained that now she was all right but asked if she might come in when she wanted to talk anything over. Later she did come in to ask the case worker if there were not someone at the prison to whom her husband might talk, because, if talking did her so much good, it might help him. After this she vanished into the community, her conflicts apparently repressed and certainly unsolved, her mind occupied with a new hat, old friends seen again, and satisfaction in bills paid. She had used the case worker to relieve her current conflicts, and the case worker could recognize as her own little problem the faint disappointment she felt because she might never know how it would all turn out.

In citing these random examples of economies in effort attributable to the adaptation of psychoanalytical methods to case work, I do not want to create the impression that the case work techniques evolving from such tentative experiments always provide short cuts or result in adjustment by the client to his problems. They do not. In the first place, such modified techniques will frequently reveal needs in some clients we would not want or know how to satisfy. In the second place, the present results have to be submitted to various tests before we can be sure that we have gauged their significance correctly.

The point I would like to make is this: we cannot afford to lose whatever psychoanalytical experience may teach us. We

should certainly not neglect the opportunity on the assumption that an interest in psychoanalytical applications should be limited to those who inhabit ivory towers. Whether we are confined to a single interview or to minimal case work treatment, psychoanalysis has something to give us in handling the situation before us. The real crux of our problem is the difficulty we encounter behind the scenes, the difficulty of coming to feel and think more sensitively, of cultivating a deeper, broader consciousness of what goes on in our clients and between our clients and ourselves.

It is this that will take time, effort, and courage. Intensive thinking is a quality, quite distinct from that quantity we associate with intensive case work. Not all of us may have the opportunity to do the intensive thinking. Perhaps we shall have to rely on those who want so much to experiment in this particular way that they will discover how to surmount the obstacles of circumstance. Our individual rôle may not be that of applying such contributions as that Dr. Alexander has made this morning, and yet it may be important. Development in case work depends not merely on leadership but on us of the rank and file who want it, stimulate it, and put its achievements to the test. We may support it by our open-mindedness or drive it off on tangents or up blind alleys by our resistance. The challenge is to each of us who realize that human beings live in a psychological, as well as in a physical, reality and also realize that, however greatly these realities may be opposed, they can never be divorced.

THE UNKNOWN FUTURE

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POVERTY AND PLENTY

Walter Lippmann, The "Herald Tribune," New York City

I HAVE not come here to exhort or to advise social workers. You do not need to be exhorted to keep up your courage and to continue. In the last two and a half years you have proved your mettle. Among all who have had to deal with this great crisis, among statesmen and business men, among reformers and economists, your record is the clearest. You have the least to regret. You have had to administer relief on a scale which was utterly unforeseen. You have been provided with resources that were rarely adequate. The patience and the courage, the resourcefulness and the single-mindedness, with which you are carrying on are beyond all praise. When the history of these times comes to be written, it will be said of the social workers of America that they did their duty without flinching and that they deserved well of their country.

You know better than any assembly that could be gathered together what are the real and final consequences of this great disorder in human affairs. You have seen what lies behind the statistics of unemployment and of destitution. You have seen what lies behind the obvious symptoms of want. You have penetrated the surface and you know the anxieties, the paralyzing fears, the broken bodies, and the broken spirits which the world-wide mismanagement and confusion entail. I shall not tell you of these things of which you are the daily witnesses.

I shall speak, rather, of the paradox at the heart of all this suffering—the sensational and the intolerable paradox of want in the midst of abundance, of poverty in the midst of plenty. I should like to call your attention at the outset to the fact that

this is the first great economic depression in which every thinking person has been conscious of this paradox.

It is often said that this depression is not unlike the great depressions after 1837 and 1873. There are, indeed, many common elements; and if our knowledge of these other crises were more reliable than it is, we should probably have more practical wisdom at hand for meeting our problem. But in the mentality of the people there is a profound difference between this crisis and all its predecessors. This is the first time when it is altogether evident that man's power to produce wealth has reached a point where it is clearly unnecessary that millions in a country like the United States should be in want. In all previous crises there was some doubt as to whether the wealth of the nation was sufficient. That doubt no longer exists.

Man has invented and organized the power to produce wealth on a scale which allows us to say that the most ancient of human problems—the problem of scarcity—has been solved. It has not been solved in all parts of the globe. It has not been solved in China or in India and not yet, I think, in Russia. There men are still under the dominion of scarcity; the wealth, no matter how fairly it may be distributed, does not exist, to liberate the peoples from the menace of want. There the problem is still the ancient problem—the problem of scarcity, of famine due to the shortage of food and other goods.

But in our western world, and above all in the United States, this problem is solved. Not only do we know how to produce all the wealth needed for a decent standard of life for everybody; we actually do produce it in great abundance.

It has taken about three hundred years to arrive at the point where we can definitely say that the problem of scarcity is solved. It has required the development of modern science, the overthrow of feudalism, the liberation of personal energies through the democratic destruction of caste, and the widespread popularization of knowledge to accomplish the result. But it has been done. It is in any large perspective a great achievement.

We who stand at the culmination of this epoch can see today that in order to reap the results of this achievement, in order to translate the power we possess into a secure and ordered civilization, we have to do something which is extremely difficult. We have to tamper with the motives which made the achievement possible. For, if we are realistic, we must acknowledge that the moving force behind the stupendous material work of the nineteenth century was the acquisitive instinct stimulated to tremendous energy by the prospect of enormous personal profits and personal power. The supreme social problem of the twentieth century, and perhaps for a longer time than that, is to find energies as powerful and as persistent as the acquisitive and the competitive which are disinterested and cooperative in their effect.

If I read correctly the recent experience of Russia, it is being demonstrated there how difficult it is to solve that problem. For the Russian system starts with the premise that the acquisitive motive shall be outlawed. But the Russian experience seems to show, not only that the acquisitive motive is difficult to suppress, but that without it the energies of men to produce wealth are at present insufficient. That is why the Russians, when they find the output of wealth insufficient, are compelled temporarily at least to mitigate their pure doctrine and make concessions to private acquisitiveness.

I mention this, not by way of criticism, but because it seems to me to show the essential difficulty met by men who are making the most radical experiment with a problem which confronts all mankind. Their experiment shows thus far, it seems to me, that a technology for the production of wealth brought into being under the stimulus of strong acquisitiveness will not easily be maintained and mastered by disinterested and cooperative motives alone.

It seems probable, therefore—indeed, I think we may say it is certain—that as it took several centuries to solve the problem of scarcity, so it will take long generations to solve what we may call the problem of the management of plenty. The solution of

that problem depends upon changes in human motives as great as those which distinguish a feudal peasant from a modern business man. I do not say this in the spirit of those who tell us that nothing is possible because human nature is unchangeable. Human nature is changeable in the sense that the informed idealist has in mind. The change that has come over human nature in the West since the fifteenth century has made possible the capitalist system. The modern business man is the descendant of peasants; and if his human nature is unchanged from that of his ancestors, the motives which actuated him and the energies which he shows are at least a radical rearrangement and displacement of the ancient pattern. If the descendants of the modern business man are to operate a social order in which personal initiative is to be combined with public responsibility, his motives will have to change as radically in the next centuries as they have in the past.

We are not, however, able to wait until human motives have been transformed. The pressure of events compels us to make experiments in the management of human affairs for which in fact we lack adequate human material. We do not have the wisdom and disinterestedness to manage with any assurance the volume of credit which determines the rhythm of economic enterprise. We do not have the wisdom and disinterestedness to make the world secure against war. We do not have the wisdom and disinterestedness to plan and arrange the growth of our cities or the future of agriculture or the balance between agriculture and industry. Nevertheless, we have to attempt all these things, and many more besides, for which we are unprepared and inadequate. For the world in which we live, the world which our achievement in production has created, is a world which is so complicated, so dependent upon agreements and upon foresight, that a policy of *laissez faire* has become utterly impossible. We have to attempt the management of it though we know so little how to manage it. We have to learn by trial and error, since the whole truth is not revealed to us and we cannot spin it *a priori* out of our minds.

Therefore, the ages of discovery are not over. We are entering a new one in which the problems are as fascinating and the issues as momentous as any with which man has dealt. The voyage of Columbus opened up a new world to the European spirit, and within these widened horizons men accomplished miracles of invention and human organization. The solution of the problem of scarcity is a discovery like that of Columbus. It has opened a new world in which the human spirit can, and will, expand with hopes and energies and invincible ambitions for a better order of life than men have ever known before.

THE UNKNOWN FUTURE

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IF A prophet is one who habitually interprets the present in terms of the future, Mr. Lippmann is a prophet. True, in these practical days we speak not of prophecy but of prognosis. Either word will do, though I prefer prophecy to express Mr. Lippmann. The titles of his various articles and books tell the tale: "The Unknown Future"; "What of the Night?" "Today and Tomorrow"; these "Prefaces" to politics-and-morals-to-come. Now, although the future is one of man's fundamental curiosities, a prophet seldom gets a hearing until it is time for him to say, "I told you so." Prophets seem not to arise in times of trouble. It is when living is high and markets are bull that Jeremiah speaks, and then no one listens. When the disaster comes, we are all so busy with hand-to-mouth activities that the spirit of prophecy itself dies out. This is, I think, noticeably true of the present, when we are all either looking back to the golden age or planning to meet our needs and balance our budgets for the coming year. It is the more important to us that someone should come forward to give us a longer look ahead, and some perspective on past, present, and future.

My discussion will not be prophecy, but it will be an attempt to say something of the future as the social worker looks to it and may take part in it. I say "take part" in it, for the social worker is by nature a participating creature. This is the great difference between the social worker and the sociologist. The pure sociologist wants only to know. There is nothing "pure" about the social worker. He wants to be up and doing, to be into everything, whether he knows or not. It takes too long to know; we never really know. Action is always based upon some degree of faith. If we waited to figure the speeds of traffic, we should never get across the street—and life is like that.

As to the future, there are several ways of thinking. I will speak of two—the utopian and the evolutionary. By “utopian” I mean not necessarily impossible, but made to suit mankind. I believe the man of action tends to the utopian way of thinking of the future, especially if he is a restless man. The non-participant man, on the other hand, accepts the balance of nature or the will of God. I call this the evolutionary way of looking to the future because modern Westerns do not speak so much of God as of nature.

The only difficulty arising from the adherence to either the utopian or the evolutionary point of view is that, like all other consistent points of view, they both tend to become extreme, and then they destroy us. The evolutionary then not only accepts reality in the outer world but fails to realize himself and his own will as a part of its dynamic energy. The utopian, on the other hand, not only wants to change the world but wants to bring it to rest. I believe utopias and heavens are characteristically static. The motto of the evolutionary is, “You can’t change human nature”; that of the utopian is, “We ought to have a law.”

It is a part of our natural ambivalence that we both want and do not want to reach a “state” in the sense of a resting place. “Lasting joy” is a paradox; brevity is the soul of beauty. We say truly we want “rest and change.” The only life that will suit us must give us these contradictories. And that is just what it does. The French have a phrase for it, “Plus ça change plus c’est la même chose.”

This indicates that it is not by an arithmetical mean that we are to guide ourselves to a working point between the two extremes of utopianism and acquiescence. They are reconcilable only by some principle which includes them both. I suggest as this reconciling principle *active participation in endless change*. Could we guide by such a principle we might always accept the present, but always as a point of departure. We might accept even our own dissatisfaction, making of it a tool and a lever for the removal of mountains.

Mr. Lippmann's way of putting this dissatisfaction is, "Somehow we are so constituted that we demand the impossible. . . . What is there in the back of our heads which keeps telling us that life as we find it is not what it ought to be?"¹ He gives us the psychoanalytic explanation of the prenatal origin of our memory of a golden age. For most of us it is perhaps hard to understand how we can still be affected by an unconscious memory which reaches back to our state before our own birth. If we think of our consciously memorable childhood, we can understand better, and perhaps childhood impressions are enough to give us the same kind of interpretation of a source of our present fears and our present heart's desires. In childhood, we remember, there was comparative security. Yet in childhood and even before birth we are taking part in that cosmic tug-of-war which gives the world life and death, motion and rest—in a word, development, or change. Is not the pain and unrest of our social life a sign of the same struggle in another stage and under another form?

Social workers, being restless and unable to accept trouble, either their own or that of other people, without wrestling with it, have thought of various steps toward utopia which they have called "goals." Goals are good and helpful, but they should be tentatively held. Any goal may have to give way at any time to another goal, either because it is reached and becomes a point of departure, or because it is not reached and cannot be reached from the present point of departure. Take, for example, the average and "minimum" standards which have been worked out by sciences, and according to which families under care of social agencies have been budgeted, health examined, mental tested, and given help according to their measured needs. Good social case practice had by 1929 come to mean a thorough study of each case to know its assets and liabilities, use of resources according to the standards, and in addition all the opportunity the individuals seemed able to use. The resources of the community might have to be organized. There was, however, whether we be-

¹ Walter Lippmann, *Preface to Morals*, p. 150.

lieve it of ourselves or not, an underlying assumption that the products of the earth hung on a tree and that the need proved and measured must, as a matter of course, be filled. We had done some thinking about the needs of the person above and beyond a bodily habitation and an effort at self-support. We had ideas of the psychological values of security, and of ways in which it could be given. We were learning, we thought, ways of helping people with their deeper underlying personal difficulties.

Now we have had a rude awakening. Our standards of social case practice have had to give way before the necessity of quantity distribution of food and shelter. That, to be sure, is something we know how to do, and we have not failed to put our best energies into it, but withal we have been resentful. Why have a depression? We ought not to have these business cycles. Unemployment is a state of industry for which there is no excuse. Has not everyone an inalienable right to work for his living? Our standards are useless under such conditions as these. This that we are doing is not our idea of social work. What will the young generation of social workers learn? What is the depression doing to social work? Social work is threatened with extinction.

Among community organizers and social program-builders one discerns at times a kind of exacerbation of a chronic state of exasperation with the futility of social work to contribute anything to society as a whole. If we had really been on our job all this time and paying attention to the causes of social disturbance, instead of being absorbed in our curiosity as to individual abnormalities, we should have had social insurance, we should have had better industrial practices, and social work would have a voice now and something to say as to the repair of the old system or the instalment of a new.

Our distress at what is happening to us is natural enough. No living person who was aware of the weight of deprivation and fear pressing upon our normal working population, as well as upon our disabled, could fail to share in it and struggle against

it. No member of any ambitious young profession could see, without quaking, its hard-won ground crumbling under its feet.

But it is one thing to feel the job too much for us and another to feel it not our job. A doctor does not say, "This is not medicine I am practicing because my patient is too sick." We can face any problem if only we think of it as our problem and not as an interruption in an otherwise integrated life work. I think of this period, not as a temporary lapse from a normal condition to which we shall return and not as due to any one cause, but as one of the events in a social evolution which results from the constant working of the tendency of human beings to maintain individuality against their tendency to organize. As such, it seems to me in the very center of our area of professional concern. Many of our objectives are determined by the values which we as social workers place upon these two tendencies. We have been interested always in their various manifestations and in their conflict.

Why, then, do we think of the depression as an interruption? One reason is the impossibility of maintaining the material standard of living to which I have referred. But a pain economy is nevertheless an economy. It is still within our province to deal with budgets—all the more so, perhaps, that we must now take account of community income as well as of community expenditure, and that we must distribute according to source-capacity as well as according to individual need. Perhaps we may profit in the end by having to think more closely of the sources of the money we dispense. Already we seem further advanced in consciousness of new emphases and combinations to be made as between public and private funds, between voluntary gifts and taxes, local, state, and national. Such thinking may set us ahead; and when we work through to a new equilibrium (for we shall not turn back to the old), we may, as social workers, play a better and more active part in organization of social forces, having achieved a more definite economic point of view than we had before.

Another reason for thinking of the depression as an interrup-

tion is that we had, as I said, developed a special interest in the psychic elements in the social problem and we had wanted to find better and better ways of treating them. Now we must spend ourselves on grocery orders; we are lucky if we can vary our material aid with clothes and rent money. Yet to me nothing is truer than that this is a psychological *as well as* a "real" depression. Sometimes when I am most conscious of the threat of starvation and most in a mood to contend that before all else people must eat, I find myself brought up with a short turn by the feeling of an emotional and mental block to production. Can we eat again until we have, as a national community, thought and felt differently from the way we now think and feel?

As for the state of mind of the unemployed, no slightest contact of a social worker with an applicant can disregard it. To my mind the psycho-social interpretation of client-worker relationship, far from being now lost to us, came just in the nick of time to save us from sinking under the necessity at such a time as this to assume all the burdens of the client world, instead of sharing them with the clients themselves who, after all, are persons in their own right and much more capable often to help themselves than we to help them. Our mental hygiene teachings are just as applicable now as ever. The person deprived of food needs spiritual support not less but more. The personal help of the social worker is needed now more than if the material help given could be more nearly adequate.

A good part of the psychological depression consists, to my mind, in the boredom of idleness. I realize that the emotion experienced is mixed and that fear is its core. At the same time, does it not appear that on the whole we have but little interest in doing anything that does not directly equate with a wage? Everything in our national tradition and life thus far seems to have encouraged such an attitude toward activity. "If a man does not work, neither shall he eat." That rule appropriate to the time of Captain John Smith still obtains in the age of mass production and helps us to have a depression caused by plenty.

The fact that this principle no longer works may indicate our jolting but inevitable progress from an individualistic to a group-wise bread life.

Do we need a higher rate of consumption in the future than we have ever had before, and with it a greater participation of all people in non-productive activities? With the shorter working day will social workers and educators move up to a new prominence in their minds the question of the use of leisure time? I should like to begin this move now.

What social workers can do in the Unknown Future will depend upon what they can be. We may gain in wisdom if we can make the most of this opportunity and if we live through it.

I suggest the following items to be included if we get to the point of formulating our outlook upon life:

We are against a static utopia; we are for change.

We see no one cause for our dissatisfaction; we see always multiple causes, without and within us.

We are against a panacea; we are for a plan.

We are interested not so much in revolution as in what might come after, that is, in rebuilding. We are interested in the development of our people to a point at which they would be fairly represented by intelligent and disinterested government officials and legislators.

We are against romanticism, and we are against materialism in our standards of living. We are for becoming more realistic and more spiritual, because man lives by bread, but not by bread alone.

And, finally, we are not radical, for to be radical is to uproot and our roots are not in any system but in human nature. Neither are we conservative, because to be conservative is to mistake, again, the form for the substance. Rather, let us claim that uniting principle of participation in change which allows us always to start with what is possible and with it to achieve the impossible.

Let us not fear the Unknown Future.

THE UNKNOWN FUTURE

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A SPEECH on the "Unknown Future" may seem to imply a readiness on the part of the speaker to talk as if he knew about the "unknowable." We have suffered enough from this kind of cocksureness in the last five years. I trust, therefore, that you will regard my remarks only as some speculations toward the unknown future.

We are living today in a time of extremely rapid changes which are occurring at such a rate that we experience great difficulty in either foreseeing or adjusting to them. Out of consideration of these changes we may hazard something as to the future.

To list the areas of accelerated change would be to catalogue almost the totality of our economic, social, political, personal, and religious life. It is possible for me this morning to make only a few observations on some of the changes in our economic life.

It is difficult now, particularly when we are in the midst of them, to say what ones are most significant; but certain of them stand out strikingly.

It appears that the rate of technological change has been very greatly accelerated during the decade of the twenties. This seems to be due in part to the fact that we are experiencing in a geometrical ratio the results of accumulated scientific and engineering mastery over processes and materials. The progressive increase in the availability and cheapness of mechanical power, the growth of mass production, and to some extent the high level of wage rates and of profits, have stimulated the production process, as has also the general shaking up which our habits

of production received during the war. These changes mean ultimately increased productivity, which tends toward a higher general standard of living. But the immediate effect is displacement of labor at a rate more rapid than the readjusting processes tend to absorb it. And it is well to call attention to the fact that the enormous pressure for lower costs to which all competitive business is subjected at present is compelling additional economies in labor cost. The process of economizing in the use of labor is being continued by the depression. While readjusting costs to prices may be considered as one of the steps essential to recovery, its immediate result is to displace many workers who will not later be needed in their usual jobs even if the former level of demand should recur. Widespread shifts in the occupation of labor and in the places of application of our production efforts are always characteristic of depression; they are one of the ways by which readjustment takes place. But the ultimately wholesale character of these changes should not blind us to the serious nature of the immediate problem they present.

No one can do more than guess as to whether the more rapid rate of technological change which I have been discussing will continue permanently or not. In so far as the cause of the increased number of economic adjustments we have been making in the twenties rests in the war and its after effects, we may confidently expect a slowing down of the tempo of change, unless another war occurs. To the extent to which the increased rate of change grows out of the progressive influence of science, the tempo will not decline. As good a guess as any concerning the total trend may be that, following the depression, the rate of technological and related changes may subside somewhat but will not decrease to the pre-war level. The dynamic character of our economic society will continue and, on the whole, will show an upward trend.

A second economic change, which may at least be as important as the increased rate of technological change, is that in the world price level. We are, according to students of price history, experiencing the most devastating fall in world prices since the

time of Napoleon. Wholesale commodity prices have declined roughly one-third since the fall of 1929; agricultural prices have declined much more. The cost of living has declined nearly one-fifth. Such a sudden and severe readjustment in the price level involves tremendous shocks to our economic structure. It does more than slow down business by making business hesitate to go ahead; since what it buys today at a dollar it must sell for less tomorrow. It involves vast rearrangements in the relative economic position of different groups and in the size of their claims against society. Those with fixed values, along with bondholders, mortgage holders, and the *rentier* class generally, gain at the expense of other groups. The burdensomeness of all debts, public and private, increases proportionately with the decline in prices. All this involves a disequilibrium in place of that rather delicate equilibrium in purchasing power among different groups in society which is the necessary condition for a smooth flow of business activity.

An important question for the future has to do with the direction of prices in the years ahead. I do not refer to the disastrous decline of the last two years. That presumably will pass, and we hope soon. I refer rather to the question as to whether the world has started in on a long-run price decline such as it has known in the past. If so, we may not expect, even after we emerge from the depression, a rapid expansion of fixed capital equipment or full employment. A period of declining prices is characterized by slow business, elimination of waste, efforts to cut costs, and chronic unemployment and longer depressions.

I cannot answer the question as to whether we are in for a long period of settling prices or not. All I can say is that great wars which have led to great increases in the price level and inflation of various kinds have been followed at times in the past by a long period of settling prices. Following the Napoleonic wars we had a period of such declining prices for thirty years. Following the Civil War we had a similar period from 1873 to 1898. Whether history will be repeated, no one can say. But we have had long swings of "upping" prices which lasted from

twenty-five to thirty-five years, followed by swings downward of similar length. Let us hope that in the present rapid price readjustments we are taking it all in a lump.

I do not need to refer in detail to a third set of economic changes which are occurring within the business structure itself. The process of liquidation is proceeding at a tremendously rapid rate among all kinds of business activity. We are all familiar with the thousands of bank failures. The same process is going on with equal rapidity generally in the field of competitive business and industry. Those units which are badly managed, or are in an unfortunate situation, or have weak financial support are increasingly going into bankruptcy or going out of business altogether. It is a ruthless struggle for survival which is a part of the process of readjusting to a new and much lower price and cost level and perhaps also of reducing the credit burden which business has to carry.

One result of this process in an ordinary or mild depression is to toughen the business structure by the elimination of weak spots and economic maladjustments. The same will undoubtedly occur in this, but the process is so much more devastating that one hesitates to say what additional results will also occur. A lessening of the number of business units and a concentration in the hands of the stronger and better financed may be expected.

Of wider general interest than these economic shifts are the significant changes which will take place in our social attitudes and philosophy as a result of the facts and experiences of this depression. In a conversation a little over a year ago, Professor Laski of the London School of Economics facetiously expressed the hope that the depression might last three years longer in order that we in the United States might get over the idea that our present society represented the last word in economic evolution. It is difficult to predict what social changes will come out of the fact that Mr. Laski's hope is coming true. Prediction is made more difficult by the uncertainty as to the course which economic events will take in the next few years.

But some of the social changes in store can be assumed. The many points at which considerations of individual advantage and survival and considerations of social interest come into conflict have become consciously apparent for the first time to significant numbers of our population. The adequacy of a program which presumes a minimum of conscious control over individual choices is being increasingly questioned. Public opinion during and after depression may generally be expected to move toward the left. Note, for example, that the two periods of most significant growth in strength and vigor in the American labor movement occurred immediately after, but as a result of, the only other depressions which compared in severity with the present one: 1873-78 and 1893-98. If such similar increases in vigor of the labor movement take place, that movement will be of a more radical character than formerly.

As a result of such swings in opinion we may confidently expect a steady and significant enlargement of the area of social control over economic activity. This will be addressed chiefly to two objects: first, the provision of security for the individual worker through such measures as unemployment insurance, old age pension, an effective public employment system, and a better integrated system of public and private relief; and second, the lessening of the severity of depression and unemployment for the future. This latter task involves the building of a society in which socially harmful unemployment will be less likely to occur. This is the grand economic task of our day.

I would with pleasure spend much time upon the things involved in such a program but will mention only four objectives essential in any realistic approach to this end. All of these are less fundamental than the point made by Mr. Lippmann concerning a change of motives.

First, we must accomplish the practical outlawry of war. We must support organized efforts to end war and must work for a greater understanding and a more accommodating spirit in international relations. We can never hope that world stability will be a reality in the face of political instability. Unemploy-

ment will never be avoided in a world endeavoring to recover from the mental and economic effects of war and basing its policies upon and making plans for a new war. I am almost willing to state that if there had been no war this depression would not have been more than half as severe as it is.

Second, we must build a financial system which is better able to stand strains or adjust to them. There are a wide variety of steps that can be taken to this end. We must learn, through our public and private banking system, how to plan the flow of credit more evenly. We must also learn the ways for a wiser guidance and control over the direction of investment, and we must devise a means of insuring better balance between investment and spending.

Third, we must find some means of more effective common planning of whole industries. Opinion will differ as to the best methods. No general answer is possible, but neither rugged individualism nor social revolution will solve our problems. As Walton Hamilton has pointed out, we must find a piecemeal solution, industry for industry; we are not in a position to give definite answers. We need, as he says, "direct, purposeful questions more than we need solutions." In some industries competition will be retained and the place of competition will be raised perhaps by permitting agreements, which are obviously in the public interest, to be made in advance, subject to public approval. We may recognize other industries to be frankly monopolistic in character and regulate them as such. And in still others some such plan of self-government as that proposed by Mr. Swope with a minimum of governmental participation may be in order. We face the delicate task of meshing our economic and political structure. Through a wide variety of experiments we may be able to find that solution which will be better than any ready-made system we may take from the shelf.

Fourth, our greatest need is for more understanding. It is easy to assert; it is easy to string together a set of plausible illustrations to prove any point of view. The depression can be, and is being, capitalized to support any contention which self-inter-

est or prejudice may desire. We are inundated with proposals; it is true now and will continue to be true, that our chief task is to have the wisdom to choose well among them. We must realize that in our understanding of economic and social forces and in our information concerning them we are a century behind the physical sphere. One of the greatest lessons of this depression will have been lost if we do not greatly increase our facilities for scientific research.

There are many other lines of effort into which it is impossible to enter now. There is no germ, no single cause and cure; patient and persistent work on many fronts is needed with the realization that by building a little greater stability at one point you contribute to creating more at other points. All of these efforts, however, will be directed to two common needs: first, the building of a society in which socially harmful unemployment will be less likely to occur; and second, making more effective and systematized provision for the relief of unemployment.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAM

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THE critical period through which we are passing is focusing attention upon fundamental questions of social and economic organization. In the field of social work this is illustrated primarily in the increasing interest which has been aroused in public welfare and governmental responsibility. The focal center of social programs is rapidly shifting to public welfare with the realization that social work is a well defined activity of government, that the scope and volume of public activities are expanding, and that the social work of the future will be largely a governmental function.

Lacking a comprehensive inventory and evaluation of public activities, it has been difficult to visualize the extent and the importance of public welfare programs. The present recognition may have been precipitated by the current emphasis upon public relief; actually this sphere of social work transcending in importance our voluntary systems of service has been developing for some time.

Obstacles to a clear understanding arise as soon as we attempt a definition of public welfare. Many of the difficulties which we have encountered in evaluating the various fields of social work coincide with a lack of clarity concerning principles and an inability to agree upon the social and economic theories which motivate social institutions. I am therefore hazarding an explanation of public welfare in terms of a changing social philosophy.

We can best understand public welfare as the developing activities of a changing social system. Obviously, the limits and scope of public welfare activities will differ radically as between

a social order dominated by the philosophy of individual effort and control. A completely socialized state conceives of all organized activities of the community including industry, agriculture, health, and education as elements in a public welfare program. In a thoroughly individualistic state, the government in theory should confine itself entirely to judicial and regulatory functions and should administer no public welfare activities. Strenuous efforts have been made in this country in conformity to the philosophy of individualism to narrow the responsibilities and functions of government through restrictive legislation, but actually all states have provisions for the care of the indigent and the defective. A preliminary study of the poor laws and constitutional limitations was recently made in behalf of the Federal Children's Bureau by Heisterman and Keener. Although state governments have in a number of instances sharply restricted local authority to grant outdoor relief and constitutional limitations have been devised in a number of states to obstruct state aid to local communities for relief purposes, the generalized power of the state government known as the police power, together with liberal judicial interpretations of existing statutes, have under pressure combined to negate the obvious intent of constitutional provisions.

Governmental responsibility for welfare in the last century has developed in fields far beyond the limited responsibility for the so called pauper and indigent classes. The public school system, the extension of public health regulation into health services for individuals, the establishment of recreational programs under public auspices, as well as the host of other provisions for the welfare, health, and safety of the citizens of the state through governmental action, are an expression of, and are contributions to, a changing system of social life through which collective responsibility is becoming established for activities formerly considered restricted to the voluntary efforts of individuals and associations of individuals. To define public welfare narrowly as including only measures of public relief or public social work would ignore many fundamental aspects. The topic for

this paper logically covers the related fields of public health, education, labor legislation, and industrial and financial regulation which are all aspects of, and contributory to, public welfare. Practical consideration and the limitations of the writer compel that we limit our discussion to the topic of public relief.

In a paper on public relief prepared for this section last year the opinion was set forth that the drift to public relief had been stimulated by various influences and factors but that it might primarily be interpreted as a result of a growing liberalism in political and economic doctrine. The growing complexity of industrial life and urban conditions which require new social provisions to secure the economic security of families has not been sufficiently recognized by the majority of social workers. For this reason new phases of public relief have come in response more to the demands of organized labor and liberal political elements rather than from the proposals of privately organized charity. With the establishment, however, of industrial accident compensation, mothers' assistance, and state measures for the outdoor relief of the aged there has been a growing acceptance by social workers that current economic problems of the family call for governmental programs.

With changing social attitudes and increasing economic hazards threatening family security, the agency of government is increasingly called upon to consider the adoption of social work programs which are far beyond the scope and capacity of private philanthropy. These demands frequently encounter obstacles in the form of constitutional restrictions and tax limitations. There is and has been a strenuous opposition to enlarging the scope of government responsibility for public welfare, and a history of public relief could be written in terms of weakening resistance upon the part of those who regard a change from an individualistic to a collective system with suspicion and antagonism. A recent dramatic example has been the determined program of those in positions of influence and control of the federal government to resist vigorously the imposition upon the federal treasury of responsibility for unemployment relief. This

has been accomplished by vigorous effort to bolster up inadequate resources for dealing with unemployment relief by lending the prestige of government to community chest campaigns and to other voluntary measures. The fact that local governments were actually carrying more than 60 per cent of the burden of dependency was at first ignored in the plans of the President's Committee for Unemployment Relief. With the recognition of this fact, the contest has become one between the federal and local governments as well as between public and private responsibility. While outward appearances indicate that the administration is seeking a face-saving measure as a compromise with its previous dogmatic opposition toward federal responsibility for relief, the background of the controversy at the present time gives us some hope in believing that before the end of the year federal grants in aid to state program of unemployment relief and large scale public works undertakings to relieve unemployment will be inescapable. From some public utterances recently made by conservative members of a Senate committee considering unemployment insurance, even the possibilities of federal sanction for compulsory unemployment insurance are not entirely remote.

Pending the acceptance by the federal government of an obligation to participate in a public welfare program for the relief of the unemployed, important developments have been taking place in local and state programs for the unemployed as well as for other groups requiring organized aid. It now becomes the task of this paper to review briefly, on the basis of the partial information available, recent trends and the emerging characteristics of public relief.

Municipalities and local communities are developing increasingly the function of outdoor relief. Upon the basis of financial statistics of American cities Mary Phelgar Smith reports in "Trends in Municipal Administration of Public Welfare, 1900-1930"¹ that between 1916 and 1928 the number of cities of 50,000 population and over giving outdoor relief increased from

¹ *Social Forces*, March, 1932, p. 374.

50 to 159 and that, since 1925, 87 per cent of the cities of 30,000 population and over have been appropriating funds for outdoor relief. Although there are frequent limitations and restrictions by local governmental units, the giving of outdoor relief is possible in every state of the Union. The valuable monthly statistical reports of the Russell Sage Foundation and the Federal Children's Bureau, as well as the recent study of relief expenditures of public and private agencies by the United States Census Bureau, indicate that between 60 per cent and 75 per cent of outdoor relief expenditures are made by public departments operating on tax funds. These relief statistics are not sufficiently complete or uniform from which to derive the trend in the proportionate expenditures by public and private agencies during 1930 and 1931. There may have been a slight decline in the proportion of the total relief expenditures which were derived from public agencies in 1931 due, perhaps, to the emphasis of the President's Committee for Unemployment Relief upon the use of voluntary resources and the influence of the special emergency campaigns which have been conducted for unemployment relief. Recent reports from a number of large cities point to the exhaustion of private funds and to new municipal and state appropriations which will probably increase the relative proportion of public funds in relief expenditures.

There have been significant changes in the standards of local public relief. Departments of charities, departments of the poor, and overseers of the poor have increasingly become bureaus or departments of welfare. While the change in name is not necessarily accompanied by significant improvement in standards, it is an indication of actual or potential reorganization and a desire to conform at least externally to the standards of social work.

Although few states and local communities operate under well developed and effective civil service procedure, it is the general consensus of observers that there have been distinct improvements in the training and qualification of the personnel employed to administer public relief, more marked perhaps in

the newer forms of public aid, such as mothers' assistance, than in the outdoor relief departments of cities.

Improvement in personnel has been accompanied also by some improvement in service and in the reduction of case load for which individual workers are responsible. Similarly, information points to a large increase in the amounts of relief both relatively and for individual families and the assumption of some form of budgetary standard for measuring relief needs. The Federal Children's Bureau reports show that average relief per family in general public relief agencies is larger than in non-sectarian family agencies.

The problem of unemployment relief has developed to some extent the principle of state responsibility for supplementing local relief funds. Previous to the depression there were a few instances of state subsidies in the form of grants for mothers' aid and for blind pensions. The basis of state aid has been incorporated in several of the newer measures for old age relief. There have been few attempts, however, to organize general outdoor relief upon a state-wide basis and little demand from local communities for this help. In a number of states, state aid to local units was declared unconstitutional. In Pennsylvania, for example, the old age relief act was invalid, although the emergency relief measure recently enacted has received judicial sanction. Within the last two years a number of states (New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin) have appropriated funds for the relief of unemployment to be administered in local communities and/or have made special legislative provision for additional sources from which local funds may be derived. A few states also have made appropriations for emergency public works or work relief administered by the state directly or through local communities. During the last few years, also, additional states have passed statutory provisions authorizing mothers' assistance in local communities which is now in effect in 45 states. There has also been an increase in the number of states making provision for special forms of old age relief,

so that there are now 17 states which have old age relief laws and 13 states in which it is in actual operation.

Accompanying revised state legislation for local relief and subsidies to local relief agencies, there has been some development of state supervision, consultation, and service to local relief programs. Several states administering new forms of state unemployment relief report very favorable results of state supervision in improving local administration and introducing modern standards into antiquated relief departments.

Significant improvements in administration have been the by-product or have been accompanied by the organization of new forms of administration. Instead of the responsibility for administration of public relief being left in the hands of township supervisors and elected but non-expert public officials, there has been a tendency to concentrate responsibility in the hands of a paid director selected with some concern as to special qualifications for the job. This form of organization also includes a non-paid citizens' board either with general administrative or advisory functions. Some attention has been paid to the personnel of the citizens' board by responsible groups concerned with the development of social work and the improvement of social work standards. There is a general agreement that such citizens' boards have real value to a municipal department if they are properly selected for their understanding of social work and for their leadership in the community.

Gradually some progress has been made with the assumption of elementary responsibilities by the state department of welfare for the operation of local units and departments. The introduction of monthly statistical reporting systems in the State of New York and the beginnings of a home relief supervision bureau in the New York State Department of Welfare may be pointed to as examples of a development which promises to make local poor relief a larger matter of state concern.

Accompanying these improvements in standard of administration, there have been significant developments in the attitude

toward public relief and the building up of a general philosophy which promises to place public relief in the next decade upon a more modern and more certain basis. The changing attitude of social workers engaged in private philanthropy has been noted, and there is an increasing readiness to accept public relief departments as offering a potential vehicle for the development of new and desirable forms of public responsibility for dependent families. Among the discussions of community chests and councils, one finds increasingly a realization of the importance of governmental social work being considered. Revisions of antiquated poor laws, establishment of new forms of public relief for special classes of dependents, a tendency toward state supervision and state subsidies of local agencies, hopeful attempts to incorporate modern ideas of social work and of adequate relief standards in new legislation, point to a future development of a state program based upon effective local administration. Gradually, but consistently, we are beginning to see the problem of relief in terms of local, state, and federal responsibility.

Within the current month it has become evident that the federal government will assume some share of responsibility for the problems of unemployment relief which confront local and state governments. In welfare measures which are not definitely of a relief character, such as vocational education and rehabilitation, maternity and infant aid, the federal government has already indicated the possibilities of federal participation in public welfare programs. During this period of the depression, although measures designed to bring the federal government into participation with the unemployment program have thus far failed of realization, a few measures, such as the federal distribution of wheat, indicate that the resistant attitude would eventually yield to the growing unrest, dissatisfaction, and persistent efforts of local representative groups and of social workers who are convinced of the importance of federal participation both in financial support and in program stimulation. The Costigan-La Follette unemployment relief bill, which failed of accomplishment in the present session of congress but which received

considerable support, indicates the desirable direction for federal aid. Through assistance in the drafting of this bill social workers may assume that they have made a real contribution. Careful administrative provisions, and the emphasis upon administration being lodged in responsible hands in the proposed legislation, are indications of the introduction of social work principles into new public programs. Similarly, that part of the bill which concerned itself with the non-resident group, otherwise so difficult to provide for through state and local action, furnishes another substantial argument for federal action. A national basis is required for the solution of social problems which cannot be dealt with adequately by individual states or localities.

There are a number of indications at the present time that the pressure of unemployment relief and the exhaustion of relief resources in many communities are contributing to a lowering of relief and service standards in public as well as in private agencies. Budgetary standards for measuring relief are being arbitrarily abandoned; and the undesirable process of fixing relief amounts, irrespective of individual needs, has been taking its place. Case loads are increasing beyond the point where any significant service can be rendered by social workers to the families receiving relief. In fact, case loads in many communities have increased to the point where minimum standards of administration have been discarded. In a few communities budgetary and cash relief has been abandoned and relief is being distributed in kind. Responsibility for payment of rent or for the furnishing of clothing and other essential needs has been abandoned and many departments and agencies are reduced to supplying only insufficient quantities of food to the families suffering from unemployment. In some communities mass feeding is gradually being accepted as a method for dealing with the large problem of relief needs. In some public agencies heretofore well organized and adhering to acceptable standards, pressure has resulted in limiting intake and abandoning to their own resources groups of desperately needy individuals and families.

The present development of public welfare provisions which I have attempted to outline raises a number of questions which should receive the best thought and planning of which social work is capable. We should bring to bear upon future programs the experience of European nations with modern relief measures, social insurance, and programs of economic reorganization. We must also organize our own experience and evaluate critically the principles of case work and of current relief administration. Few of the important questions which are involved in this country have been answered with any degree of insight or thoroughness. To what extent will the development of special relief provisions and the improvement of public outdoor relief affect the population of institutions for dependents? Probably in consequence of a growth of public and private outdoor relief the almshouse population has remained stationary over the last twenty years, in spite of an increase in the general population. It was presumed that the development of a comprehensive program of mothers' assistance in this country would affect the volume of dependent children under care. There are no conclusive statistics on this question. It is believed that these new relief measures for the care of dependent children in their own families have not materially lessened the volume of dependent children in institutions and foster homes, although perhaps they have been instrumental in reducing the normal increase in this group which might otherwise have taken place. During this period of increasing public relief there seems to have been no relative decrease in the volume of private relief cases or relief expenditures. In fact, the meager information which we possess would indicate that private relief expenditures were increasing before the depression. It is doubtful, therefore, whether these new developments in public welfare have done more than keep pace with the increasing relief needs of the population, although by increasing opportunities for relief more adequate standards of living have been made possible for the dependent groups.

There is also considerable justification for believing that these newer forms of public relief make available more desirable pro-

visions for large classes of the population who were not previously served adequately by existing provisions. The experience in New York State with old age relief which has been operating since the beginning of 1931 is a case in point. In March, 1932, there were 49,974 individuals receiving old age grants, involving an expenditure of approximately \$1,300,000 a month. During this period there has been no significant change in the total number of individuals cared for in the county and city infirmaries. Although individuals over seventy who are eligible for the pension do not represent the only group of inmates, they form a significant part of the almshouse population. In this period there has been an increase, rather than a decrease, in the number of individuals cared for by county institutions; and there has been, in fact, a slight increase in the number of admissions per month. While we must acknowledge the abnormal conditions which prevail during this period and that without the old age relief there might have been a larger increase in almshouse population, there are at the present time almost four times as many individuals receiving old age relief grants as the total almshouse population in the State of New York. So far as we know, there is no evidence of a decrease in private homes for the aged, nor is it likely that the number of aged persons receiving aid from other forms of relief has decreased to any marked extent. Judging from the experience in European countries following the introduction of national plans for old age insurance or old age pensions, we may anticipate some drop in the almshouse population in normal times; but this decrease in population would be relatively only a small part of individuals receiving old age assistance. We are, therefore, led to the conclusion that new forms of outdoor relief and new social measures apply largely to classes of individuals who formerly have been left to their own resources and who have not been the recipients to any large extent of organized forms of assistance. This is one of the factors in the development of public relief which must be kept in mind if we are to understand its meaning and importance.

Similarly, the various proposals for unemployment insurance

(and in this connection it is important to note that already one state, Wisconsin, has made provision for the establishment of compulsory unemployment insurance beginning with next year) cannot be considered as a transfer of responsibility for dependents from an existing form of social aid to another but rather as the creation of new, and undoubtedly desirable, forms of assistance for classes of the population who previously have been forced to depend upon their own limited ability to organize their resources satisfactorily.

There is the most urgent need at this time for social workers to consider the basic questions involved in the problems of individual and family economic security in relation to the present unorganized economic system upon which individual security depends. Departing from our former preoccupation with individual maladjustment and the case work method, we must go on to consider the questions involved in industrial control and management, taxation and governmental policies, and the vexing problems of modern economic life. Nothing short of a new approach to the whole problem of poverty and the formulation of a modern and comprehensive public program will be sufficient to cope with the overwhelming problems into which our functions and responsibilities have been leading us. It is for these reasons that a Pathfinding Committee of the Family Welfare Association which has been studying this problem for some time has recommended an institute on governmental relief with a program of fact-finding, education, and planning. Already, perhaps more than \$300,000,000 was spent in 1931 on various forms of public outdoor relief in the United States, and the requirements for unemployment relief during and after the depression will enlarge this sum considerably.

We face many future uncertainties, among them the effect of the depression upon existing forms of relief, the possibility of breakdown and demoralization of painfully developed standards, the dangers of the early abandonment of the hastily constructed emergency services, the haphazard and irregular development of local public relief, the necessities for organizing a

comprehensive system of public relief—local, state, and national. The details of the proposal of the Pathfinding Committee have been presented in a report and discussed in another session of this Conference. I merely wish to stress the fact in conclusion that a comprehensive project of this nature is overwhelmingly required if we are to establish adequate planning for the next decade of social work in this country which, unless all signs fail, will be an era primarily of public welfare development.

A COOPERATIVE EXPERIMENT BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

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IN THE entire field of social work there is no problem more important, and at the same time more puzzling, than the relation between public and private agencies. It has probably never been solved with entire satisfaction in any community. In general it has been approached from two principal points of view based on two different philosophies about the function and relationship of social work under public and under private auspices.

According to one philosophy, the only difference between public and private agencies is the source of support—one coming from governmental and one from private funds. The adherents of this point of view maintain that there is no reason why there should be any other difference either in function or in the type of work done or in the clients reached, and that working out a relationship involves, therefore, simply a clear division of the field to be covered in such a way that each type of agency takes entire responsibility for its own defined area. An example of this concept of demarcation of area is provided by the Mothers' Assistance Fund of Pennsylvania.

The other point of view is that for efficient operation we must turn to private agencies and that the interest of the community is best served when they administer public funds, using the public agency as a pocketbook for certain types of existing need. This plan has been followed in certain cities where the family welfare society acts as agent for the public department.

An experimental working relationship which has been tried in Philadelphia during the last seven months is based on a third point of view, namely, the integration of public and private agencies, not through demarcation of territory or the adminis-

tration of the funds of the one by the other, but through a definition of function which utilizes the particular skills and resources of each. Although it began in response to a present and emergent need, it contains interesting possibilities for a permanent plan.

Since July, 1931, the bulk of unemployment relief in Philadelphia has been carried by one large organization, the Bureau for Unemployment Relief, financed during six months of that time by public and during three and a half months by private funds. It is a mass job involving from fifty to sixty thousand families, in which it has been necessary for untrained workers to carry huge case loads.

The principal need in the great majority of families coming to the Bureau is economic, a need which can be met in an objective way, with definite requirements for eligibility, and a fixed standard of relief. Most of these people would be asking no help of any social agency if jobs were available, but among this vast number there are also families and individuals whose dire economic need has increased or precipitated other problems often more disturbing than the serious money lacks.

The private agencies have had limited budgets with little possibility of accepting new families for relief but with a great desire to be used to their utmost capacity in this emergency. The question was how to make available the service of private social agencies and at the same time help the Bureau for Unemployment Relief in its tremendous task. The plan of cooperative case work provides at least a partial answer to this question.

The experiment includes eight agencies—Family Society, American Red Cross, Jewish Welfare Society, Child Guidance Clinic, Big Sisters' Association, International Institute, Social Service Department of St. Christopher's Hospital, and the case worker of Lighthouse Settlement. Through the Community Council representatives of these agencies met with representatives of the Bureau for Unemployment Relief. The first cases to be transferred were discussed in detail and accepted or rejected after careful consideration of all the factors involved.

From this case by case discussion, definite working arrangements and a basis for the future referral of cases were agreed upon. The plan included: first, the continuance of financial responsibility by the Bureau; second, the complete taking over by the case work agency of all visiting, and supervision of relief; third, the sending by the private agency of monthly reports to the Bureau covering the current financial situation of the family and recommendations for needed changes in relief within the scale set by the Bureau; fourth, the discontinuance of the case by the private agency when case work service was found to be no longer needed or possible, even though financial assistance was still required.

The attempt has been made from the first to use the most careful discrimination in referral. For what reasons would one case out of a possible hundred be selected from the case load of a worker at the Bureau and referred to a private agency?

From the discussion of the first transfers a few principles were adopted about the kind of cases which would be acceptable for cooperative work, and the kind which would not. In general those which seemed suitable for the cooperative plan fell into two groups: first, cases in which the service of the private agencies is desired by the worker in the public agency as a help in difficult situations. This would include diagnostic and consultative service, short time service for special problems, cases which take a disproportionate amount of the worker's time, families closely connected with another active with the private agency. In all probability this group of cases would not constitute part of a permanent working plan when the public agency had less pressure of work and a more experienced staff. Second, cases in which the service of the private agency is sought by the public agency because the client desires help with some personal problem. This group would include the individual who recognizes a problem and wants help with it, as well as the person who expresses some need for help in a less articulate way than actually asking for it.

The kinds of cases which were decided to be undesirable for

referral to the private agencies were principally: first, cases in which economic need and the inadequacy of the Bureau allowance created practical problems so immediate and urgent that without meeting these nothing else could be considered—this applied very particularly to cases in which eviction was imminent and there was no chance of doing anything about it, since the private agencies did not supplement with relief in these cases; second, cases to bring up standards (cleanliness, care of home, attitude toward children), or to improve questionable social situations (immorality, bootlegging, begging, stealing), when the family seemed to have no desire for such help and appeared to be fairly satisfied to make that type of adjustment.

A theoretical basis for discriminating referral is fairly simple and does not begin to touch many problems which exist in the personal contact of worker and client and in the complicated factors of interagency relationship. Thus, individual workers have sometimes referred cases unsuited to the cooperative plan. One reason for mistakes in referral has been an exaggerated belief in what case work can accomplish. Most workers in the emergency job are drawn from other professions and are inexperienced in any field of social work, having had no opportunity to develop an understanding of the kind of help which case work can give. They have seen in the family grave social problems which are not to be solved by the giving of a grocery order, and turn to the cooperating agency with the feeling that there must be a cure somewhere for anything so flagrantly wrong. Another reason for such mistakes in referral is occasionally due to an unsolved relationship between client and worker. The family may be sullen, defensive, openly belligerent; and it is extremely difficult to accept that kind of attack without some counter-attack. It may then become necessary for the worker to justify her own attitude, and accomplish two things at the same time—getting rid of a difficult situation, and proving to herself that the problem is really in the client and needs treatment. There have also been factors keeping workers from referring cases to the cooperating agencies. Paradoxically, pressure of work is one of the

most important of these. In the present emergency, at least, case loads are so large that the agency doing the mass job needs all the help it can get from any source. But a case load of three hundred is not measurably lightened by transferring even a half-dozen cases unless these cases are all the troublesome, demanding kind whose needs are frequently unsolvable. In trying to select cases suitable for referral the worker may therefore have great justification for thinking of the cooperative agency as an additional burden.

The field of unemployment relief has no clear cut province of its own, and this necessarily complicates the referral of cases. To what extent does the emergency worker consider it her job to enter into other than economic problems which exist in the family? Does she feel a loss in recognizing that there are human problems which are not in her province? This feeling must necessarily arise unless we are able to define both fields in the terms of function, acknowledging the essential worth of both and the development of both from a common point of view.

The cooperative plan also contains new problems for the private agencies. Perhaps the one of greatest importance has to do with financial assistance. Most of the agencies approached this experiment with some fear in regard to the relief. They were being asked to represent the source of relief to the family but with no possibility of altering the amount of relief given except according to a fixed standard and on an inadequate scale. The agencies themselves did not have money to supplement, and it was decided that this might be an unsound thing to do in any event. When financial needs were urgent and unmet, to what extent might the client be unable to accept the worker on a different level and for a totally different kind of assistance? For such agencies as Child Guidance Clinic, Big Sisters' Association, St. Christopher's Hospital, and International Institute, the connection with relief was a new one. How might this affect their relationship with the client?

These questions cannot be answered with any degree of conclusiveness, but statistics covering the first three months from

the four agencies first engaged in this project (Child Guidance Clinic, Family Society, American Red Cross, and Jewish Welfare Society) indicate that in a total of 360 cases 78 were closed by the cooperating agency. In only 15 of these was there any relation between financial need and closing the case. Nineteen were taken over entirely by the cooperating agency, leaving 263 active cases. Of these, 51 approximated an adequate income; and of the remaining 212 which had an inadequate income, the agencies felt that in only 23 cases, or 11 per cent, the inadequate relief was seriously hampering to case work service.

A study by the Jewish Welfare Society of 20 cooperative cases showed that, in spite of totally inadequate incomes, intensive work was being done with the majority, in some instances with better results than when that same private agency was carrying the responsibility for both case work and relief, probably because the client accepted the fact that relief came from the public fund.

The family agencies feel that their case work contact with the client was often strengthened, rather than weakened, by the freedom with which the case was handled when both client and worker appreciated the inadequacy but recognized that nothing could be done about it by the worker.

The establishment of the contact with the client presents another problem to the cooperating agencies.

The worker from the private agency wants to give the client in the first visit: a recognition of her connection with the source of relief since the worker has to keep in touch with the changing financial situation; a realization of the difference which exists in the new agency; freedom to reject the services of the private agency if such help is not wanted. The ability to make this contact successfully depends somewhat upon the introduction which has been given by the referring agency and also upon the client's own feeling about the source of relief. In some instances the client has seemed to feel a certain obligation to respond to the case worker with a recital of her problems, because otherwise relief might be withdrawn.

The question has been raised as to the desirability of having the Bureau explain the function of the case work agency and let the client take the initiative in referral. This might eliminate many cases in which special help is not really desired. On the other hand, many clients really wanting help might not be able to take this first step. In one family agency's study of 88 cases it was found that five of the most successful ones were referred by the clients themselves, understanding that relief would have to be obtained through another source but asking for other service from the private agency.

Many illustrations might be given of the families who wish, and can use, case work service.

Mr. and Mrs. L., the parents of four children under ten, were referred directly after a violent quarrel in which Mr. L. threatened to kill one of the children. A neighbor intervened, and Mrs. L. and the children were taken in by her for the day. The visitor found Mr. and Mrs. L. quite unready to discuss this particular episode, putting most of their emphasis on the rent problem, but apparently anxious for the visitor to return. The case has been actively carried for more than three months by the co-operating agency. In the meantime the rent problem has been solved by a plan of their own, but contact with the visitor has been sought by both Mr. and Mrs. L. Mrs. L., particularly, has wanted help in a very disturbing marital problem and has apparently found such help in her contact with the visitor.

Mrs. P., a responsive, appealing girl, was suggested as a possibility for cooperative case work by the worker in the Application Center. In making her application she had stated that she hesitated to talk and was always conscious that people were criticizing her way of speech because she had never had a chance to learn to speak correctly. A long interview was held; and when the interviewer suggested that perhaps Mrs. P. might like someone to visit her regularly, she replied that she thought it would be a great help if there were someone to whom she could talk just as she had that morning. The visitor found Mrs. P. filled with fear and insecurity, a great deal of which was cen-

tered in Catherine, the baby daughter to whom she is devoted. She also has had constant and very severe headaches. After a few visits, Mrs. P. said she guessed she wasn't so hopeless or the worker would not bother with her. The case has been active for five months. Recently Mrs. P. expressed a desire to get well and asked to be referred to a hospital. After making this remark, she said: "A hospital can do something for me but it can't do everything. Maybe you can help me, and perhaps if I stop worrying even my headaches will go away."

Experience has shown that referral of cases must be based not on the type of problem presented but on the individual's need and desire for service of this kind. Frequently it happens that both referring and accepting agency see a situation as desperately needful because they are looking at it from the standpoint of what this particular problem would mean to them, and not what it does mean to the client. There was, for example, the mother of an illegitimate child who was living with a family that demanded all her meager wages and apparently left her no freedom of any kind. But the case worker found her quite indifferent about making other plans and fairly content with an arrangement which might have been intolerable to someone else.

This experiment is too new for us to feel that we have reached any important and weighty conclusions. Several things, however, have been learned which may at least point the way for further planning: first, that when agencies are working together, a clear definition of function is helpful both to workers and clients; second, that this definition should be founded on types of need expressed by the client rather than on types of situations; third, that this indirect connection with relief—by agencies which have formerly had no contact with relief, as well as by agencies which have formerly controlled the giving of relief in their families—is not necessarily incompatible with a relationship based on a different interest.

The experience which we have had thus far leads one to consider the possibility of a continuous and integrated relationship between public and private agencies in which the emphasis

would be on definition of function and the utilization of the particular service of each agency for the needs of the individual client. Working together has the effect of keeping the private agencies in vital touch with the breadth of the mass job and the public agencies with the developing thought of the specialized fields.

Even in normal times it is quite likely that for some time to come the job of the public agency will be primarily the meeting of economic need on a large scale. If, however, we conceive of case work as an attitude toward people rather than a necessarily intensive therapeutic relationship, there is every reason why any agency dealing with individuals and their problems should be a case work agency no matter what limitations its particular function imposes. This would not mean that public and private agencies would do the same kind of job but that their work would be rooted in the same understanding of people, and interwoven but not overlapping.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

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THE WISCONSIN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION LAW

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THE need for more just and systematic provision for industry's unemployed workers is finally being recognized in this country. Hence the movement for unemployment compensation by law is gaining steady headway, especially in our industrial states. Bills were introduced last year in some eighteen legislatures. Interim commissions are now at work on this problem in Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, Ohio, Oregon, and California. Several of these states bid fair to enact unemployment reserve laws in their 1933 legislative sessions.

Meanwhile Wisconsin has led the way, by passing in January, 1932, its distinctive "unemployment reserves and compensation" statute. This paper aims to sketch the background and the provisions of the Wisconsin law, and to discuss briefly the salient features of this new type of American legislation.

Background.—Wisconsin's initiative was made possible by a decade of effort and discussion. Some bill for unemployment compensation has been before the state's legislature in every regular session since 1921. Due mainly to Professor John R. Commons' influence, Wisconsin has sought to embody in such legislation a constructive American approach to our problems of irregular employment. Though none of the early bills passed either house of the Wisconsin legislature, their public discussion paved the way for eventual action.

In 1931 a novel proposal gave fresh focus and impetus to the

Wisconsin movement for legislation. Authored and introduced by Assemblyman Harold M. Groves, this new Wisconsin plan provided that each company build up its own unemployment reserve, with liability limited to its own employees. In effect the "Groves bill" required industry to follow the lead of those American employers who have in the past decade voluntarily set up reserve funds to take care of their unemployed workers. Professor Groves pointed out that business enterprises already build up reserves for depreciation, taxes, interest, and even dividends. He urged that they should likewise accumulate reserves to meet the social costs of their unemployment. In thus universalizing the "best practice" of American industrialists, the new plan was also designed to give each management an added and clear cut incentive to provide steadier employment for its men.

The new "reserves" measure attracted a deal of favorable attention, especially from forward looking employers. It was introduced in the regular 1931 session of the Wisconsin legislature, along with an earlier "insurance" bill and a Socialist proposal. At committee hearings a number of employers opposed compulsory action, talked voluntary plans, urged delay, and asked for an interim commission, much as they had done ten years previously. Profiting by a number of constructive criticisms, the Groves bill was carefully revised during the spring, but did not come to a vote on the floor. Instead, at Governor La Follette's suggestion, the legislature created an interim committee to study the question and report to a special session on unemployment scheduled for the fall.

This Wisconsin Legislative Interim Committee on Unemployment did intensive work during the later summer and early fall months. It received expert testimony, and also got first hand impressions of public sentiment by conducting hearings in the larger cities of the state. The friends of unemployment compensation were conducting a vigorous campaign for action, and made an effective showing at each of the public hearings. Organized labor supplied the bulk of the witnesses, the Wisconsin

State Federation of Labor having advocated unemployment insurance since 1921. Economists, lawyers, social workers, grocers, ministers, and many other citizens from all walks of life spoke out for legislation.

The organized farmers of Wisconsin, in a series of state conventions, adopted resolutions favoring unemployment compensation to be paid by industry to its laid-off workers. The farm leaders saw that in time such a measure should help to steady somewhat the demand of city workers for such farm products as milk, butter, and cheese. Two church denominations, meeting in state-wide conventions during the fall, likewise indorsed such legislation as a proper measure of social justice. The Interim Committee therefore had strong public backing when it recommended, by a 5 to 2 vote, that the special session enact into law the Groves bill, to take compulsory effect in 1933.

Just before the special session convened last November, a meeting of the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association voted 207 to 2 in favor of hiring an expert to draft possible plans for voluntary adoption. The state's organized employers thus virtually admitted that the unemployment reserve idea was sound, but at the same time opposed compulsory legislation and indicated that voluntary action would solve the problem.

Governor La Follette, in his November 24 message to the special legislative session, nearly disarmed the manufacturers, by taking them at their word. While strongly urging immediate passage of the Groves bill, the Governor really gave employers their chance, by suggesting that the law take compulsory effect only in case of "industry's failure to establish a fair voluntary system in Wisconsin within a reasonable time." Even this amendment did not assure the bill's passage. Though their position had been seriously weakened, many employers had acquired a ten-year habit of opposing all such bills.

Stirring legislative hearings ensued. Ex-Governor McGovern reminded the assembly that many of the state's leading employers had opposed the enactment in 1911 of Wisconsin's pioneer law for workmen's accident compensation. He prophesied

that most of the employers now opposing an unemployment compensation law would in time accept it, too, as necessary and desirable.

Perhaps the most amusing episode of the hearings occurred when the opponents of the Groves bill had their innings before the assembly. A young communist stepped up to do his verbal batting first. As he passed, a bystander remarked: "Going to join hands with the employers against this bill?" Arrived at the platform, the communist orator burst forth: "I oppose this bill for entirely different reasons than the Manufacturers' Association," and went on to denounce it as trying to bolster up the capitalist system. A leading employer got his chance next. As this opponent advanced to the platform, the bystander queried: "Going to join hands with the communists against this bill?" The employer laughed, and started his speech by referring to "the previous speaker, my colleague in opposition." The "progressive" assembly later passed the Groves bill by a vote of 63 to 15.

The bill's fate in the senate was long in doubt. On most measures the conservative faction, aided by several "independents," was able to block Governor La Follette's recommendations. But the independents could hardly afford to disregard the express and emphatic desires of their constituents. So a number of damaging amendments were killed by close votes. One amendment, designed by employers to give them greater leeway in drafting voluntary plans, was accepted by the upper house; and the Groves bill was then passed easily, 19 to 9, with two paired. It was signed by Governor La Follette on January 28 and became law the following day.

Provisions.—A word first on the conditional taking effect of the act. It will *not* take general compulsory effect on July 1, 1933, *provided* the employers of at least 175,000 persons have by next June established approved plans for unemployment benefits or guaranteed employment. To be approved by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, such plans must be on the whole as beneficial to employes as would the compulsory plan of the act.

Whether or not the law takes effect generally, such voluntary plans as are established must be continued, under the commission's supervision. A substantial group of workers will thus be protected in any event. And in case employers fail to reach their quota (which is more than half the compulsory coverage), the law will become general and compulsory on July 1, 1933. It should be noted, however, that employers may thereafter still gain "exemption" from many of the law's provisions by adopting satisfactory substitute plans.

Under the compulsory plan of the act, described from here on, contributions begin on July 1, 1933; benefit liability and benefit payments begin one year later, after reserves have been built up. Contributions are paid only by employers, each company contributing not more than 2 per cent on its pay roll. Such contributions are made deductible under the Wisconsin income tax law. To assure availability of these funds and enforcement of the act, each employer pays this money into his own separate account with a central state depository. The state serves as custodian, investor, and disbursing agent, but does not supplement or guarantee the adequacy of the funds. Each employer's account can be used only to pay benefits to his own employes, and his liability is at all times limited to the amount in his reserve. If a company succeeds in paying little compensation, by giving its force steady work, its reserve will accumulate. Such a company's rate of contribution will drop from 2 per cent to 1 per cent when its reserve exceeds \$55.00 per employe, and will cease while more than \$75.00 per employe is available.

The act applies to companies employing ten or more workers, with certain exceptions. Each employer becomes liable to pay benefits to his eligible unemployed workers in proportion to their wages and lengths of service after July 1, 1934. Weekly benefits are paid at 50 per cent of the employe's weekly wage, with a \$10.00 maximum and a \$5.00 minimum. If an employe working "short time" earns less than his benefit would be, he receives the difference in partial unemployment benefits. After a short probationary period any employe may thus receive un-

employment compensation from his employer, in the ratio of one week of benefits to each four weeks of his employment by that employer within the last twelve months, but in no case more than ten weeks of benefits in any calendar year. The worker who has been employed regularly enough to have earned \$1,500 or more in the year preceding lay-off is not made eligible for benefits. Eligibility is further limited to guard against "malin-gering" but is also defined to protect employes against unfair treatment.

It is worthy of note, in passing, that the Wisconsin law provides that money otherwise due a jobless worker as benefits may be used to pay part of his wages on a public works project designed for unemployment relief. Such aid in financing their cost should encourage emergency public works. If no suitable work can be thus made available, vocational education during joblessness is to be provided wherever possible.

The whole act is to be administered by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, long noted for its impartial and effective administration of the state's other labor laws. Employers will contribute up to two-tenths of 1 per cent on their pay rolls to finance the Commission's new expenses, including the more adequate public employment offices which will be essential for local administration. Machinery is to be set up under the Commission for deciding disputed claims to benefits, including local appeal boards made up of one labor representative, one employer, and one neutral. Cases may be appealed to the Commission, and on questions of law to the courts. The Industrial Commission is instructed to establish "advisory committees" of employer, labor and public representatives to assist it in administering the act and in promoting the long-run regularization of employment in Wisconsin.

Distinctive features.—The Wisconsin law does not claim to be a complete solution for the unemployment problem, obviously. Shorter-hours legislation, public works, credit control, and many other remedies, both state and federal, must supplement compensation laws. Nor does the Wisconsin act attempt to

eliminate all need for "poor relief." Its benefits are held to a modest and conservative level partly because this is pioneer legislation. But beyond that the statute in effect distinguishes between unemployment which ought to be "compensated" by industry and that for which charity-givers and taxpayers may still have to provide "relief." Industry is to be held responsible only for compensating those jobless workers whom it has recently employed, in proportion to the time and labor they have invested in the business enterprise. Such compensation is to be made a matter of right; but many individuals and some types of unemployment will clearly not be provided for in any adequate measure, even if similar laws become general in this country. Such limitations seem necessary if we are to work for steadier employment and are not to mix "doles" with our compensation payments.

The whole American approach to unemployment reserve legislation differs from the European by insisting that such laws have *two* main objects: first, more just and systematic compensation for the unemployed; and second, the regularization of employment. The Wisconsin act holds that in the long run the second of these objectives is of primary importance; in other words, steady work and wages will always be preferable to unemployment and benefits. More than any other American proposal the Wisconsin law is designed to put the maximum possible emphasis on steadier employment, first, by placing the contribution burden solely on employers, and second, by giving each employer the most direct and certain financial inducement to increase the regularity of his operations, under the unique "company reserves" set-up of the Wisconsin plan.

For placing the burden of contributions solely on employers there are two major positive reasons. One is concerned with the prevention of unemployment, and the other with a proper allocation of its unavoidable social costs.

First, as against the apparent pessimism of European laws and of some American proposals, the Wisconsin act assumes that much of our chronic irregularity of jobs should prove grad-

ually preventable. By whom? Of course the government can and should help; but the bulk of the task must clearly fall to American managers, employers, captains of industry. Where the leadership of business is, there should the responsibility be also. Accordingly industry should bear the entire burden of creating unemployment reserves. With this added stake in regularity, and with a socially recognized responsibility for unemployment, employers may in time be able greatly to reduce the need for benefit payments.

Second, in so far as unemployment cannot be prevented, its human costs should be charged against and compensated by industry, through reserves accumulated to this end. Unemployment is an industrial hazard, and a real overhead cost, now borne by society at large. That cost should be reflected in private cost accounting systems, and, where it cannot be eliminated, should be paid for by the consumers of each product, through unemployment reserves financed by employers. Such are the dictates of sound social accounting.

Negatively, neither the employes nor the state should contribute. The state will continue to bear its fair share of the unemployment burden, in the form of supplemental relief. As for the employes, to quote the Wisconsin Interim Committee's report:

... they should not be required to contribute to unemployment reserve funds: (1) Because they can do nothing to prevent unemployment—far less than in the case of accidents, where employers now carry the full cost of workmen's compensation. (2) Because employes will continue to bear the brunt of the unemployment burden even without making contributions to the funds. Under our recommended bill the weekly benefit is 50% or less of an employe's wage. He receives no compensation when under-employed so long as his earnings are as great as his benefit would be. No benefit will be payable beyond ten weeks in the year, etc. (3) Because it is against social policy to *compel* savings by low paid workers (the bill covers only those earning less than \$1500 a year), since their current earnings are no more than adequate for current expenses and since the moral virtue of "thrift" is entirely absent where the saving is *compulsory*. (4) Finally, because the administrative complication of employe contributions would more than outweigh the supposed advantage in promoting employe participation in administration.

Probably the most novel and striking feature of the Wisconsin act is its provision for individual plant, or company reserves,

as against the traditional idea of "insurance" and the "pooling" of all contributions. This plant reserve principle is justified both because it makes possible the surest inducement to steady employment and because it is adapted to actual business conditions.

Under any system of pooling contributions, by industries or otherwise, the employer who regularizes gets only a partial and uncertain reward for that achievement. This is as true under an "experience rating" system as under a "rebate" plan. But under the Wisconsin reserves plan, each employer is sure of the full saving resulting from his own performance. His rate of contributions varies directly with the adequacy of his own reserve to meet his own unemployment costs. Here, then, is a practical substitute for the complicated systems of "experience rating" so often discussed. Separate company reserves may, it is true, slightly reduce the *average* benefit protection afforded employees, as compared to a pooling of contributions. But the long run gain in regularity of employment should more than offset this loss in average benefit security. (There is serious question, moreover, whether unemployment is in any proper sense an "insurable" risk. Certainly there are no figures in this country on which to base "actuarial" calculations.)

The Wisconsin plan represents the closest possible adaptation to actual business conditions and attitudes in this country. Not "industries," but individual enterprises, employ workers, use business brains, and keep books. Employers already feel some responsibility for their own employees. As the Wisconsin Interim Committee put it:

We have found in the course of our investigations and hearings that the idea of individual plant reserves appeals strongly to employers. Even those opposed to any legislation agree that individual reserves would be far preferable to any pooling of funds. We believe this preference to be entirely sound.

It should be noted, moreover, that although the bill which we recommend provides for individual plant accounts it also provides for cooperative efforts at regularization of employment. . . . "Advisory committees" set up by locality, by industry, and for the state at large provide the machinery for such cooperation. The motive will be present too; since each company will gain in case it can achieve steady operation, and will therefore have the maximum

practicable stimulus to join with other companies in regularization efforts on every promising front.

Progress.—It is too early to say whether Wisconsin employers will adopt enough voluntary plans during the next year to keep America's first unemployment compensation act from taking general effect on July 1, 1933. A number of reserve plans are already in the making. Perhaps it is safe to predict that in any case those employers who voluntarily adopt plans will eventually become converts to compulsory legislation as the only means of bringing other employers up to standard.

Meanwhile several of those who opposed passage of the act are helping to interpret and administer its provisions. The Industrial Commission has assisted it an advisory committee composed of three organized employer and three organized labor representatives, meeting frequently in round-the-table sessions to thrash over their common problems under the new legislation. The Commission has also been fortunate in securing the part time services of a leading Wisconsin employer, long an exponent of voluntary action in this field, to promote the voluntary establishment of approved plans for unemployment benefits or guaranteed employment during the coming year.

Whether the Wisconsin act will serve as a model for other states no one can yet tell. It is noteworthy, however, that the same basic features were unanimously recommended by the "Interstate Commission on Unemployment Insurance" in its February report to the governors of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Ohio. In any case, there will be no stopping other state laws for unemployment compensation in the near future. A dozen state federations of labor, many national and local unions, national church groups, the League of Women Voters, a number of enlightened employers, and an increasing number of substantial American citizens in every state are urging action. In the long run the "success" of each business enterprise and of our economic system must and will be measured in terms of steady employment, or compensation in its absence.

OHIO TAKES STOCK

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THE movement for unemployment insurance in Ohio has had a briefer history than that in Wisconsin. It had its beginnings in 1928 in the meetings of a group of social workers and others in Cleveland who were concerned about the unemployment which was the dark shadow of our so called prosperity and which was undermining the lives of working people even in good times. Beginning in a small way, the group gradually enlarged itself as more people were interested in discussing fundamental remedies for unemployment, and finally focused its study on unemployment insurance. During the summer of 1930, the Cleveland Committee for Unemployment Insurance was organized under the leadership of Rabbi Silver. This committee informed itself as to the unemployment systems in operation in foreign countries and the plans proposed in the United States. In the fall of 1930, it drafted a bill and succeeded in enlisting the interest of groups in other parts of the state in presenting a concrete proposal to the legislature. The bill was introduced in the 1931 session of the legislature by Senator James A. Reynolds, a veteran legislator, who has participated in every major liberal movement in Ohio for the past thirty years. Under his skilful leadership, the bill had brilliant hearings and attracted much publicity, although it was killed in committee. Senator Reynolds succeeded, however, in securing the passage of a joint resolution authorizing the appointment of an Unemployment Insurance Commission, the scope of whose work is defined as follows:

... to investigate the practicability and advisability of setting up unemployment reserves or insurance funds to provide against the risk of unemployment, and to recommend what form of legislation if any may be wise or suitable

to Ohio as a separate state and which may seem to offer the best preventive remedy to avoid future distress and suffering such as is being undergone by our citizens who are unable to find work through no fault of their own.

The Commission was appointed last December, and began its work in January; it must report to the governor and the legislature by next January.

The Commission has just concluded a series of five public hearings held in different important industrial centers of the state. To these hearings were invited public officials, social workers, employers, labor representatives, and a wide variety of organizations which might be interested in the subject. One hundred witnesses were heard. The hearings have given a wealth of material for the consideration of the Commission. In the first place, the Commission has secured a vivid picture of the unemployment situation over the state, which no study of statistics or reports could have presented. We already knew certain facts about mounting costs of relief, but we have heard these first hand from the public officials who have had to shoulder the staggering burden in local communities and from the social workers who are making a valiant effort to cope with hunger and want. The problem of the counties and municipalities has been made somewhat easier by the action of the special session of the legislature which was called this spring to make possible the tapping of greater resources for relief funds, but it is estimated that even these will prove inadequate before 1932 is over. The amounts necessary to be apportioned from public funds for poor relief have resulted in cutting off of essential services, in wage cuts, and discharge of regular public employes, thus creating further unemployment. Along with these facts about cost have come startling revelations as to the inadequacy of the relief furnished. The mayor of one city where \$1.50 per week is being granted to families of unemployed, testified: "We are making a *very, very* rotten job of it, because we haven't the money." There is a growing dissatisfaction, moreover, with soup kitchens, commissaries, shoe funds, milk funds, barrel systems, flop houses, and the other devices which are set

up to deal with citizens who are out of work through no fault of their own. One social worker testified: "Sensitive individuals are having their spirit crushed by the public, conspicuous manner by which they must get food." A workman in the same city testified: "The dietitians and the doctors say that according to calories, that is enough to keep life in the bodies of the people who get these bags of food, but as a worker I object to being told that I must just have life in my body." There is a growing recognition, moreover, that a large proportion of the relief now being carried in the communities does not come to the attention of the public authorities or the private agencies at all. It is being borne by those who are still at work, by landlords, by neighborhood grocers and merchants, by relatives and friends. Finally, there is a burning realization of the vicious social effects of dealing with unemployment on a destitution basis. Take the matter of evictions. Judge Hoffman, of Cincinnati, reported:

Last month there were 720 evictions in the city of Cincinnati. In other words there were 720 homes that were broken up, 720 instances in which the property of the parties was thrown into the backyard or the street. Unquestionably the children can't understand such a process. . . . I will not say that it is a matter of evictions only, but by reason of conditions similar to those that are incident to evictions, we find that there is an increase in delinquency in the districts in which these conditions exist. . . . Who pays the rent? The rent will be paid in the broken and the ruined lives of a multitude of children of both this and the succeeding generation.

Repeatedly there was brought out by witnesses the dire effect on self-respect and morale of the process by which families must exhaust all resources and be reduced to utter poverty before relief can be given.

With this background of conditions, it is not surprising that the Commission should have discovered certain changed attitudes regarding unemployment insurance. There is, for instance, much less reference to the evils of the British "dole" than one heard a year ago. Moreover, in spite of adverse propaganda, there is a growing recognition of the fact that unemployment insurance in Great Britain, judged in terms of its purpose, far from being a failure, has been an unqualified success. Great

Britain has maintained the standard of living and self-respect of its working people through this difficult post-war period, and we have failed utterly to do so. No longer is it possible to be shocked at the loans made from the British Exchequer to the Unemployment Insurance Fund, when our federal treasury is being drawn on for loans for railroads and banks.

The changed public attitude was reflected in the attendance at the hearings and in the judgment of newspapers. One remarked: "Unemployment insurance has become almost as respectable as the tariff. More spoke for it than against at the hearings." Another seasoned political writer on the staff of a large city paper commented: "The remarks of those who appeared indicated a definite change in the trend of public thought on unemployment insurance had taken place since a year ago when the Ohio legislature refused to consider such legislation. No opponents of unemployment insurance appeared at the hearing."

In no group is the changed attitude more marked than in organized labor. Although a few outstanding trade-unionists were on the original Cleveland committee, there were no indorsements by labor groups in connection with the 1931 campaign in the legislature. Many labor representatives have appeared as witnesses at the hearings this year, coming from railroad brotherhoods, from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and from American Federation of Labor unions (both international and local bodies). Of these, only one labor leader has spoken against unemployment insurance. Central bodies in the largest cities have indorsed the principle, and a group within the state calling itself "The American Federation of Labor Members' League Favoring Unemployment Insurance" has been very active in stirring up interest in the whole subject.

The attitude of employers is more difficult to ascertain, because in some cities the employers definitely boycotted the hearings. In a few cases those invited replied that their organizations were not ready to testify because they had reached no conclusion on the subject. Others (possibly more frank) declared

themselves unwilling to appear, because the Commission contained in its membership a number who had definitely announced themselves in favor of unemployment insurance. Apparently, in their minds a commission should be like a jury, completely ignorant of the case on which they are to give a verdict! In those cities where employers have testified, some as individuals and some representing organizations, it is significant that they have all admitted that some kind of unemployment insurance is inevitable. One such employer, for instance, after pointing out his opposition to unemployment insurance, stated: "I feel so sure that unemployment insurance is going to pass the state legislature that I have really gone into the thing. I really think it is going to pass. I don't think they are going to be able to buck the sentiment of the people." Another employer who gave valuable and detailed testimony as to the elements of an unemployment insurance bill, prefaced his remarks by the statement: "In my opinion it wouldn't be very desirable to have unemployment insurance, but if you have your choice of several evils, perhaps that is the best solution."

One aim of the hearings was, of course, to give opportunity for discussion of the elements which should go into an unemployment insurance plan, and the relative desirability of various types of legislation. With this end in view, a pamphlet was prepared by a subcommittee of the Commission. This pamphlet was sent about the state very widely, and was in the hands of all witnesses. We found that though a few individuals and organizations went very conscientiously through all of the questions proposed, most people were interested only in a few questions. There was not much difference in point of view as to the scope, or the groups to be included and excluded, except the frequently expressed desire that the employes of small concerns not be excluded. Likewise there was very little discussion of the qualifications and disqualifications for benefit. There was complete agreement as to the desirability of offering inducements to employers to stabilize, if methods of inducement could be devised. There was some disagreement as to the length of the waiting

period and the benefit period; also as to the best method of administration. But the two topics in which greatest interest was shown were the source of the fund and the method of handling it—through establishment funds, industry funds, or a pooled fund.

Source of fund.—The communist witnesses, in line with their national program, all suggested that the funds for benefit should come from the money which is ordinarily spent for war preparation. This proposal was made most naïvely without recognition of the fact that the Ohio legislature has nothing to do with war funds. Representatives of the Socialist party proposed that the fund should come entirely from income taxes. One Socialist leader went so far as to tell the Commission that industries would be driven from Ohio if employers were forced to contribute. With the exception of these two groups, there were few proposals of contributions from the state, although there was some discussion as to the part the state should assume in relation to administration. A number held the view that every penny contributed to the fund should be available for benefits, and that the state should therefore pay for administration. Others claimed that our experience in workmen's compensation demonstrated the difficulty in securing adequate appropriations for administration and indicated that better administration might be secured if the expenses were met by the fund.

The point at issue as to source of contributions became, then, whether the plan should be contributory or non-contributory. A large majority of those who discussed this aspect of the question were in favor of the contributory system. Some were against. Some workers had had experience with contributory old age pension systems when their equity had been lost upon the removal of the establishment to another state. Others brought out the point that workers already have the heaviest burden to bear in connection with unemployment, and therefore should not be taxed by contribution. Moreover, the workers' maintenance should be a regular charge on the expenses of industry.

One worker (not a communist) put it this way: "How are we

going to accumulate the reserve fund? . . . It is already accumulated. That reserve fund was accumulated years ago, and it is accumulating today. The vast amount of wealth is an accumulation of unpaid wages." Those who spoke for the contributory system (and most of these were workers) were primarily impressed with the necessity of creating a large fund in order to have adequate benefits. They brought out the point that it was better that all workers should contribute small amounts, and the workers who are unemployed should receive adequate benefits, than that no workers should contribute and those unemployed receive inadequate benefits. In this connection, an estimate was made by one of the witnesses that if the workers contributed two-thirds of the amount of the employers' contributions, this would probably mean the doubling of the maximum benefit period.

Possibly the fact that the bill introduced in the Ohio legislature last year was contributory may have influenced the thinking of these witnesses. A more important factor, however, is the workers' present experience in union assessments and in so called voluntary contributions in their places of work, not only to community funds, but also for the maintenance of their unemployed fellow workers—contributions much higher in rate than those proposed in unemployment insurance. A number who said they were against the contributory feature as a matter of abstract justice, considered it necessary from the standpoint of adequacy.

The reserve fund versus insurance.—Fewer witnesses discussed this problem than the matter of contributions. Those who talked for reserves along the line of the Wisconsin act, stressed the experimental nature of the movement and the necessity of beginning on a small scale. They emphasized also the great value in giving individual employers the chance to benefit by their efficiency and managerial ability. One manufacturer spoke for self-insurance on the basis of the experience of his company in relation to workmen's compensation. When the firm decided to insure itself, it changed its safety methods and succeeded

during the first year in improving its accident experience by the elimination of 97 per cent of the previous several years' average. This saving was greater, he pointed out, than under a system of merit rating, where the very good company is still handicapped to an extent by the experience of the group as a whole.

Those, on the other hand, who favored pooled funds were impressed with the same argument which was used in regard to contributions, namely, the necessity of creating an adequate fund if anything like security is to be achieved for workers. For this reason, they opposed what one witness called "water-tight accounts," none of which could be levied on to meet the benefits of others. One brought out the point that the workers who are laid off because there is no longer any demand for the product upon which they were employed, may have their benefits increased, although the coffers of a new and rising industry may be full, the rise of the latter having been one of the causes of the fall of the former. The insurance principle has been found to be useful in meeting other hazards of life. When people buy fire insurance, they do not expect their houses to burn; and they do not expect to get their "money back" if their houses don't burn. Otherwise there would not be money enough to reimburse the people whose houses do burn. In other words, the risk must be spread. In unemployment insurance it should be spread both among individuals and over a period of years.

Those in favor of a pooled fund contended further that individual employers cannot possibly control unemployment except with limits; that the employer is helpless at the time of business depressions and is unable to avoid the effects of changes in style and in consumer demand. Manufacturers of buggy whips, of victrola records, of wooden refrigerators, were instanced as examples. The hope was expressed that, within limits, it would be possible to give as much inducement to stabilization through a system of merit rating as is possible under the reserve systems, at the same time that *much* greater security and more substantial benefits would be achieved for all the workers.

Undoubtedly, the experience of the exclusive state fund in

workmen's compensation in Ohio has affected the thinking in this respect. Although individual establishments are allowed to be self-insurers, real security is achieved through the posting of bonds by such self-insurers. The payment of benefits is not dependent on the amount of money available in the fund of a given establishment and the injured workman does not run the risk of losing his compensation because of inadequacy of his employers' reserve fund.

We are particularly fortunate in Ohio in having as complete data on fluctuations of employment as exist in any state. Our Division of Labor Statistics has been collecting monthly reports from employers since 1914. Because of changes in the law, as well as the growth of industries during this period, the series is not entirely comparable from year to year; but it gives a record of fluctuation both in employment and in wage and salary payments, which is very valuable for actuarial study. We are fortunate, also, in having a system of public employment offices, quite inadequate, to be sure, in comparison with the organization that will be necessary for the operation of a system of unemployment insurance, but one which provides the nucleus for the development of an adequate system.

I have indicated only a few of the complex and difficult problems which are involved in devising a plan for unemployment insurance, and with which our Commission must grapple in the months immediately ahead. A year from now we shall be able to report to you, not only the results of our efforts, but also what fate they have met at the hands of the Ohio legislature.

In conclusion, may I say that I find it difficult to share the feeling of some who deplore the fact that those who are working for unemployment insurance should disagree as to method and philosophy. Because of our lack of experience with compulsory unemployment insurance in this country no one of us, certainly, can claim final wisdom. Only by experimentation will we arrive at sound judgment. Should we, therefore, not welcome different proposals in different states, trusting that out of them will develop a body of experience for future action?

SOCIAL PLANNING AND SOCIAL WORK

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WITH time so short and the program so rich in discussion to come, the only way to present so large a subject seems to be to resort to almost dogmatic assertion. It will be assertion for the sake of provoking discussion.

The lines of my approach to this problem are set by the title, "Social Planning and Social Work." My first assertion, therefore, is that I am discussing not planning in general, and not merely economic planning, but social economic planning, the objective of which arises from the fundamental problem of our present situation, to which all minor problems are contributory. My next assertion is that our fundamental problem is a discrepancy between productive capacity, which has increased at an unprecedented rate in the past two or three decades, and standards of living, which have not risen in proportion to productive capacity. You will see that this statement does not define the problem, since it is in itself a complex of many problems. It is made more complicated by the fact that the discrepancy prevails throughout the countries of modern industry in which our present economic system prevails.

This description of the problem, however, sets the objective of social economic planning. Standards of living in this sense may be defined as the resultant of productive capacity and the distribution of purchasing power. These standards are measured not in total national income or average income, but in its actual distribution, including the substratum of living standards which is recognized as the primary concern of all branches of social work.

Planning in general as a concept I would define, not merely as a dream or an idea, but as a project including within itself the power to execute the plan. The planning department in an industrial establishment does not have as its chief concern a dream of what the industry may sometime achieve, but its task is the actual day-to-day laying out of specifications for action which is predicated upon the power to carry out the specifications.

Here I must make the further assertion which I believe grows out of the experience of industry, that planning is commensurate with control and that the concept of planning has no bearing upon our problems today unless we identify it with control. Control, moreover, in the actual experience of present-day industry is identical with ownership. For example, a telephone company is able to plan its future development to the extent that its plan of operation coincides with the area of its control, which is identical with the area of its ownership. Within that area the telephone company has worked out a technique and a procedure for planning, based upon the facts regarding the growth and the requirements of population and of business. But of course it cannot plan for this growth of other industries, because it does not own them and cannot control the conditions which determine their growth.

The scientific management movement in this country has given us the basic technique of planning. It has developed four principles: first, research; second, the setting up of standards based upon research; third, control, by which Frederick W. Taylor meant control by knowledge; and fourth, cooperation on the part of all those involved in conforming to the standards. Let us bear in mind that if we accept this definition of control as the mastery of knowledge rather than the mastery of authority we assume again that this knowledge brings control because ownership wills it. The reason why the scientific management movement has not been able as yet to achieve a balance between production and consumption in general is that scientific management, in the nature of the case, has been applied only within an owned and controlled unit. Its applications have sometimes

been extended through agreement between units under different ownership; but this, after all, is only a further extension of the identity between ownership and control.

To this general concept of planning which has been shown to be applicable to one unit of industry, the word "economic" adds the concept of the integration of industries. If economic planning is not conceived as applying to interrelated industries, then it has no bearing upon our present situation, which is recognized as a general lack of adjustment between production and consumption rather than a particular surplus in one branch of industry.

Economic planning, however, in this sense may be merely an extension of the plans of separate companies and industries directed toward the objectives of the owners of those companies and businesses. Because our present situation arises out of a lack of adjustment between productive capacity and the ultimate standards of living of all people, no planning can comprehend the central problem unless it is social as well as economic. Thus, the present problem is brought squarely within the field of interest of all social work, because social economic planning is not merely planning for production or for the keeping up of prices and the maintenance of profits, as, for example, the international cartels and other monopolistic combinations of industry aim to do. These combinations and cartels have not succeeded in achieving stability between production and consumption, because they do not know how to plan in a social sense for the ultimate consumer.

Professor Clark has used the phrase, "controlled consumer demand." Social economic planning, directed toward raising standards of living, means not controlling consumer demand but setting it free so that there is no obstacle between the freed requirements of the consumer and the utilization of productive capacity, including not only natural resources but their fabrication and transportation and all the operations of production culminating in goods and services which are actually at the dis-

posal of the consumer and hence become the material basis of the standards of living of the population.

In this sense the problem is, not to juggle with questions of the relation of wages to profits and prices, but squarely to face whether or not we shall choose as the objective of our economic system the raising of standards of living and the planning of production toward that end, and, if that be our choice, what modifications in control and ownership are essential. There lies the problem of social economic planning. Only when we make our choice of objective can we talk realistically about the techniques and procedures of planning. These methods become relatively simple in the light of a clearly determined objective. Economic research and scientific management give us the techniques. What is lacking at the moment is both the objective and the commensurate control to achieve that objective.

A review of what this Division of the Conference has done in the past in relation to this subject places squarely before us the relation of social work to economic planning. The Division actually grew out of the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor, which was appointed in 1909 under the chairmanship of Paul Kellogg. You will find reports of the Committee in the *Proceedings* of the National Conference of Charities and Correction held in Cleveland in 1912. Reference there is made to Mr. Kellogg's chairmanship when he put before the group the idea that industries must be subjected by social workers to tests of social efficiency measurable in terms of standards of public health and safety. The following year, Florence Kelley was chairman and further elaborated these general tests in proposals for specific legislation. The following year, 1912, at Cleveland, the Committee, headed by Owen R. Lovejoy, prepared its report on "Standards of Living and Labor," which in that year became the industrial plank of the Progressive party. Governor Pinchot referred to this industrial platform in his address at this Conference last Sunday night. It called for recognition of the essential elements in minimum standards of living in terms of a living

wage; the eight-hour day; the six-day week; abolition of night work for minors and for women; decrease of night work for men to a minimum; provisions for safety and health, including proper inspection of work places; prohibition of the use of poisons and establishment of safeguards in hazardous occupations; proper housing and such control of taxation as would protect wage earners from exorbitant rents; elimination of child labor and protection of the aged; and a system of compensation or social insurance against the hazards to standards of living involved in accidents, trade diseases, old age, and unemployment.

Twelve years passed. In 1924 in Toronto this Division looked back to 1912 and analyzed the reasons why so little progress had been made in putting these standards into effect. On behalf of members of the Committee in charge of the program in Toronto who had discussed this subject during the preceding year, Roger Baldwin presented a report which is published in the *Proceedings*, on "The Challenge to Social Work of the Changing Control in Industry." Briefly, that report declared that efforts to bring about such standards as those adopted twelve years earlier were dependent upon a dynamic labor movement which conceives of itself as the builder of a new social order. The relationship of the social worker to this task is analogous to the relationship of the engineer to the building projects of a community. Reference was made to the development of this dynamic labor movement throughout the world—in England, Russia, Mexico, and other countries. The fact was noted that the labor movement in this country had not been conceived of as a whole in these dynamic terms.

"An industrial program for changing sources of power," put forward by members of the committee in charge of the program that year, included the building up of a political class party of producers with participation in this task and in all the enterprises of organized labor by social workers; a sharing by them in the work of organizing producers' and consumers' cooperative societies; the development of the workers' direct relationship to shop management, looking toward increased working-class con-

trol; and finally, efforts toward greater international cooperation between labor and producing groups.

That is to say, the conclusion of this analysis of failure to achieve the minimum standards recognized before the war as a fair test of the industries of this country was that what we needed was not merely to give voice to these standards but to find the source of power for realizing them. This power, according to the report, was to be found through shifting control from a limited group of those who are primarily concerned with profit-making to a larger basic group of producers who are primarily concerned with the building of a new society. The relation of social work to that task in all its ramifications would be the relationship of the engineer who works out the technique of achieving given objectives.

I call attention to the fact that it is now eight years since that report was made in Toronto and that neither in 1912 nor in 1924 was there any reference to the idea of planning in the sense in which it is being discussed today. Since that date the experiment in planning in Soviet Russia has emerged as a definite procedure. We must clearly recognize that Soviet Russia is the only country in the world which can present a demonstration of social economic planning directed toward the raising of the standards of living of all people. I confess that I grow somewhat impatient with the efforts made in this country to differentiate the current discussion of planning from Russian planning. It seems to me unscientific thus to eliminate consideration of an experiment which we should study in order to discover not only its technique but its sources of power.

In the course of that examination we may discover that we are not willing to pay the price of social economic planning through a change in the ownership of basic industries in this country. If, however, we decide that social economic planning, with its objective of raising standards of living, is our program for the rebuilding of our shattered economic system, we must not neglect the fact that our plan will be exactly commensurate with the control which we choose to establish.

The precise method of control and the steps to be taken toward it are not necessarily identical with any existing form of governmental ownership. A further task awaits us, to determine what the form of administration would be, taking account of our own development of scientific management and of union-management cooperation. I believe that we must begin with our non-restorable natural resources. We must work out forms of administration and control in the coal industry first, because it needs them the most, extending this plan to the oil industry, which is almost equally disorganized. The railroads will perforce be on our hands shortly if we lend them much more money. Industry by industry, and step by step, we must work out our procedure in accordance with the principles and practice of scientific management while facing the need for change in the sources of power and the scope of ownership essential to establish and maintain even the minimum standards of living which social workers projected twenty years ago.

NEW TRENDS IN COMMUNITY CONTROL

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WHETHER we have willed it or not, there appears to be a generalized tendency toward decentralization along many lines. The trend is in itself paradoxical, since it arises precisely at the historical moment when intercommunication between the peoples of the world has become highly efficient. World trade has broken down, not because of technological reasons, but because we have thus far found it impossible to devise psychological and sociological methods for achieving functional relationships between independent states. It thus happens that throughout the western world, and particularly in Europe, there has arisen the new movement of autarchy—that is, a demand for self-sufficient national units. Russia's five-year plan, or rather its ten-year plan, is intended to make this vast commonwealth independent in an economic sense from the rest of the world. The Commonwealth of Great Britain, likewise, is attempting to form a self-dependent world empire. And many lesser states have now embarked upon similar programs.

Autarchy, as noted above, represents a paradox; but there is often truth in contradictions. Our comprehensive units probably grew too rapidly under the stimulus of the extension of modes of transportation and communication. We behaved in terms of these larger units, but our thinking failed to keep pace with our actions. We lost the sense of the value of small things, especially of small social units. And as the larger units grew in importance, the smaller ones lost their significance. But reality still resided in the smaller units, as was to be shown at the very moment when the larger ones revealed their functional weaknesses. Consequently, it is not surprising that people should be

turning once more toward the resources of their more localized social units. Comprehensive organization, extending finally to the world itself, remains as an imperative for the future, but it may be that our present task is to look again toward the social center of modern life rather than toward its periphery. In any case, I take it as a sort of generalized introduction to my theme that the present offers opportunities for re-valuing and re-analyzing our smaller social units; and among these, none seems to me of greater continuing importance than the local community.

The dual pattern of community.—When, in the eighteenth century, De Tocqueville praised our local American communities for their self-sufficiency and their ability to produce necessary initiative and leadership in crises, he based his observations and conclusions on a relatively simple pattern of community life. Within this pattern he saw six primary levels of process each combining with the others to create a system of control. These levels may be called the processes of economics, politics, religion, sociability, intelligence, and moral sanctioning. Combined into a pattern of community control, these interfused levels operated within the aegis of a psycho-social framework which was also relatively simple. At the bottom of this system of control one found an active and basic sense of democracy—that is, a conviction that the community might be managed upon the assumption of an essential equality. Individual initiative was self-rewarding in a pioneer society and needed no theoretical justification. It operated freely and energetically and was restrained only by folk ways which had not yet become stabilized. Within these early communities there existed also a basic family security and solidarity which in itself represented an epitome of stability for the larger community. And the community unit as a whole was activated by a psychic optimism derived from social youthfulness and from a sense of goal.

Certain aspects of the foregoing pattern of the American community still exist, but they persist within another pattern which represents antithetical elements. The outlines of this newer pattern are visible, but not clearly; one sees direction but not

consummation. Many theorists have attempted to portray this emerging cultural pattern of the contemporary world; and so far as analysis is concerned, particularly on the negative side, resource material is not wanting. One recognizes, for example, that one of the forces which has exerted a profound effect upon the quality of community life is the dynamic trinity: science, technology, and industry. This is the three-cornered wedge between the old world and the new. Consequently, analysis must begin at this point. Economic life is no longer a simple affair of producing, exchanging, and consuming goods. Indeed, it has become so complicated that groups of specialists are now required to furnish even a description—to say nothing of an interpretation—of its composition. Specialization and ensuing professionalization are also complicating factors in the newer community pattern. It is not merely that the amateur spirit diminishes and that new social classes come into existence, but personality itself is fractionalized through the specialization compulsion. The true social self is decimated, and in its place there arises a new type of sociality, namely, functional collectivism. We must all belong to groups, and groupness characterizes most of our activities; but we have no sense of the meaning of groupness, no conception of underlying social principle. Consequently, our group life is not merely complicated and confusing but often reveals sheer contradiction in aim.

The clash between these two patterns of community life—one derived from a simple, democratic, and pioneering context and the other from a complicated, specialized, and dynamic society—has left local community control in a bewildering state of dislocation. On the political side we can never be sure who actually does the governing; in all larger communities there exist numerous subterranean groups and coalitions which wield arbitrary power; but the citizen is aware only of the power, not of the mode of its creation. Elsewhere, in both larger and smaller communities, one discovers a decided drift toward bureaucratic dictatorships of one sort or another, alike only in their deviation from and denial of the early American dream of government by

consent of the governed. Technologists and specialists of myriad varieties insulate themselves progressively from the folk process and become, each in his limited sphere, wise in particulars and ignorant in general. And a generalized sense of individual futility pervades the community process as a whole.

But I do not wish to dwell upon the negative aspects of our common theme. It seems to me highly important that those of us who presume to be analysts should also, and especially during periods of confusion, acquire the habits of synthesis. We shall always, presumably, live in local communities of some sort; and consequently we are confronted with a universal and continuing problem, namely: How may local community control be so exercised as to allow for the highest utilization of individual energy and at the same time employ means which are validly social? I shall confine my remarks to, first, the statement of a few principles, and second, the description of a few of the newer ventures in community organization which seem to me to be fruitful and promising.

Principles underlying a more valid form of community control.—In order to precipitate discussion, I shall state my principles both briefly and somewhat dogmatically, that is, in the form of propositions which are open to question and modification.

First, before more valid modes of community control may become effective we shall need to establish new agencies and methods for community fact-finding and interpreting. My own interest lies primarily in the area of method. Many people seem to assume that fact-finding is futile because behavior is not reasonable, and that the citizen will always act in relation to his personal and temporary interest regardless of the facts in the case. My contention is that we have not as yet learned how to collect community facts in a truly social manner. Facts collected by experts possess no more integrity, in the mind of the man on the street, than facts presented by the interested politician. Moreover, we are still unbelievably inept in interpreting facts to the citizenry. We reduce his choices to such arbitrary terms that he is often driven to support a status quo if for no other

reason than that he partially understands what is and is wholly incapable of envisaging what might be.

Second, each local community needs some means for quick testing of public attitudes and opinions. The present cost of elections is ridiculously high; moreover, the method is antiquated, cumbersome, and easily controlled by vested interests. It should be possible to test public opinion on important issues quickly, effectively and economically, and such tests could be made, not at stated calendar dates, but whenever the issues arise.

Third, a new basis of democratic faith and action needs to be discovered through fresh identifications of common interests. For example, a cross-sectional and representative community folk may be discovered in any one of the three following spheres: the folk as consumers, the folk as taxpayers, and the folk as parents. A new dynamic for community control might be found in any one or in all three of these common and comprehensive interests.

Fourth, experimentation in community control is likely to be fruitful if it proceeds by creating new increments of group power achieved through the social education of participants. Power without learning, whether acquired by individuals or groups, is always anti-social and in the long run self-defeating. In the past we have created agencies of power but we have relied too thoroughly upon a narrow conception of self-interest. What is needed is a conception of the self in which personality growth stands at the center as goal and in which learning is the continuing means.

Each of the foregoing propositions may be discussed most advantageously if the resources of experience are first drawn upon. We may ask, first of all, is anything like this happening in my community, or in any community of my acquaintance? What are the apparent consequences? How might the experiment be improved? With this body of experience data at hand, we may then proceed to analyze the validity of these propositions—how they are to be modified, and what additional ones are needed.

In the meantime, it may prove helpful if we have in mind certain experiments in community organization which have come to my attention in recent months and which seem to me to point toward a new hope. I shall confine myself to very brief descriptions of three such ventures.

In a large urban community there has existed for some years an organization unique in its conception and usually successful in its operation. It was devoted to the frankest possible discussion of any conceivable topic. The most extreme radical or reactionary could appear before this group and be assured of a respectful hearing. Like other forums of less scope and breadth, this group's aim was to produce tolerance and open-mindedness in its participants. And it maintained its rule of absolute freedom of speech throughout, even when the community itself turned toward repression and intolerance. Several members of this group have recently stated a new problem for themselves, namely this: What are the practical uses of tolerance? In other words, they came to feel that continuous practice of open-mindedness should, somehow, lead to a new quality of action. But, it is characteristic of "open-forum" types of organizations that they eschew all forms of action, even to the extent of barring votes and resolutions. This small nucleus which has posed the new problem has now set about to organize an action group composed of those who have presumably cultivated open-mindedness over a period of years. The new group is to direct its attention to local community problems, is to continue as an educational forum, but will also add a new function, namely, that of leading the community into new paths of action.

In a medium-sized city there has existed for some years a small group of discussants, all men. Their informal organization tended always to discuss problems from a philosophical point of view. Like the group in the first community described, social action had not been considered as a function of this group. Lately these men have come to recognize a new situation in their community, namely, a glaring dearth of leadership for carrying out community projects. They have now directed their

discussions toward this situation and have made a fresh assumption to the effect that their group, with certain additions, might experimentally assume the rôle of collective leadership. Several projects involving aspects of the unemployment problem have already been approached from this standpoint, and the group, considered as a leadership nucleus, has apparently found its rôle somewhere in that vague region between the politicians and the technologists who are paid to govern and manage the community.

In a rapidly-growing industrial city some social workers came to recognize, especially during the stress and strain imposed by unemployment relief, that the social agencies of the community operated without effective coordination. Both the city itself and the agencies had evolved so quickly and in response to such urgent needs that the problem of functional coordination was never effectively confronted. A plan of community organization has been devised, and partially carried out, to deal with this situation; but as it evolves, it becomes obvious that it will achieve much more than mere functional coordination. The city has been divided into public welfare districts. In each district some institution, such as a settlement, is to take the initiative in organizing a local council composed of both professional social workers and laymen interested in social work. Each of these councils will then become a nucleus for studying and discovering local needs and services. These independent local councils will, in turn, be coordinated from the community-wide point of view through the community union.

Problems for discussion.—Although each interested group will wish to discuss both the foregoing principles of community organization and the examples given in terms of its own situation, it may prove helpful if certain major problems are formulated in advance. These may then be reinterpreted in the light of any given local situation, using communities I have mentioned merely as points of departure.

1. How may an organization which has been designed primarily for the individual education of its members become an

instrument for social action? What dangers are involved? What dangers are involved in cultivating a tolerant attitude of mind which is never translated into social action?

2. By what processes may group leadership be substituted for individual leadership? Is it possible for a group to exercise the functions of leadership?

3. It seems clear that politicians must in some manner be checked by the democratic will, but why should it be necessary to interpose the democratic will between municipally employed technologists and the politicians? Have technologists in the employ of cities become also a type of politician?

4. Is coordination of social agencies a sufficient foundation for community organization? Will an organization designed merely for purposes of coordination endure?

5. How may a local neighborhood organization function in such manner as to integrate the laymen's drive with the professional worker's program?

"WHEN LEISURE PALLS"

*Helen Hall, Head Resident, University Settlement,
Philadelphia*

LAZINESS has kind of crawled into my system," one boy said when he tried to put into words what months of loafing had done to him.

After spending three years with boys and girls who have been out of work, and after reading the histories of some three hundred like them from many parts of the country, I cannot but wish that some change would crawl into our whole industrial and educational system.

As these young people present themselves against the social, economic, and educational background of our cities, it is not their plight from an economic standpoint which alone seems significant, but their total helplessness. The young people of whom I speak have come of working age since the depression set in, and their histories are part of a study now being made by the National Federation of Settlements. They are of the age which people in comfortable circumstances would still consider a time for study and play. The well-to-do boy and girl of fourteen to eighteen are not considered in the class of the unemployed when they are not earning something. The group we studied, however, were potential wage earners in most states at fourteen. Enforced leisure started for many of them at that time.

Our study shows where the settlements, schools, clubs, libraries, and other agencies touched their lives. But what these agencies are doing in good times is only a fragment of what there is to be done; and hard times have put a vast leisure in the hands of young people illy prepared to make use of it.

As I read story after story, and as I have seen the boys and girls of our neighborhood start out, it seems to me that almost

their only asset is their youth—that youth which mercifully blinds them to what is so often ahead. Even those leaving school this year feel that perhaps for them at least there will be a place although their friends have failed.

The lack of any orderly process in the choosing and finding of work is their greatest common denominator. Many have plans and high ambitions, but under necessity these are scrapped; and with their less decided, and perhaps less intelligent, comrades they take what is offered, or, worse still, take nothing at all.

In both our family histories and our study of "Youth in Hard Times" we have tried to find out whether a public employment service has been used and whether work had been obtained through this source. The United States has gone such a short distance in developing public employment exchanges that the young people generally know nothing about them. In some six hundred cases with which I am familiar they played no part in the finding of a job except in two instances: a half day's work in one case; a very temporary job in another.

Following the footsteps of the boys and girls who look for work leads us to the need for local, state, and federal action. The Wagner bill providing for the establishment of a national state employment system, once vetoed, has been re-introduced. Let me urge you to urge your Congressmen and Senators to support it.

For the most part, the girl or boy starts off by answering "ads" or by asking friends whether they know of a job in the store or factory in which they work. Then they "go the rounds" themselves. Mary, who has but lately finished with dolls, puts on a grown-up front of powder and lipstick and starts out to make her own bargain with industry; or John, whom I only last year comforted when his dog died, announces that he is getting his working papers because his father needs his help, and do I know of a job? "What kind of a job?" I ask him. "Oh," he says, "I'll do anything."

But, having found no work, what happens in those hours

when John is not hunting? John's leisure time should demand our attention not only because he is unemployed at the present moment. We know that he has too much leisure *now*, but was his leisure very stirring or very productive when he had less of it? Did the spending of it engage his creative energies? John's job, when he gets it, may be dull and unstimulating, for our machines must be tended and fed. But if the job lacks stimulus, then whether John functions to the limit of his personality depends largely upon what he does out of hours. The serious talk of the five-day week and six-hour day bears significantly on this question of free time. You may be sure a boy's free time is seldom spent at home. As one boy wrote: "The only time I spend at home is on request." Another makes the comment: "I hate to, but I do spend some time on street corners." It is not all front when boys are reluctant to admit that they "hang" on corners. They reflect the attitude of the grown-ups around them. But where are they expected to go? What is there to take the place of the corner? The corner is open at all hours to the drunk or to the sober. For a boy, it is where you find your friends. No dues are required. Even the pool parlor means money if one is to get into the game. In many sections of our cities the corner is still the only answer to the need for a place to go. When I ask for Pete, some cooperative friend is sure to offer to go and look for him on the corner he "hangs" on. If he is not found, I am assured of the hopelessness of locating Pete by "I've looked on all the corners and he aint on none of them."

When John gets as far as the corner and becomes established there for the greatest part of the day, you begin to wonder if there isn't something wrong with John and ask yourself why he can't find something else to do with all his time. But most of John's right to choose is as theoretical as his economic security. At few places along the line does John do any real choosing. Knowing his home and many like it, I feel sure he would not have chosen that for a starting place. Has he chosen his school? We pride ourselves on the fact that his education has been compulsory. His first job is likely to be the only one he can find

after six months of looking, not choosing. You say John has had an education and can read and write. Yes, he can. But when he was taught to read, was he also inspired with some desire to read anything except the funnies, the sport page, the murders, and the sex tangles of the tabloids? If it stops there, one might almost wonder if the learning of his letters hadn't cheapened rather than enriched John's life.

Teaching John to read seems symbolic of what is happening to him all along the line. John is the child of a complicated, scientifically advanced society; but John and millions of Johns like him have only begun to taste some of the fruits of the civilization of which they are a part. Just as scientific invention has failed to bring John and his family economic security, so our education many times fails to discover to John his potentialities to himself or to his community. He can read, but has his education really unlocked the riches which lie within his reach? John lives not far from a museum, but there has been nothing in his background to make him seek it in his leisure hours. That John might be a participant in the arts has never entered his consciousness, and in that he is only a little behind the more privileged young person of his day. Except in a few of the more progressive schools, the joy to be had in creating out of wood or clay, or with brush or pencil, is still conceded only to the would-be artist, not taken for granted as the heritage of human kind.

John's family has a radio perhaps, over which can be heard the loveliest of music; but John tunes in on what he has heard on the street and in the dance halls. He began his musical education with "Yes, We Have No Bananas"; and like the shoe-maker and the rest of us, his tendency is strong to stick to his last. This year he turns on "Snuggle on Your Shoulder."

What of sports in John's leisure hours? It must be conceded that more opportunity has been afforded him along this line than in any other direction. Not all of the Johns, but many, have had some chance at athletic activity—perhaps basket-ball at school or neighborhood center, and even baseball on some corner lot.

What of John's attitude toward sex? This has been left entirely in the hands of fate. One can be almost sure that his parents have not been able or willing to give him guidance in the difficult job of growing up physically and emotionally. The school most certainly has hesitated to take on this delicate task; but where parents and teachers have hesitated, the corner bum, the tabloids, and the movies have given their answers to the questions of youth.

Few of us have come to maturity without having someone—and most of us have been fortunate enough to have had a number of thoughtful people—to take a very personal interest in our development. I have been appalled to watch children grow up without any adult person able, or interested enough, to give a thoughtful or considerate answer to their questions. In our congested neighborhoods to whom can they look? Many of the Johns come from homes where pressure of fatigue and worry, or lack of intelligence, makes improbable any reaction to the child other than an emotional one. More often than not they attend overcrowded schools. A school teacher with forty children in her class can seldom give personal attention to individual problems; if she does, it often has to be a disciplinary interest. This is not a neighbor's job, nor is a busy neighbor apt to do it. The policeman on the beat does not do it. So where can so many of our children look for that leadership and that friendship which has played so important a part in most of our lives? I was struck by the comment of the president of a dramatic group on what leadership meant to him. For ten years he has been one of the most ardent members of a settlement troupe that have given plays of every variety and worked hard and with sincerity. After a number of changes a leader finally came to them who leads them to see the beauty in every line of poetry they learn and the full significance of the characters they interpret. To watch the development of their personalities under her leadership has been a rewarding and enlightening experience. However, this young neighbor made the statement one day that there wasn't much in settlement dramatics as such. "But look

what you've gotten out of them," was the astonished rejoinder. "Yeh," he replied, "but look who we got giving it to us. It was only when she was working with us that we saw what was really in it."

Now, John and many like him have grown up with very little leadership of the kind that opened the eyes of the young men and women in that dramatic troupe. We may say that leadership is rare, and that it is expensive; and we may wonder at times if it can ever be achieved for the masses. But at least do not let us feel that John is really sharing in the civilization into which he was born until he has been exposed to leadership that will throw open possibilities which successfully compete for his leisure with life on the street corner.

Today, because of unemployment, we need to redouble efforts in our schools, our settlements, our clubs, our Y's, our playgrounds, our libraries, our museums. Instead, in these times, such agencies, which deal primarily with mind and spirit, have more often than not been forced to curtail their services. In the general situation the significance of the cuts in educational and recreational work has been lost sight of. The charge is on those of use who feel keenly about them to strive for a wider understanding of what these things may mean to people. That it is so much easier for most of us to sympathize with the need for food than any other need of human kind is true, but aren't we thinking meanly of our neighbor when we feel that he lives by bread alone? So it is with our neighbor's children. To feed the bodies of boys and girls and guard their health is merely preliminary to their living more fully and successfully as human beings.

Hard times have thrown leisure in high relief and have made us realize how sterile much of it has been even in prosperous times. We should not only bend our strength toward rendering greater service in this emergency but use what insight we gain these years toward the enrichment of the leisure which the development of the machine is placing in our hands.

THE NEGRO'S CONTRIBUTION IN ART TO AMERICAN CULTURE

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MY COLLEAGUES in this pleasant undertaking of giving you some first hand and recent account of the Negro contributions to American culture have shown you what the accomplishment has been and what the promise is in the fields of literature and music. On the whole, this makes my task easier, for at least I do not have to build up the general background of the comparatively young movement that is expressing itself also in the field that I am assigned to cover, namely, art. But what I gain in background is almost lost in the slim comparison of the Negro's art output with the earlier established, and therefore more matured, development in poetry and music. This is a fact to be admitted at the very outset. It by no means diminishes, however, a significance in which I think you will be specially interested as a body of students of social conditions, which I think it proper to stress. We can compensate somewhat for the slighter artistic yield of the Negro in this creative field by turning our attention to the unusually clear diagnostic value of art in reflecting the social attitudes and reactions of a group. The recent steps in the development of the Negro artists would be worth while examining in this connection alone, if there were little or no artistic accomplishment, which is not true, of course. I make no apology, therefore, in turning to Negro art as a psychological index of the attitude of a select section of the race toward its own traits—physical, social, and cultural.

I can best explain the situation by a concrete example from personal experience. And may I say with what pleasure I recall this at this most appropriate place—first, since you all know Paul Kellogg and his galvanizing sponsorship of fledgling causes;

and second, because in the short space of eight years his and my contentions on this point have been completely vindicated by the developments of Negro art and the trends of the Negro artist. For, eight years ago, when the project of editing a Negro, or Harlem, number of the *Survey-Graphic* was on, with a rich selection of poetry, fiction, music, and social criticism available, there was almost nothing equally representative and racial in the field of art. The Negro artist was still in the eclipse of chilly disparagement, while the poets and playwrights and writers and musicians were in the sunlight and warmth of a proud and positive race consciousness. Why? Because social prejudice had seized on the stigma of color and racial feature, and had made the average Negro negatively color conscious. Negro artists there were, but little or no Negro art. At that time most of our artists went in for the creed of being "artists in general," and either avoided racial subjects or treated them gingerly in what I used to call "Nordic transcriptions."

We have time to theorize about the underlying reasons now, and they are pretty obvious in the perspective of what has happened since; but then we were in the throes of a practical situation, and rightly, I think, we decided on heroic measures. If the Negro artist was in this general frame of mind, his pictures were bound to be weak and apologetic in spirit and conception, even if technically proficient. And certainly there was no chance of their being masterful. So, with certainty of adverse criticism, which, by the way, materialized, it was decided to turn to a white European artist, with a sympathy for, and background of experience in, the delineation of folk types. And Winold Reiss's instructions were to put the emphasis on racial characteristics—the heavier the better. Not that we wanted to distort, for Mr. Reiss's selection of types eventually ran from one end to the other of that interesting spectrum of yellows, high browns, low browns, and blacks which the American Negro spreads out on the palette of humanity. But the spirit of the commission, executed boldly and brilliantly (let me acknowledge), was a frank

and frontal realism, conceived as the artistically true and psychologically sound approach to the portrayal of Negro types.

Negro poets were already rhapsodizing variations on "I am black but comely," and our leaders were preaching race pride and race consciousness; but the artists hadn't trooped their colors, and for an inevitable reason. Of course there was criticism—I realize I have said it once before—but in the interval of a few months at least three artists—two young painters and one young sculptor—had the courage of unapologetic racialism in their work. They were trying to win recognition as "Negro artists" and were stressing "African design," "race types," "racial symbolism."

The artistic importance of this lay, of course, in a double emancipation of a growing number of Negro artists from academic imitation in art technique and apologetic timidity in art conception. Though a deeply spiritual one, this change can almost be statistically demonstrated. In six or seven years' time the number of outstanding artists has at least quadrupled. But still more significant, the records of the five successive annual shows of works by Negro artists sponsored by the Harmon Foundation as part of its program of encouragement of Negro achievement, show from year to year a jumping curve of racial types and subjects and characteristic racial situations in the entries, with a steadily maturing firmness on the whole in the average technique and conception in this field. And, just as might have been expected, while there has been a numerical diminution in the proportion of non-racial subjects, such as marine, landscape painting, symbolic design, there has been enormous qualitative improvement in the general output in these fields; and often the same men and women present work in both the racial and the non-racial themes. To cap this quite remarkable story, allow me to add the anecdote of a young painter with a creditable prize record at one of the great national schools of fine art. He preferred to be known, he said, "as a painter, not a Negro painter." He refused in 1929 an invitation

to exhibit in a showing of Negro artists. He was awarded a fellowship for foreign study on his technical merits and promise. In two years' time, he was exhibiting in the successor of the show he first refused to join. I have just seen at our special exhibit of the work of Negro artists at Howard University six of his paintings. Five are of race types—one perhaps the most striking color study of a pure blood type that I have ever seen from the brush of an American artist, black or white. And, so far as I know and believe, the conversion of attitude here has been 90 per cent on artistic grounds.

But may we pause a moment to check the social effect? Multiply this by the effect on Negro spectators and white spectators; count the subtle influence of the ever increasing number of canvases portraying Negro life and types variously, but with full technical dignity, in our museums, art shows, popular art exhibits, and I think you will grant my conclusion that the social value and influence of a sound racial school of art is one of the things of paramount contemporary importance. I used to be a partisan of "art for art's sake," and still would have the artists essentially free and harnessed to no social cart or public plow. However, I see a double—in fact, a triple—gain in the further spread of the very real and vital racialism that is stirring in the world of the Negro artist, and for that matter in the white artists interested in the truly serious portrayal of Negro life in the fine arts. First, there is the galvanizing of the Negro artist himself, from apologetic and stultifying imitation to more and more vigorous creativeness. Second, there is the education of the Negro consuming public—the opening of its eyes to its own inherent and typical beauty and dignity. Here we have a real specific antidote to the blighting effects of subconscious race prejudice. Third, we have a similar stimulation of the interest and sympathetic understanding of the white American public through the compelling and typically American—or shall I say, modern,—medium of the eye. (I hope you will pardon this insistence.) I really see in music, the drama, painting, and sculpture some of the most practical and effective correctives of racial

prejudice, indifference, and warped sensibility. I really believe you will instantly recognize in this cultural and artistic movement and its sane promotion one of the most effective agents available at present for the liberalizing and humanizing of your social work.

Now may we turn, all too briefly, to some detailed account of the Negro artists. If we mean by the Negro artist just the Negro who paints or "sculpts," then he has a long, even though tenuous, history. Almost from the very beginning of American art, there were such artists occasionally, some of them, like Edward Bannister in the 1850's, or Edmonia Lewis in the sixties and seventies, and James Duncanson in the eighties, competent and standing out at least above the level of mediocrity. But until Henry O. Tanner there was no Negro painter of decidedly international stature and affiliations. But Mr. Tanner's success, great encouragement though it was to the Negro's ambition in art, showed no racial path or social significance. This element began to trickle in through the work of artists of the first and second decade of the new century, such as the sculptors Meta Warrick Fuller and May Howard Jackson, and painters like Henry Edouard Scott, a pupil of Tanner's. However, the incidents I have related about the situation as late as 1924-25 will show how recent the full swing of a racial school of art really is. But to those of you familiar with the last five years' showings of the Harmon exhibits of the work of Negro artists, a galaxy of essentially new names and talents will be familiar. Let me just indicate the range of some. What I particularly want to show is how possible it is for an artist to be race conscious and expressive without hindrance to his cosmopolitan scope as a citizen of the world or any limitation or standardizing of his technical affiliations or preference of art philosophy and style. Take William Johnson, born in South Carolina, vagabond apprentice of Hawthorne's Provincetown studio, protégé first of Mr. Hawthorne and then of George Luks, student in France four years with extremist French modernist influences saturating him for a time, and now a resident of Denmark—certainly on the sur-

face no very favorable seed pot for race propaganda through art. But in 1929, after winning a gold award in the Harmon show of that year, Mr. Johnson went home to South Carolina. I simply cannot resist telling about an incident I can vouch for—Mr. Johnson's arrest for vagrancy because he was painting at one of his home town's street corners. But it all got straightened out with the local law, and Negro art was enriched by a striking series of peasant type studies that, in addition to adding some notes to Negro portraiture, probably were significant as a contact of ultra-modernist art and a provincial southern town. The point here, apart from mention of a very significant talent, is that we do and should not expect Negro art or the Negro artist to grow in his own soil exclusively, but only to come back to that soil with its acquired perspective and endowment.

Before proceeding to a case in another field, perhaps it would be well to mention the more outstanding Negro painters of the younger generation: Aaron Douglas, Edouard Scott, Laura Wheeler Waring, Hale Woodruff, Archibald Motley, and James Lesesne Wells. They are all very different, in spite of their common bond of this newly acquired racialism. They run the gamut of the more modern techniques and schools of painting, but each with a somewhat distinguishable note or accent that could as easily have a racial explanation as a national one. We must never forget that there is only a difference of relative degree between what we call racial, national, or provincial characters.

But the promised case is in another field—this time of sculpture. Here I may vaunt for a minute, if I may, my own particular theory that the Negro artist's great forte will be sculpture. This is not merely a belief in some dormant plastic sense, surviving in the late generations of the descendants of the admittedly superb African craftsman and wood sculptors. It is rather the feeling that there is some connection between unusual plastic sense and skill and the naïve emotional approach to life. It is the primitive skill of being immersed by instinct in the experiences of the senses in this case with the eyes that see. And here, if it is not too stifled by academism, the Negro artist will

give good account of himself, and is already promising to. The proportion of sculptors, especially women sculptors in the meager statistics of the younger group of Negro artists, is unusually high. And the type case I have selected is that of a young man from New Orleans, Richmond Barthe, who had been studying painting at the Chicago Art Institute for four years, with every sign of a promising career as a painter. The emergency of a Chicago Negro in Art Week committee for some sculpture exhibits turned his attention to modeling, and his third and fourth attempts at the new craft were exhibit pieces not unworthy of as many years of intensive study. I am sorry this has to be an unillustrated talk. For three or four pieces could show you the rapid unfolding of an unsuspected talent in this case that has perhaps more than individual significance. For I have noticed about Mr. Barthe's work, in a rather unusual degree, something that is noticeable I think in a greater number of these Negro artists than their white confrères. What is it? Simply this: a comparative absence of the crystallized style; not only a growing style or typical period change, but a versatility corresponding more closely to the separate subject and situation. The instinctive spontaneous harmony of the Negro in music ought to be expected to have some counterpart in the other arts; and here, I think, it is.

I must not close without a paragraph, brief though it be, concerning the interest of the white artist in the Negro subject, and the almost revolutionary transformation of type and depth of interest that has occurred in the last ten years. Winslow Homer and Wayman Adams were pioneers of a somewhat realistic and serious portrayal of Negro types. But there was, after all, in their work the taint of condescension in the general attitude. Gradually, through Robert Henri and George Luks and a few others of that generation, this interest deepened to sympathetic portrayal of character and personality. Thus the way was prepared for the young contemporary school which is at work today with almost the same depth of attitude as the Negro artist, though, of course, with more technical and emotional detach-

ment in most cases. William Benton, George Biddle, James Chapin, Julius Bloch, the Mexican Covarrubias, and Orosco, to name just the most prominent few, are legitimate and important interpreters of an advancing Negro art. This is as it should be for art has provinces but no frontiers. In the common exploration of this closed and neglected field of subject matter, and in the technical release and stepping up of creative energy latent in the Negro, the fine arts have a vital and valuable impetus and yield to give toward the flowering of native and original American fine art.

ENRICHING COMMUNITY LIFE THROUGH ART

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WHATEVER benefits our industrial era has brought forth, they are not usually said to be in the field of art. Our unkempt industrial centers, our blighted areas present in almost any city, and the unlovely appearance of many of our neighborhoods suggest that the total amount of ugliness outweighs any gains in beauty which are beginning to appear in manufactured commodities. It is a fact that industry is enriching our national life through more attractive automobiles, built-in bathtubs, and kodaks in various colors, to mention a few conspicuous examples. Likewise, our architects have arrived at a more sincere expression in tall buildings; oil stations along highways and city streets are often in good taste, and frequently landscaped. The standard in commercial advertising, in magazines and booklets, is superior to what it used to be. Our larger cities are becoming more orderly in appearance through systematic planning. In place of the confusion of the nineties a new simplicity and dignity has appeared. While the exteriors of skyscrapers are losing their false columns and attached cornices, the interiors show flat-top desks and smooth steel filing cabinets expressive of a new beauty of their own. This improvement has been brought about only in part by a conscious desire for art qualities. A great deal is due to the demands of cleanliness, efficiency, and economy in manufacture.

Buildings, utensils, and fixtures are produced in a competitive market, and paid for by the public. The aesthetic element in the illustrations just mentioned is closely allied to utility. Theirs is the beauty of a locomotive, of an ocean liner, or of an electric power plant. As individuals or members of communities we have little control over the products of industry. We affect

their appearance only as we are part of a buying public. We call them to your attention, as these examples of better design suggest that collectively we are becoming art conscious.

That beauty has advertising value is shown by a recent radio talk sponsored by a well known automobile manufacturer, whose argument consisted of three points: safety, low cost, and color, with most of the time devoted to color. The announcer pointed out at considerable length that the finest artists of the country had been secured to devise the color schemes. If a commercial radio address uses beauty as part of a sales talk, we may be sure that people recognize its existence and are sensitive to its appeal. The person who buys an automobile because of the color scheme may be indifferent to oil paintings in gold frames. He may not be conscious of a relationship between the color of a car and the color in a painting. The latter is often regarded by him as a curio, for which he has little understanding and no desire. But it would be a false conclusion to assume that the person who is indifferent to pictures is insensitive to beauty.

Taste, as applied to the arts, is specialized and a matter of growth that develops with experience. Once awakened it can be trained to embrace the arts which have come down to us from the past. If, as a nation, we are learning to appreciate beauty in our rôle of consumers, we may also be taught to seek it as members of a community in things we may create with our own hands, once opportunities have been pointed out to us. If we could also become producers in some field of the arts, we could once again participate in creative processes. The question is whether we should do this as individuals or as groups. Either approach is possible; but as the group offers advantages of economy, creates a group spirit and enthusiasm, and finally, furnishes an audience, it is well that these arts should be practiced together. A neighborhood can be aroused to participation in a project if a feeling of common interest exists, as is illustrated, for example, in the growth of the parent-teacher movement.

Our commonly accepted pastimes, radio and moving pictures, to which we fear television may soon be added, are organized

nationally. The older arts grew out of restricted local environments, as, for example, the Greek city-state, or even our own New England town, and they may again find a spontaneous growth in the natural soil of small social groups, be they organized by community centers, church organizations, neighborhood clubs, or settlement houses. Our suggestions are directed, more particularly, to groups of this type, where we have people of various ages who live sufficiently close together to be in contact with each other.

If the increase in beauty of industrial commodities on the one hand and mechanized recreations on the other are at least insufficient in their contributions to the enrichment of community life, it is partly because they affect us only passively, affording us no opportunities for self-activity. Does, perhaps, the negative side of industrialism offer a fruitful field for our creative instincts, as the needs for improvements are certainly apparent? The amount of ugliness brought about through mass production is great. Not all streets are beautiful; electricity has not eliminated the smoke evil; our vacant lots are still filled with weeds, tin cans, and billboards. Subdivisions continue to be laid out in uneconomical, rectangular lots; and our dwelling houses are behind our bathroom fixtures in beauty, economy of construction, purposeful planning, and practically every other respect. No doubt there have been examples of noteworthy achievement where an aroused community spirit has transformed the character of a whole neighborhood. We remind you what, for example, Edward Bok accomplished in Merion, right here in Philadelphia.

But can endeavors along these lines be recommended as leisure-time activities to enrich otherwise monotonous lives? Where conditions are favorable, gardening is an excellent way to give vent to a desire for self-expression. It combines a love of nature with problems of designs, in addition to the advantages of outdoor exercise. In its place it is perhaps one of the most resourceful of recreational activities. Improvements of a larger kind, requiring large expenditures of labor, will have to come

through regional planning commissions and new housing industries, and in the last analysis through enlightened legislation. To aid employment, ash dumps may occasionally be turned into playgrounds through the efforts of energetic communities, thereby beautifying and enriching a neighborhood. But these instances are exceptional. They represent work rather than recreation, and need to be left to professionals to accomplish.

Our concern is with the problem of what the older arts of painting and modeling and the handicrafts can do for individuals of a community. We are interested in what they can contribute to give an enriched content to community life. What reasons can be presented which would make it plausible that such results are possible? Like dance, music, drama, and the pageant, these arts should find a place in community life, to be practiced as activities for enjoyment, as an avocation rather than as a profession.

Whatever we may say against the moving picture and the radio, their very popularity proves that they are needed escape from the monotony of a workaday world. Opportunities for creative activities for the person of modest means are few indeed. We need to develop new kinds of recreations for the sake of developing well rounded personalities. Much as we appreciate the great convenience which a new order of life has given us in furnishing us with houses, clothes, furniture, and utensils ready made, we shall not gain thereby in happiness unless we create substitutes which will give stimulation to our one sided minds and exercise to our less used muscles. We believe that art offers satisfactions which can release people from the kind of a life which takes from them their individuality.

Even a good radio program and the best of moving pictures leave us as listeners and spectators rather than as doers. With the decline of the legitimate stage we witness the growth of the little theater movement. Nothing of like importance has happened to painting. There is no acknowledged line of demarcation between professionals and amateurs. Both groups paint chiefly landscapes, still lifes, and portraits. Perhaps, to a de-

gree, the difference between them is a matter of competence. Those who derive at least a portion of their income from the sale of pictures may be ranked among the professionals, not to mention the few who are helped or supported by patrons or dealers.

In spite of public indifference, the number of artists, not including architects and commercial artists, has been increasing steadily. In 1898 there were approximately 3,000 in the United States; while we have at the present at least 7,415, an increase of 147 per cent. During the same period our population increase was 69 per cent. How many of these artists live from the sale of their art? Certainly a small number only. Some teach, while others earn their living in one of the many branches of commercial or industrial art. The rest paint without pecuniary benefit to themselves.

In fact, if not in name, we already have a group of leisure-time artists, of those who can afford it, and prefer art to other ways of occupying their time. Whether we call them professionals or amateurs matters little. The increase in artists has been paralleled by the development of museums and traveling exhibitions which carry pictures from place to place. No states, and few cities over 25,000, remain entirely untouched. Though the pictures are placed on exhibition for several weeks in each city, and though they are ostensibly painted for purchase, few are sold. If painters were business men, they would have long ago given up in despair. Instead, they continue undismayed and multiply in spite of indifference. The reasons for this are not difficult to discover. The sale of a picture is not its sole function. In the present depression at least, its chief purpose must be the satisfaction which the artist derives from creating it. The second function of a picture is to be seen. Painters need audiences. If there is such a thing as an art instinct, it developed out of the primitive group activities of dance, music, and song, which implied not only a performer but a spectator as well. Public approbation is still a condition of a satisfactory practice of the arts, to which we must add the plastic arts as well. Even if the painter fails to sell his picture, an opportunity to present it before a

public contributes something to the enhancement of his personality, something which is not shared in like manner by the merchant or manufacturer with infinitely greater financial investments.

We have seen that, in spite of the negative effects of an industrial era, beauty of a new type is coming back into machine made products which once implied the essence of unattractiveness. As a nation, art is not only tolerated in this new garb but actually has acquired commercial value. On the other hand, the number of people who have taken up one of the fine arts, professionally or otherwise, has doubled during the last thirty years. We should note further that this new beauty owes little to the professional painters, who now, as formerly, express themselves on canvas. Although there has been an increase in the use of paintings in public buildings and in the homes of our more well-to-do, the masses of the population have been little affected thereby.

Our advances of systematically extending art to a larger public have been largely in the educational field and, as yet, have hardly included the adults outside the colleges. If painting and sculpture have played a minor rôle, so has the artist failed to establish a close relation with everyday affairs. Pushed into the background by the more vital manifestations of a practical world, he lost contact with his fellowmen and sought refuge among his own kind in the cliques and studios of our metropolitan centers. Rebelling against the ugliness of the new age, he kept himself aloof but continued to produce pictures which found no popular market. It is natural that he became an extreme individualist and found himself at odds with his environment, which had little use for him and on which he exerted little influence. Guarding the flame of beauty, he has taken on something of the spirit of a missionary who is willing to endure privations for the salvation of his soul. Only feebly endowed with acquisitive instincts, he possesses some of the prerequisites which would make him a valuable aid in a movement which should bend his efforts toward giving a new impetus to our artistic in-

heritance from an earlier period. Added to these difficulties of art was its divorce from craftsmanship. Where formerly the painter was also a craftsman, he now is a specialist. The place once occupied by the handicrafts is now held by the industrial arts, thereby further isolating the painter.

With the world said to be approaching a five-day week, and a six-hour day, new means will have to be found to bring about the development of the whole personality. It seems plausible that the graphic and plastic arts will play a part in furnishing content for leisure-time activities. If the number of creators in the form of amateur artists should increase, they would, in time, make up an intelligent and understanding public, sympathetic with the aims of the artist and willing and prepared to support him as a valuable member of society. We can imagine nothing better than voluntary service on the part of the artist for the community in which he lives, as a teacher for groups of interested laymen. This might help to bridge the present gulf between artist and public.

Painting is now a luxury, without public support. If its professional practice were forbidden by law tomorrow, its absence would be little noticed. Fortunately, the force of tradition, prestige, and the creative needs of the individual have preserved these arts in an unfriendly environment. There are signs here and there of a changed attitude. Business men's art clubs have formed in about a dozen centers in connection with museums. In New York City physicians have organized a group which paints and exhibits. Fifty years ago the painting of amateurs was tolerated only in young women's finishing schools, where the practice was considered harmless.

But how, you may ask, can laymen be expected to paint, as art requires talent? Not many will have the courage to aspire to activities usually looked upon as being somewhat mysterious. Though few will become outstanding artists, many people can learn how to draw, paint, and design, and a great many more can engage in the crafts. That this is true has been demonstrated by the example of our schools and colleges. There are

few schools that fail to offer their pupils some first hand experience in drawing and design. Some have carried it to a high development, notably the progressive schools. In our leading universities art has had a place for the last fifty years. It would not be too much to say that, in those colleges where art is taught, as many as ten per cent of the whole student body elects at least one course in art, without intent to turn it to professional uses. This may be taken as a fair sampling of what would be the case if the opportunities offered by the schools and colleges were open to adults generally.

It is not clear to what extent art abilities correlate with the kind of intelligence which colleges select. Though a combination of abilities is necessary for high achievements in the arts, there are many who have a sufficient degree of coordination of hand and eye to be able to give expression to whatever creative capacities they may have. Artistic abilities are probably distributed much after the manner of other abilities. Small groups at either end of the distribution curve will be either deficient or highly endowed. The large majority between these extremes will have enough native creative capacity and technical facility to serve them as a source of enjoyment. The experiences of the Art Workshop of New York City is a case in point. Here opportunities for painting and modeling are offered to girls from shops and factories. The results achieved are most encouraging, both from the point of view of revitalizing personalities as well as from the purely artistic angle. Even if the quality of results achieved were less than it is—and it needs no apology—the emotional release afforded the individual and the gain in self-esteem would make the endeavor thoroughly worth while. On a psychological basis the arts have, therefore, much to recommend themselves. Nothing is better adapted to remove a self-conscious element from art than actual experiments with mediums and materials. Unlike athletics and dramatics, art is not wholly social, though it is not wholly individual either. The beginner in painting or designing grows in achievement by working in a group. He learns from others and thrives on the recognition re-

ceived from sympathetic teachers or older students. The exhibition affords him an audience without which no artist is really happy. The visual arts have one advantage over the group activities in that they can be continued at home after class even though the instructor be absent.

It may come as a surprise that we recommend the arts for the purposes of leisure-time activities when they are commonly supposed to depend on innate ability to excel in freehand drawing. There will always be those who will distrust their abilities along this line and will not afford themselves an opportunity to find out that there is no mystery about drawing. If they persist in their distrust, their needs may be ministered to in a different way. The supposed difficulties of drawing may be minimized without sacrificing the essentials of creative efforts. Shapes may be invented or traced, the contribution of the individual in that case being the rearrangement of the shapes to form a composition. His creativeness will consist in relating lines and forms and selecting colors, thereby affording a short cut to self-expression with a minimum of technical difficulties. Stimulated by modern painting, and owing perhaps in part to the wide use art has enjoyed in the schools, from the kindergarten up, the emphasis has been shifted from drawing to design. At one time freehand drawing in the school curriculum was synonymous with art, which meant working from copies or drawing from wooden spheres, cubes, or pyramids. Since that day art instruction has been greatly enriched. A new conception has been introduced based on the creative rather than the reproductive side of art. This has resulted in a new emphasis of the subject which now tends to enlist the interest of all members of the class. A well organized art program no longer encourages only the exceptional pupil; it recognizes the needs of every pupil in the room. New mediums and a host of applications in crafts give a variety to a subject which once reflected the methods current in professional schools. Out of this fund of new experience the thoughtful instructor may select mediums and problems to suit almost any group, no matter what their ages, ex-

perience, or economic standards. If the interest on the part of the individual can be aroused, the experiments will be successful. Interest is the one essential condition which must be fulfilled. Unless enthusiasms can be aroused the director would better turn to other activities which are more to the liking of the group. With the art educational background thus prepared, the doors are wide open for an inclusion of art in recreation programs. Again, thirty years ago the contribution from the educational field would have been limited, as the great richness of the present day was still undeveloped.

Not only modern art, but a knowledge of the art of the world, and of all periods, has broadened our views and deepened our sympathies and given us a better understanding of how to avoid the pitfalls of historical revivals. For those who do not care to paint or design there are the crafts.

In former periods the crafts afforded opportunities for those who found painting and sculpture beyond their capacities. We should, therefore, expect large groups to engage in basketry and pottery, batik and tooled leather, with the plastic and graphic arts reserved to those who have first tried themselves out in less difficult mediums. Within the natural limitations of the medium a work of the crafts can be as perfect as a painting, though it will be less complex in structure and will offer fewer possibilities to the imagination. The crafts may be of particular value in those communities with a large proportion of foreign born, where old world traditions still persist. These have been used in many places and could perhaps be kept alive even in the absence of new immigration.

In the crafts, as well as in painting, we should keep in mind the major objective—to afford emotional outlets—to release creative abilities. It is not claimed that even the crafts are grist for every mill. The belief that the creative instinct is ever present in every human being has recently been questioned, but it is not denied that it is present even among those engaged in industrial work and that it is suppressed by the monotony of ma-

chine labor. Particularly the more intelligent worker finds it irksome to adjust to the rhythm of a machine. It is he who craves variety and most needs recreation to afford an outlet for those urges for which his daily work provides no place. A more widespread use of art for leisure time is, therefore, favored on the basis of both a psychological as well as an art-educational analysis. We have found that art education has brought in variety and adapted methods and mediums to the use of the many with only average abilities. The problem of talent is, therefore, not a handicap where the arts are to serve leisure-time purposes. It remains to be shown that the costs are not prohibitive and that the administrative side can be solved.

In the early stages we may have to depend for support on foundations and the generosity of far-sighted individuals who have already pointed the way, to mention only the Graphic Sketch Club in Philadelphia, founded by Mr. Fleischer, and the work which the Phillips Memorial Gallery, the work of a private collector, is doing in Washington. Museums and extension divisions of colleges and agricultural schools could furnish guidance and teachers. Artists, by nature generous and enthusiastic, could probably be prevailed upon to assume some responsibilities on the teaching side. As soon as the benefits which the individual receives are recognized, the burden should be shifted to those who directly benefit. In some cases small fees might be charged.

By the time the recreation movement has become general, art, we hope, will be permanently included. When that time comes, taxation should provide for recreation, as it now does for education. Almost any kind of room can be adapted to a studio. It does not take north light, or expensive equipment; it may be carried on at night as well as by day; and the problems can be so varied that even the least expensive materials will give results. In the crafts, for instance, economies may be effected through the use of scrap materials purchased from the producing industries. The choice of a particular craft for a certain locality

may be decided on the basis of what materials are close at hand. The question of supplies from industrial sources should be made the subject of a special investigation. To keep down costs of materials, and to insure that the art best adapted for a particular group will be chosen, does require thoughtful planning and wise choice of leaders and teachers. Success depends a good deal on the interest which is aroused and the tact and encouragement afforded by a sympathetic teacher. As a certain amount of distrust and lack of self-confidence may be expected, it is well to avoid discouragement, easily brought on through a wrong choice of medium or a method not well adapted to a particular group. No doubt experience has been accumulated already by those who have engaged in recreation activities where the arts have been practiced successfully.

If the arts are ever to be part of a nation-wide recreation program, applied to various groups and ages, all differing in background and outlook, the problem indeed will be more complex than the educational problem in schools and colleges, where at least the ages are restricted and the groups selected. A thorough study should be made of how programs can be organized and administered.

Let us point out a few difficulties. There is a danger in the crafts, for example, that they become so simplified as to provide no more than handwork. Unless basketry furnishes a background of knowledge and appreciation of the best that has been achieved, and unless some emphasis is put on design, the actual operation of weaving will do no more than keep the person occupied for a while, without stimulating his imagination or developing his taste. This may have its use in hospitals for therapeutic purposes, but it will contribute little toward the growth of appreciation of good design or even of sound craftsmanship. Unless such results are accomplished, the time would be better spent, at least in the case of young and vigorous individuals, if devoted to other exercises which would bring other muscles besides those of the fingers into play. Unless those faculties which

are possible of stimulation by a particular activity are brought out, the effort will remain superficial and fail in ultimate objectives. Proper guidance requires a qualified teacher, else poorly directed efforts will degenerate into purely formal exercises.

In the field of the arts, claims are often made which do not stand the test of analysis. We are told that practice in the arts develops taste. This is only true for the particular art which is practiced. A practice of painting or modeling will stimulate taste and develop understanding for the problems of painting and modeling. Painters do not necessarily appreciate architecture, nor are craftsmen invariably to be trusted as critics of painting. A transfer of taste, developed for one particular process, to other applications not directly related may take place if the teacher is able to make clear to the student to what extent the underlying principles are the same. If we choose to make the development of taste our main objective, this can be accomplished without taking recourse to processes and materials which bring up technical difficulties. For example, if we model a bowl, our attention is divided between the operation itself and the mental picture of the final product we are aiming for. If we want to cultivate an appreciation of fine shapes by the most direct method, we shall accomplish more in less time by avoiding the handling of materials. A discussion of works of art in originals or reproductions, on a non-historical but comparative basis of good and bad examples, will accomplish the end with less effort. It is, of course, true that, if given years for its achievement, a well rounded program in which both the creative and the appreciative phases are included is better than either one alone. Wherever a broad program is possible, both phases should be provided for. In practice we may often have to be satisfied with one or the other. Some persons who have the desire for contact with the arts will not accept the idea that they have creative capacities, and will, therefore, hesitate to take pencil or brush in hand. For them, lectures followed by discussion periods are available.

The results of an investigation carried on by the author over a period of two years, when both methods were practiced and the results compared on the basis of a prepared test, proved that better results will be obtained for the development of all-around appreciation if technical processes are left out. The stereopticon lecture method, as it is usually practiced, should be improved by linking it with discussion. The lecture method has been justly criticized. It would be well not to base a new program on a method which has been found wanting. A lecture will suggest questions and objections which find no outlet. If we are at all mentally alert, we do not accept everything we are told. What does not agree with our experience we question, or desire further information about, in order to help us to a more correct understanding. In the place of lantern slides film strips offer excellent opportunities for lecture purposes. They could be used in connection with a lecture read by the leader from a manuscript. In case the leader is an artist or a trained art teacher, he may take an intelligent lead in the discussion to follow. Once we know what the requirements for various groups are, and how these can be met through the medium of a prepared lecture, there is no reason why a good lecture should not be repeated in many places. The discussion period, providing an opportunity for expression, if skilfully conducted by the leader, will mean a saving of resources. At present, this method is still undeveloped and needs to be guided by art educators who will provide the lectures and select the illustrations.

In presenting the case for the enrichment of community life through art, we concentrated on the individual and his participation. Many interesting things are happening which were not mentioned; some of these were purposely left out because they are outside the limitations of our subject. We considered a few fundamental aspects with a view to analyzing, though briefly, how each factor related to the central problem—in what way and for what purpose can the arts enrich community life. We realize that the arts here suggested represent only one phase of

community life. As there are others of at least equal importance, it is not necessary that all choose these particular ones for their hobbies.

It seems clear that recreation will grow in importance in this country, as it is advancing in Europe. Public health, preventive medicine, education, and a better balance between production and consumption will strengthen the foundation for a happier life; recreation through increase of leisure will enrich us through finer and more varied pleasures, which at present still few know how to capture. Perhaps recreation will in the future embrace among its leaders art specialists, in order that the arts may be adequately represented in any complete recreational program.

MENTAL HYGIENE AND HARD TIMES: OUT FROM CONFUSION

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NOT since the darkest days of 1917 has there been so much reason for optimism as now. So low had the world fallen at that time that one could hope that from the debacle men would come with clearer vision and that, free of the illusions that had blinded them, they would organize their lives upon a more realistic basis. This opportunity was lost, however, as we can now see, on the day that Woodrow Wilson, a Christian idealist, announced his principles for peace. Men had not learned. Instantly all the illusions were revitalized and the councilors sat down to work out a peace in a phantom world.

As the 1920's progressed, the likelihood that we would ever again in our time approach another such opportunity seemed to pass. Men were so busily getting somewhere, and the somewhere was so near—just around the corner—that there was no time for other considerations. Men were quite content to leave their affairs in the hands of God.

Such a statement may seem strange in view of the fact that men were thinking very little about God. It is true, nevertheless. It is customary, although the term has come to be used cynically, to speak of Western civilization as a "Christian civilization." Although the church as such has receded to a point where it has almost no influence over the immediate lives of men, and although so much of our civilized activity is un-Christian, still our civilization is a Christian civilization. Most un-Christian principles have made possible our physical and material progress. Our pathetic, confused relationships with each other, the core of our civilization, is a Christian product. Human beings being what they are, such a civilization could

probably not have been brought about except through Christianization, and with Christianization no other result would be possible. Even though the churches have ceased to influence, Christian concepts, philosophy, and illusion are so interwoven into the fabric of our civilization as to take completely from our hands the management of our own affairs, and we remain in the hands of a Christian God.

Although most of us ceased to subscribe long ago to orthodox Christian doctrine, and, in spite of the fact that social work long ago ceased to be mere Christian charity and philanthropy, nevertheless, with all our boasts of scientific approach to social problems, we as social workers, have been endeavoring as surely, if not as crudely, as Christian missionaries, to build a Christian world. It is not surprising that we have done so. As sociologists, economists, educators, social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, we are ourselves a product of our own civilization. We have accepted that civilization and its philosophy as we accept the Brooklyn Bridge or as a child accepts the radio. It has not occurred to us seriously to challenge the principles of that civilization. We have recognized defects in our social organization, and in our various professional ways have striven to correct those defects and to better what we have found. But, whether we have been aware of it or not, back of all our efforts have been these principles involving certain concepts of man; and the end toward which we have striven has been the more effective carrying out of these principles in the fulfilment of men as conceived.

Our world is now unsettled. What has gone wrong? We examine our methods and techniques. We talk about plans. We inquire of the economist, the sociologist, even of the psychologist and the psychiatrist. These cannot help us in any fundamental way. There has been nothing wrong with our methods and techniques. The specialist, with his particularized knowledge and technique, can be helpful now only as a mechanic. He will discover this and that and direct us how to repair. One cannot be sure that he will be able to put the machine together again, but the best that he can do will be to recreate the machine

and cause it to function once more. If he succeeds, we may again be doing what we were doing only a few years ago.

But what were we doing? We were so busy getting somewhere, and somewhere was so near—just around the corner—that it was impossible to see how pathetically inadequate we were even at the moments of our greatest successes. We were building a better society—on the basis of justice, duty, generosity, charity, derived from brotherly love. In place of asylums, we built hospitals; for prisons we substituted reformatories and then better reformatories; for orphanages, homes; for rigid courts, courts with some semblance of a scientific approach to their problem; for old types of schools, new types of schools. We made carefully planned and scientific investigations and demonstrations. We sought out injustice and unfairness and devised now this law and now that to meet the situation. How busy and happy we were building a better society—better housing, better working conditions, improved standards of living. What prodigious effort in time, money, and energy! What rejoicing at our successes! With what a glow of happiness and satisfaction we reported our progress to our boards; and how sincerely did they congratulate us and rejoice with us, for they knew what strength and earnestness had gone into our efforts. A child guidance clinic in Philadelphia! But not only Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Minneapolis, most extraordinary of all New York City—but also Dallas, New Orleans, Pittsburgh; and a booklet full of the names of mental hygiene clinics started all over the United States. Could there be any doubt of the success of our years of effort? But there is a joker in this.

A child guidance clinic in New York City with its 1,500,000 school children. Why *a* clinic in Philadelphia, *a* clinic in Cleveland, *a* clinic in Minneapolis, *a* clinic in Los Angeles, and the like? Does this seem at all strange to you? It did not seem strange at the time. It was beyond all expectation! It was what we called a “beginning.”

But did it ever occur to you to consider why “beginning” must be made in this way? What is acknowledged as good for a

few hundred children must be equally good for the thousands of children. Why not a dozen or more clinics in New York City? It is not because there is not need for them. Of course we understand why—there isn't enough money. But really? We have been given candy and a rubber ball to play with. And how quickly we have accepted them, and what fun we have had bouncing our ball about!

Or did it ever occur to you to consider why there should be even one child guidance clinic in New York City? Why one anywhere? Does it seem strange that there should be so many troubled and troublesome children? However, as you may not all be familiar with child guidance clinics, let us seek our illustrations elsewhere.

Does it seem strange to you that only after mighty effort was it possible to have gasoline (which, at the time, was a drug on the market) clearly differentiated in the stores from kerosene, then much in use, even though many died horrible deaths from explosion as the result of mistakes? Does it seem strange to you that only after the most courageous fighting has it become possible to make public announcement of epidemics? That there must be a *contest* over the matter of pure food and pure drugs; a *contest*, as yet unwon, over the control of narcotics; that there must be contests over such matters as proper housing, child labor, a living wage, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance? One can understand that much effort might go into the preparation of an adequate compensation or unemployment insurance law; but once this effort had been expended, does it seem to you strange that even greater effort should be needed to have them adopted? These are complex problems, you say. Do you really think that they are fundamentally complex?

So much are we a part of our own civilization, so permeated are we with its fundamental philosophies, so well educated are we in its history, that it does not seem strange to us that enormous effort should be necessary in order to obtain even simple things. The need to make effort seems as natural as the air we breathe. Why must there be effort? Because others oppose.

But who opposes and why? Our effort must be expended in convincing, "educating," influential people who hold the keys to activity—business men, administrators, academies of medicine or of this or of that, legislators, governors. But is it a matter of education? Do they oppose on principle? Almost never; the desirability, even necessity, of these things is granted. Is it that these individuals have other social plans for meeting these situations and merely are not agreed as to ours? No; they have other plans, but they are plans for themselves, far removed from the matter at hand. Our "education" consists in persuading them that our plan fits in with their personal plans. In other words, a problem is not solved readily and easily by reason of its own simplicity and obviousness, as a child would think. For reasons a child would not yet understand, this has no bearing; effort must first be expended in overcoming an opposition that is not in any way connected with the matter. It seems strange and unreasonable; and, like a child, we would ask, Why?

The organizations represented in the National Conference of Social Work are concerned with some of the essential activities of social life—health, living and working conditions, education, child life, motherhood, and the like. Does anyone except the members of the Conference really consider these things of first importance? We are praised, honored, patronized; there is lip service from every "good" citizen; but are there any interests more important to these good citizens? Does even the president of any organization represented in the Conference really consider that the work of that organization is of primary social importance? Does any member of the executive board of one of these organizations? Does any contributor? Do you not know that they do not? These men and women are "socially minded" people, as good as exist in the land; but they are also people with poise and judgment. But—do yourself consider these things of first importance? Is there nothing more important to you? You are going somewhere also yourself, aren't you? And getting on? Or, if you are not but have sunk yourself as a sacrifice into the contest, isn't it the same thing just upside down

and you a bit neurotic? Are we, then, all hypocrites? Not at all; it is not a question of hypocrisy.

Are the children of New York City and their education more important than Radio City? There is not one who would deny it, but the denial is idle. The excellencies of the one and the defects of the other are true and representative products of our civilization, and represent what we really think. Is the Harkness Memorial more important than housing? There is not one who would admit it, but the things which the Harkness Memorial represent are considered more important than housing by our best and most "socially minded" people.

There came a time when charity which had been socially useful in the social period in which it arose became not only socially inadequate but a socially vicious influence as it tended to condone and to perpetuate unnecessary human ills. The organizations represented in the National Conference of Social Work have been socially useful during the social period through which they have functioned. It is possible, however, that they too may become a socially vicious influence as they continue to be an outlet for the "socially minded" with too good judgment. The social worker may come to occupy the place now held by the preacher—the professional tragedy of this generation. Unable to subscribe wholeheartedly to the tenets of his church, he began his professional work twenty years ago with some misgivings, perhaps, but with a belief that in the church he could find social usefulness. Disillusionment came quickly in many instances; and many conscientious men, after suffering much pain, left the church for other fields of activity. Others, unable to release themselves for one reason or another, have remained at their professional duties but without conviction, and struggle as best they can with their unhappy lives. The present-day social worker and the organizations he represents may follow the preacher and the church, and social workers may come also to a painful searching of heart as they question whether they are rendering a service or a disservice.

In these difficult times we are told that we should go to the

temple; that we should get in touch with God. We do not need the temple. We do not need to get in touch with "God." We need to get in touch with each other. We need to confess our sins—not our sexual sins; how ridiculous, how silly, how unimportant these seem now—but our sins of aggression against each other. We need to search ourselves and to discover what is true of ourselves. We do not love each other. We must admit this. Until we do admit it, there is no hope for us. When frankly we do admit it, we shall at least be ready to make a beginning. Pure selfishness will bring from us a reasonable, even good-will attitude toward each other, making it possible for us at least to work together for our joint interests. This is all that perhaps for the moment we should ask or expect. We are capable of honesty and good will and perhaps more, but this *more* can come not through edict but through working up from a right beginning. Thrown out on this ball in space, it would be well for us to take account of ourselves and our possessions and to organize ourselves as sensibly as we would were we a shipwrecked group on a deserted island.

As man undertakes to reorganize his life on a realistic basis, he will first consider his own tendency toward aggression. That man is an aggressive animal does not come to you with the force of a great revelation, I am sure. It has been too long known to you as one of many facts; but when it becomes a reality for you, you may awake with a start as from a loud noise.

We are aggressive; we must be aggressive. No attempt should be made to minimize this. It must be openly acknowledged. Whatever we may wish in the end to accomplish must be planned for in the light of this fact. We must be free to be aggressive. The question is how to manage this aggression; how to turn it to social account. Unacknowledged or acknowledged only in the negative sense of "sin" and unworthiness, lack of goodness, meanness of spirit, selfishness, we are at once divided within ourselves, lose all possibility of integrated, unified activity, must act in any given situation with only a part of ourselves and that part at war with other parts. We must, there-

fore, act largely blind; objectivity is impossible. We can at no point trust our own acts or our own motives. Where we should be aggressive we find ourselves holding back as in fear. At other times we know or suspect that we are attempting to rationalize away our aggressions, covering things by fine names. We catch ourselves in dishonesties and deceitfulness. We do not know whether we are weak or strong; and, if weak, how to become strong; or if too "strong," how to check our aggression. We do not know whether we have a good character or a bad character or whether what goodness or badness we find within ourselves is strength or weakness, or how to go about to make such change as would seem desirable. We cannot trust ourselves; we cannot trust others wholeheartedly. We think we mean well but are not sure. We think we love others, but we can doubt it. We wish to be loved by others, but we cannot trust their love. Our very best seems sometimes only weakness and not to be trusted; our very worst at times seems somehow good and at times is frightening. In either case we do not know what to do about it.

Aggression must be openly acknowledged. Men must be free to acknowledge their aggressive tendencies without sense of guilt or feeling of inferiority because of lack of goodness of character. It is not the tendency that is wrong but what the tendency is permitted to do. You say that this is our present philosophy. Not at all. Our present philosophy condemns and makes guilty the tendency itself; it condones the act. Not that it intends to; but by creating a sense of guilt over the feeling it succeeds, not in changing the force of the tendency, but merely its expression, causing that expression to become indirect instead of direct, and so confusing us that we find ourselves accepting and condoning aggression under euphemisms. A realistic attitude will neither deny nor condemn the tendency; but it will crush unreservedly any act, no matter in what words it is described.

An individual free to acknowledge his aggression is in a position to act with some objectivity. Intellect has at least a chance to come into play, and choice tends to become possible. I realize

that the matter is not as simple as this, but this will do as a framework for thinking. The question is a complex one, and its various psychological and social ramifications cannot be considered here. All that we can do here is to point out the necessity of acknowledging frankly human aggressive tendencies and to free these tendencies from feelings of guilt.

Aggression acknowledged, we are faced with the problem of dealing with it. Man must learn to utilize it in a constructive, positive way. He must find means of directing it away from individuals to things. He must find outlets for it through direct and adequate sexual activity, apparently "Nature's" outlet, through work and avocation. Further, he must find ways of preventing unnecessary additions to inherent aggression through the frustration of primary aggression. This latter problem, however, will tend to take care of itself as the other problem is solved.

But, first, men must put down aggression as it exists today. This is the immediate and most important problem. Our social philosophy has permitted aggression to become riotous. Aggression cannot be organized until it has first been brought under control. And by aggression one does not mean war in China or Manchuria or gangster outrages in the large cities. These are not seriously disturbing. In terms of human misery they are probably the least destructive examples of aggression.

In searching for aggression, let us go not so far afield. It is the very real but less obvious aggression with which we need to concern ourselves. Aggression that bursts out into the open can be dealt with. Our method of socialization tends to drive aggression underground, where it continues to exist and to operate in ways far more socially damaging than when in the open, for this socially paralyzing aggression do not look to the gangster but to yourselves. The National Conference of Social Work is representative of the best in culture and social-mindedness in the country. Whatever is true of its members will be generally true of our best. Consider more carefully the president of any one of these organizations, the chairman of the executive board, the

various members of the board, the bishop, the college president, the physician, the lawyer, the prominent contributors. They are, on the whole, cultured, educated, soft spoken, emotionally controlled, not given to open quarreling, good willed, sympathetic, cooperative. But what are their real interests? Have you worked with them long enough to note the aggression in them? In defense of what, in protections from what, do they become "practical," begin to quibble, split hairs? As between them and the gangster there will be this difference. The gangster is open and above board with his aggression. He is out to get all he can, is proud of his prowess, and has little sense of guilt. He is not morally confused; he is confused only when he finds that we consider him bad. Our eminent board member, on the other hand, is humiliated by his aggressive tendencies, endeavors to hide them from others and himself, denies them, rationalizes them, dissembles, is disingenuous, intellectually dishonest, shrewd, perhaps sharp, clever, subtle. Having to deal now not only with his aggression but with guilt and fear, he becomes morally confused and ends in being the strange unpredictable person we know him to be with softnesses that shock us and hardnesses that startle us. But, with all, no matter how gentle, he is an aggressive individual, as a little observation will abundantly prove. Openly, or more often subtly but just as surely, he exploits others; and under the skin there is no difference between him and the gangster except that his moral confusion sometimes robs him of his courage.

The staff of your own organization—what are their real interests? How are they forwarding those interests? Although you have not analyzed the situation, your experience with them has taught you to trust them, in so far as the organization and yourself are concerned, just how far? And in relation to them and the organization, just how far do you trust yourself?

Form a committee of the leading men and women of this Conference. Observe that committee at work. Disregard the politeness, courtesy, graciousness, they show to each other; just listen. Listen, observe, and try to understand. And understand-

ing, understand ourselves, for, if less able in other matters, in this we are but like them.

I am not speaking cynically. Again I am not pointing out hypocrisy or a situation that must be considered scandalous. This is all a part of a social order in which the best are caught and cannot extricate themselves. It is to the system and the principles and concepts of that system that one would call attention. One describes only to try to understand. One does not choose the members of the National Conference of Social Work as illustrations because they are our most outstanding examples. They are representative of the best and finest in citizenship that we have. There are far more obvious examples that each reader can supply for himself. One chooses them because they are representatives of our finest and best; we will understand our worst better if we understand our best first.

We, representative of the best citizenship, are exploiters. Back of all we do is exploitation—profit at the expense of others. Our social philosophy encourages it in the name of individual freedom. If man is to take charge of his world, as he has done in Russia, aggression against others, profit at the expense of others, exploitation, must come to an end. This would seem to be a primary, fundamental, and self-evident proposition. Arguments as to what would happen to "freedom," "individualism," "initiative," are without point. These things must take their chances; must take their place as they can. These ideals are the result of men's desires to free themselves from exploitation. They are without value if they lead only to freedom for further exploitation. A freedom which merely means a freedom to exploit, or to exploit under certain conditions named by the free, is no freedom.

It is not likely that this lesson will be learned easily. We have not to do here with gentle matters that can be dealt with around a conference table, settled by a friendly agreement and the passage of a new law. We have to do with fundamental, even elemental forces—forces that probably will in the beginning only yield to force. And when the time comes that men throw

over their false gods and illusions and themselves take charge on a realistic basis, intellect and culture will not be a saving grace. An individual's ability to keep his hands off others is not to be measured by the size of his intellect or the thickness of his culture.

Social schemes that fail to recognize the fundamental situation and that either blindly or openly try merely to rearrange balances of power, change nothing. Because of this we can have little faith in measures that are being proposed at the present time. We have begun to hear much of economic planning. Russia, we believe, has brought herself out of chaos through economic planning. After our years of doubt, even scorn, and hatred of Russia, we see that such planning is the only sensible way. But it is a serious mistake to think that what Russia has accomplished has been accomplished through economic planning. As so often in America, we are distracted by the big, spectacular thing and miss the chief point. Russian success is due to the philosophy that lies back of her economic planning. The very thing that Russia scrapped in order to make her planning feasible and meaningful we retain—so far as any mention of the matter has been made—and hope by a mere social manoeuvre to bring success that has come elsewhere only through a complete change in social philosophy. Economic planning as we see it in Russia is indeed a stupendous thing in itself; but it is not the biggest, or even the most important, accomplishment in Russia. We are undoubtedly capable of making such a plan; but until the men who are to carry out the plan, from the business administrators to the man at the lathe or loom, are agreed *not only to the plan*—that would not be so difficult, perhaps—but to *what the plan signifies*, the plan would have less chance than prohibition in New York City. Such planning means either a complete change in social philosophy or an authority sufficiently great to enforce the plan once adopted regardless of what any individual thinks of it. With all our experience we do not seem even yet to have learned that a plan alien to the philosophy of the people upon which it is inflicted will not work. Our present

economic disorganization is not an accident or oversight but a product of our social philosophy. It is as indigenous as a pine tree in Maine. Economic planning is as alien as cocoanut palms on the shores of Lake Michigan.

For the same reason one has little confidence in unemployment insurance or any of the other "justice"-bringing schemes. This is just barter and trade. Someone must pay. Those who pay will pay as little as they can, those paid will obtain as much as they can. The fundamental situation remains exactly where it was before. The only change is that those who have have a little (very little) less; those who haven't have a little (very little) more. And the world goes on until we can think up some other scheme—always a scheme, a plan, some manoeuver, a shifting of this and that on the uppermost surface of things, unaware that the cause of our difficulty lies not in economics and social what-not, but in our fundamental concepts regarding men, in our own illusions and the social philosophy we have constructed out of these concepts and illusions.

Is it freedom and right to individuality that we strive for—freedom to live out our own individual lives with some degree of satisfaction both for ourselves and others? If so, we look in the wrong direction for freedom. What we have not yet learned is that there can be no group freedom or individual freedom within the group until the group is composed of spiritually free individuals. This is a matter that can only be touched upon here. Our bondage is to ourselves. It is first from ourselves that we must free ourselves. An individual's freedom comes first from within, secondly from without. Man, out of his own illusions in regard to himself, has himself forged the chains that make freedom impossible. Recognizing his aggressive tendencies and fearing them, he has attempted to outlaw them. They remain outlawed but no less effective and controlling. What goes out the back door comes in through the front door. Full of fears of himself, of guilt, unworthiness, inferiority, created within him by the necessity made upon him to deny and hide what cannot really be hidden, his relations to others become self-con-

scious. These relations can never be frank and honest. He must dissemble and try to be and to be doing what is expected of him. Eventually he deceives himself; but there is constant danger of exposure either to others, or, probably more disturbing, to himself. Most of his energy is consumed in the conflict. His fear drives him to seek security—where he will never find it—outside himself in defensive-offensive group alliances with laws, rules, regulations, and eventually armies, and to sanctify, in the name of group law and order, the very thing he has been fleeing from. The situation is largely artificial and unnecessary. We have created the situation for ourselves by letting men in the name of God tell us what they did not know and devise a scheme of life for us. We can at least now see the pass to which we have come. And against this background we can see with some clarity ourselves, things, and events.

But how are we to obtain this spiritual freedom that will make a social freedom possible? Shall we look to the psychiatrists? It is our present method. Were there a thousand able psychiatrists for every one that now exists, we should not touch the situation. With spiritually crippled individuals being turned out by the hopperful, what opportunity, on a scale to be socially significant, has an individual, clinical method even under the best of circumstances; and when that work must be done in the atmosphere of the factory that created the condition—what can be said? We have a right to be appreciative of such organizations as child guidance clinics. They are a partial salvation for individuals, but they are not even the beginning of a social salvation. Individual, clinical methods as a method of social prophylaxis will go with its civilization. Only a hygiene of society itself will meet the situation.

In that hygiene of society there will no doubt be many steps; but among those steps certainly will be to agree to be human beings together; in the interests of us all, to bring present aggression under control and to keep it under control, not being afraid in our collective interest to use force where necessary; so to organize our human life together that the mechanics of life

can be brought to a minimum, leaving the major portion of our time to live our lives as we see fit, barring only the exploitation of others. Out of such a life, with the realistic philosophy that would motivate it, might come individuals spiritually free and therefore able to be socially free and able also to allow others to be free.

When, untroubled by internal conflicts, when no longer individually in the grip of guilts and fear and inferiority—and reacting regardless of the situation to these and to these alone—a group of men sit about a table; when no man in the group is a challenge to any other man in the group because each man is secure within himself and is psychologically dependent upon no other, men can be honest—they have no reason, conscious or unconscious, to be dishonest; they can be generous, for they do not need to fear generosity; they can accept the individuality of others because there would be no reason not to do so. The individuality, the freedom, we seek is possible only among such men. Such men—and most, perhaps all, men have the potentiality of such men—can never be as long as we maintain a society fostered on illusions that destroy men's potentiality and that deceives itself in thinking that it is working toward goodness when it is working only toward being polite, and toward freedom when that freedom is only a freedom to exploit. All that men know about their world they have learned themselves; "God" has told them nothing. The only thing that "God" has told them that they still believe is about themselves; let them now investigate that matter.

MENTAL HYGIENE WORK WITH CHILDREN: DIRECT TREATMENT

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DURING the past, emphasis in the study of the problem child has been placed on the understanding and treatment of those factors which were responsible for the development of the problems. Although the part played by the child himself has been studied, it has been secondary to that played by the parents, siblings, and associates. Through such a study it was hoped to so alter the environment as to prevent similar difficulties in other members of the child's family and in other children in general. In addition, it was found that many of the unhappy situations disappeared by changing the child's surroundings, through mistakes corrected and insight gained by parents and teachers.

Perhaps, as a result of such studies, we are being called upon to treat problems of behavior that previously had been overlooked. The burden of the treatment, at present in the hands of the psychiatrist, is being shared more and more by the pediatrician, social worker, psychologist, and teacher. It is because of this that this paper is being presented. This study is limited to the direct treatment procedure used by the worker with the child, and includes the procedures in use in this country and in Europe. Such treatment is usually supplemented by work with parents or others responsible for the child's welfare, but that phase of the treatment will be omitted.

The aim of the worker confronted with a child presenting a problem is to lessen that problem. It is no longer necessary to point out the importance of treating the child and not the symptom. But to treat the child one must know the child. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by the example of the child who

steals. Without going into the many causes for such conduct we shall mention two types of children who steal. The first is the delinquent. He steals because he sees something that he wants. Has has no qualms about it; there is nothing within him that acts as a prohibition; he satisfies his wants.

The second is the neurotic. He steals because of an unconscious need to do so. It replaces an act of which he is unaware and which he cannot tolerate. His stealing is usually accompanied by a feeling of guilt. It is frequently impulsive, and in rare cases the object stolen is discarded after it is obtained. The neurotic child is frequently aware of his helplessness to control his stealing and he comes for help—to be relieved of suffering. The delinquent, however, is satisfied with his behavior. It is society that objects. He is not looking for help; he is trying to avoid detection. He resents attempts to help him.

Obviously, the treatment of two such dissimilar types will differ, and it is the task of the examiner to determine which type he has under consideration. Frequently a carefully prepared psychiatric social study, describing habits and responses to varying situations, will establish the diagnosis. Usually, however, several interviews are necessary.

The need for accurate diagnosis is well demonstrated in the character type described by Aichhorn, and recently discussed by Dr. Biddle. He has given this character the name "Hochstapler," a term that has no suitable English derivative. He is the adolescent who, through his friendly behavior, is generally accepted and then exploits this friendship. This cunning, well dressed Hochstapler establishes friendships easily, but they are superficial. He has a strong, latent homosexual make-up and is emotionally strongly tied to his mother. According to Aichhorn, this type should be recognized very early, by his dress, his manners, his superficiality and insincerity. If he is not recognized, the treatment will be ineffective, since he responds to a treatment not used with any other problem individual. His bluff is called at once; he must be made to feel the superiority in power and cunning of the worker or he will have no respect for him.

He is incapable of forming a positive relationship in any other way. He will react to our toleration and kindness just as he has in society. We will be led to believe that a strong relationship has been effected, but will soon be aware that nothing has been accomplished. He will avoid his appointments, or if he does come he will remain at such a superficial level that the treatment will be endless.

Perhaps the Hochstapler is represented earlier by the boy whose conduct during the clinic study is beyond reproach. He impresses the staff with his geniality and an understanding of his problem. The school finds him unbearable and his home complains that he is incorrigible. By the time we have discovered our error we have lost him. The recognition and treatment of such children and adolescents depends on a skill associated with a vast experience. Aichhorn found that it required many years of training before he had acquired the ability to make his diagnosis quickly enough to allow for effective treatment.

After a diagnosis has been made, the treatment will depend to a great extent upon the demands made upon the worker. Society is not satisfied with the requests we prefer to make—that we thoroughly study the child before we can effect a change in his behavior. The request is more in the nature of “this child is disturbing us”; he cannot remain in the school or home or community unless a change is soon brought about. Fortunately, the knowledge of the little value of such rapid cures is increasing and such demands are becoming less frequent. There remains, however, a sufficiently large group of cases whose behavior is disturbing to such an extent that our central aim must be to bring about a disappearance of the symptoms; later if this is important we may be allowed to study the underlying factors.

Under such conditions, if the delinquency is on a neurotic basis, the use of suggestion and encouragement may be helpful. The child with night terrors can be told in the presence of his mother that he will sleep well through the night. He may be given a solution of bitter-tasting medicine to be taken just before retiring to help assure him that the sleep will not be dis-

turbed. In the more marked cases, suggestion may be made through the use of hypnosis, but here the technique that is necessary and the limitations of its use limit its application. Cyril Burt occasionally makes use of hypnosis in hysterical patients. We have not made use of such procedure as yet.

If the symptom occurs in the so called delinquent child, the success of a sudden change depends on the relationship obtained. Here the personal element enters strongly, the ability to locate quickly the needs of the child may determine the success of a strong, easily won attachment. The delinquent is usually narcissistic, and the appeal must be made on that side. Without this strong relationship, nothing directly can be done; the treatment must come through outside pressures.

The treatment of symptoms has an argument in its favor. With the rapid spread of interest in behavior problems, we are apt to feel that all symptoms are deeply rooted and can be understood only after a complete study of the child has been made. That this is a fallacy is evidenced by the disappearance of many disturbing reactions of behavior following the removal of relatively simple causes. When such treatment fails to produce the results we are seeking, it is well to look for hidden factors.

Perhaps no one factor is so important in the treatment of the child who presents problems as that of relationship. Its importance is apparent in the approach to the problem and during the entire process of treatment.

The term "relationship" is often wrongly used interchangeably with "transference," in discussions dealing with methods of treatment. Transference represents the reproduction of the emotions and phantasies, unconscious in nature, and is characterized by the replacement of a former person by the analyst. The sex of the analyst need not play an important rôle. Thus, a child may transfer the love for her father to the female analyst, and during this phase of the treatment react to the analyst as though she were her father. When, on the other hand, she has a positive relationship to the analyst she behaves toward her as

she does to an understanding friend. The difference between the two is more apparent with the establishment of a negative transference. During such a period the child, for reasons not understandable to her, treats the analyst, till now her dear friend, as though she were a rival or an enemy. She has transferred to the person of the analyst the hatred and jealousy at one time felt toward her mother. It is well known that neurotic individuals form transferences with ease. They are said to identify quickly other individuals with those in their family to whom they have established emotional ties. This helps to explain their unaccountable rages, hatreds, and jealousies. Anna Freud prefers to use the term "relationship" (*Beziehung*) in connection with the contact established between the analyst and child, even during analysis. Only rarely does a real transference develop.

The relationship between the worker and child must be of a friendly, sincere nature. The child is quick to sense insincerity and reacts unfavorably to it. It is for this reason, frequently, that a worker who has deep uncompensated hostility feelings toward children is unsuccessful with them. The friendly positive relationship is responsible, according to Aichhorn, for the change in behavior in the unruly child. He gives up his dissocial habits to gain the affection of the worker, just as in the past he gave up his instinctive drive for pleasure, to avoid losing the love of his mother.

The difficulties encountered in the treatment of the marked delinquent are to a great degree the result of the failure to establish a positive affectionate tie with him. Especially is this the case when his delinquency is based on his rejection through disillusionment of those he formerly loved. He has been deeply injured, and his total personality cannot countenance the re-experiencing of such a trauma. He prefers not to love again, for fear this will be taken from him.

Dr. Stanley King several years ago treated such a boy in his own home, referred to him for stealing and incorrigibility. He was never reprimanded, was allowed to come and go as he pleased during the day, and his wishes were granted whenever

possible. Despite affectionate, understanding care he continued to be rebellious and reacted as though he were the object of abuse. Anna Freud says frequently such a child has a compulsion to identify the foster parents with his own and may go out of his way to prove to himself that this is the case. After several weeks in the Kings' home this boy complained to neighbors that he was being beaten for acts he did not commit. During the months that followed, his objectionable behavior was less noticeable; he tolerated his foster parents. After more than a year he made occasional overtures of friendliness; and only after several months more did he show real fondness, sufficient to allow him to reveal his deeper feelings toward society. Dr. King commented that the degree of this boy's hatred toward his parents and their substitutes in society was unbelievably great.

Aichhorn, in his book *Verwahrloste Jugend*, describes similar cases. They are best treated in institutions where the educators are equipped to treat the boy as outlined above, since one can rarely expect the parents to endure the necessary trials. In an experiment with a group of twelve such boys, Aichhorn found that during the process of treatment, they frequently slid back to dissocial behavior. By degrees these recurrences became less frequent. He realized they had been socialized only after they found it difficult or impossible to behave in such a way as to displease him.

Obviously, such a child is not a fit candidate for the average boarding home. He is the one who is passed from one home to another, usually ending up in an institution. Unfortunately, the institution in most cases is not equipped with a personnel that can handle him.

The significance of relationship in the treatment of delinquent boys is further illustrated by the following incident. Aichhorn found that one of his most promising educators was having difficulty in keeping his group of boys under control. After careful observation he found that this young man had been trying unsuccessfully to depend on many of Aichhorn's methods, foreign to him. He admitted that heretofore he had found it necessary

to supplement his treatment with an occasional boxing of the ears and harsh commands. Aichhorn, knowing his man, at once gave his consent to the use of the same procedure in his institution. In a very short time the group was under control. The working relationship could only be realized when the educator was applying his true self to his work.

In dealing with the neurotic child, Anna Freud has found that here, too, the establishing of a positive relationship is of the utmost importance—so much so, that she devotes most of the first few weeks of the analysis of a child toward building up a relationship that will tie the child to her. Through play, storytelling, or drawing pictures the child is encouraged to speak of subjects of her choice. She is rarely given interpretations during this preparatory stage. Through help in her school work, or through being shown how to gain an occasional advantage in her home or school, the child finds her analyst is friendly, useful, and at times indispensable. The information the child brings is of use toward furthering the treatment, but this is incidental toward developing a relationship so powerful that it will prevent her from breaking away during such times as she is threatened by the repressed material brought to light.

The analysis of a child is a time-consuming process, often requiring one to two years of interviewing. The child is seen for an hour six days each week. The procedure differs from that used in adult analysis. The couch is not used, and the child is allowed to withhold material if she so wishes. Although dreams play an important part, the child does not associate to them, as does the adult. The associations are brought forth through active help from the analyst who encourages the child to search for the origin of the various elements of the dream. Much of the material uncovered is the result of direct discussion and explanation.

One further important difference between child and adult analysis is the active rôle played by the child analyst as an educator. The neurosis has been formed as a defense against strong socially unacceptable instinctive gratifications. To free the re-

pressions, which is one of the objects of the analysis, means to gradually weaken the power of the child's super ego or social conscience, and this allows gratification to take place. This can only lead to future conflicts with society and further need for repression, with a resulting return of symptoms. The child analyst, therefore, instead of remaining as a passive observer, must use her acquired authoritative position to help modify these wishes and to point out other ways of gratification. At the same time, the parents must modify their attitude toward the liberated instincts, since they were primarily responsible for the development of the symptoms. Unless they understand this at the outset, the analysis should never be attempted.

The rôle of the analyst as one who must encourage moderate repression, after having allowed the child the opportunity of gratification, was accepted after much deliberation. It was a marked departure from the accepted rules of analysis. Anna Freud says in this regard: "I think it would not injure the analytic method if one should seek to apply it in modified fashion to other objects rather than strictly adhering to a peculiar and definite object like the adult neurotic. The analyst should, however, recognize fully just what he is doing."

No one is more interested than the orthodox child analyst to shorten the length of the analysis, provided that nothing is lost by so doing. Until this is done, however, its use must be distinctly limited. As it exists today, child analysis represents a most valuable experiment in research. What can be learned from every well analyzed child will help toward perfecting the technique of child analysis and will add to the results contributed by adult analysis to the understanding of behavior.

It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of the technique of child analysis. This is obtainable through the published works of Miss Freud and her pupils. Instead, several of the significant facts brought to light by the thorough analyses of children will be discussed with the hope that this knowledge can be applied to other treatment procedures.

Interpretations are given only if the child has already half

accepted them through material previously presented. This is important if the child is to be able to accept them emotionally, since it has been repeatedly demonstrated that intellectual acceptance of facts has little meaning. The object of interpretation is to allow the analysis to progress deeper into the child's unconscious, and to affect this the acceptance must be on an emotional basis. The temptation is always present to interpret to the child what appears to be the only possible explanation for what she has just dreamed or said or done. This may be the correct interpretation; and, if accepted, might shorten the course of treatment. One finds, unfortunately, the opposite result from such a premature explanation. Resistances are set up to such a degree that the subject must be dropped. It has been found useful to be always prepared to shift to another subject or activity unless the resistance can be explained. Anna Freud cautions against meeting the child's resistance with a struggle. The resistance is called forth as a protection to the child, may appear even though the child is prepared for the interpretation, and will disappear only when it can be understood. To illustrate: Annie, after several periods during which she showed a death wish against her mother, comes late for her appointment and is abusive to the analyst. The analyst explains the child's behavior to her as follows, "I know why you are angry at me today. You must think: 'This is a terrible person to make me say I hate my mother and wish her harm' (the word death is avoided). I know that you now love your mother; but when you were a small girl and saw your mother giving so much attention and love to your new baby brother, you did not like her. You were angry at her and hated her and your brother." Such an explanation, if accepted, may stimulate the child to elaborate on this period of early hostility. If the period of resistance does not pass quickly, one must wait patiently till it does. This may require two or three weeks, during which time nothing new is added to the analysis.

The child must never realize that the analyst is looking for certain material; nor must the analyst set out consciously to get

certain data. When the opportune time presents itself, nothing will prevent the information from coming forth. This principle is probably most frequently abused in relation to sexual material. So much significance has been attached to the repression of sexual phantasies and wishes that the inexperienced analyst may make an active effort to uncover the child's sexual history, only to discover that little is gained in so doing. What lies back of this sexual behavior charged with anxiety and confusion will only come to the surface late in the treatment when the child feels secure in relation to the analyst, and after the work of penetrating the upper layers of the unconscious has been completed.

Analysis of the neurotic child repeatedly demonstrates the existence of anxiety back of the symptoms presented. His unusual behavior represents an attempt to keep this anxiety from consciousness; it prevents suffering. Just as the adult compulsion neurotic avoids anxiety by his ceremonials, so the neurotic child may protect himself by stealing. Prevention of his stealing during an analysis may throw him into a depression, as occurred in one of Anna Freud's cases, and the treatment is not completed until he can understand why he reacts in such a manner. Similarly, back of such symptoms as over-aggressiveness, undue curiosity, and an exaggerated need to be informed, one often finds deep anxiety previously not suspected. It is well for the worker dealing with a neurotic child to keep this fact always in mind, searching through slips of the tongue, dreams, or phantasies for a clue to the anxiety that must be made conscious if the child is to be helped. As the tie between the worker and the child becomes stronger, the protective shell becomes thinner and the anxiety makes its appearance.

More often, however, we are called upon to treat the neurotic child whose anxieties are conscious, represented by fears, phobias, or a general state of anxiousness. A discussion of the treatment of such children in our clinic may be helpful. William is four years old. He is referred because of head banging, stubbornness, and refusal to play outdoors. Two interviews with

him disclose the fact that he is afraid of a police dog in the neighborhood and so refuses to play outside unless his mother is with him. The history stated that he frequently played with his genitals, but the mother said she was not overly concerned with this practice. During the second interview he was shown a male doll who, he was told, played with his genitalia . . . what did he think would happen? "A police dog will bite that thing off; Mama said so." The mother admitted that she had given this warning and was impressed by the psychiatrist with the need to convince the child that her threat would never be carried out.

Such threats are more frequently made than we are apt to realize if we rely on the statements made by the mother during the first interviews. They may result in immediate symptoms of anxiety or may be forgotten through repression. Their capacity to provoke symptoms later will depend on the frequency of the threat and on the constitutional tendency of the child to develop neurotic symptoms. The reaction of the parents to the child's masturbation has been conditioned by their sexual education and threats received because of their own masturbation. It is of the utmost importance to discuss the significance of the child's masturbation with the parents so that they may realize the potential dangers of their attitudes. If they are not too involved in their own sexual conflicts, they may be gotten to the point of removing the threat in such a manner that the child appreciates their sincerity.

The treatment of the child who masturbates will depend on the cause for the masturbation, the child who masturbates, and the sexual knowledge he possesses. It may require several weeks of interviews to determine what he knows about sex and how he will react to the worker's acceptance of the masturbation. In one case the response may be a distaste for a worker who can countenance such behavior; in another, indulgence to such an extent that the problem is intensified; in another a disappearance of anxiety and unhappiness built up on the feeling of guilt.

Donald is ten years old. He lies awake for hours, fearing the

world is coming to an end. Several interviews are taken up with a description of quarrels between his poorly mated parents. After six weeks the phobia persists. The subject of death brings a vivid picture of the punishment of the wicked. He dwells on this subject to such an extent that he can accept the fact he must be concerned because of his own guilt. Discussion of sex brings the admission of worrying because of masturbation. It is found that he can accept permission to masturbate after its relative harmlessness has been discussed. He learns that by degrees his need to masturbate will become less. His symptom disappears.

Harold is a fifteen-year-old boy who has been so weighed down by phobias since six years of age that his school progress has been retarded, and the parents fear he will carry out his threats to commit suicide. The psychologist finds him to have more than average ability but to be incapable of concentration. The first weeks of interviews enable him to admit a fear of tuberculosis. The next three months show that back of this fear lies the fear of feeble-mindedness and insanity, as a result of uncontrollable masturbation. The dangers of masturbation are minimized, but the anxiety persists. The next three months disclose an intense father hostility which he finds more difficult to discuss than his incest wishes toward his mother and sisters. At the present time we are concerned with his anxieties when he was six years old. During ten months of treatment his ability to work in school has improved, and his anxieties, though still present, are much less threatening. During the early stages of the treatment it was impossible to see him more than once a week. Within recent months this hindrance has been removed, but we are continuing to interview him at weekly intervals to determine at what point our efforts to help him may be blocked. At such a time he will be seen daily.

Carol is nine years old. Until a few weeks before the first interview she was an outstanding pupil, one of the most popular in her group, and always known as a happy girl. She suddenly became alarmed on approaching school one day and returned to

her home. Efforts to get her back to school were met by attacks of anxiety. One attempt to overcome this behavior by forced attendance in school resulted in a reaction of panic to such an extent that the plan had to be abandoned. Three interviews in one week showed a strong conscious wish to get well and a need to be near her mother. An attempt to discuss with her the deeper relationship to her parents and companions was met with resistance. Her parents were unable to see the need to interview Carol frequently over a long period of time. They reacted to the child's request to discontinue the study and have tried other means of treatment. Three months later she finally felt capable of returning to school and announced the welcome news to her parents. At the last moment, however, she found she was unable to leave home. The father decided that he could help the child by making the decision for her and forced her to accompany him. She submitted and enjoyed the school work that day and for the next month. A mild grippe attack kept her out of school for a few days and was followed by renewed anxiety when the return to school was again suggested. She developed a new symptom—abdominal distress and nausea. Organic illness was again ruled out by her physician. He assured her that she was well and that if she took the medicine he prescribed at a given time of the day, exercised exactly as he suggested, she would lose her symptoms of nausea and anxiety. In a short while she responded to this suggestive therapy and is again in school. Such treatment is as palliative as giving morphine to a patient with acute appendicitis. It remains to be seen whether in this child, neglect of the treatment of the underlying factors will prove to be as costly as is the case when the appendix is allowed to go on to the point of rupture.

Karl is a ten-year old Viennese boy who suffered for many years with night terrors. Frau Dr. Welder of Vienna had analyzed him over a period of two years and reported her study before the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. In the discussion that followed, one of the pediatricians questioned the need of such a protracted treatment. Experience, he said, had taught

him that many children with night terrors were sharing the bedroom with their parents, that removal into another room or, if the case warranted, removal to another home temporarily, was sufficient to cause the disappearance of the symptoms. He had been interested in night terrors for many years, had purposely followed these children into young adulthood, and concluded that they were no more apt than others to develop neuroses.

In her reply the analyst admitted the existence of night terrors that responded to simple remedial measures. As a matter of fact, she said they had disappeared in her child after two months of treatment, but it was not until more than a year later that she felt reasonably assured they would not return. By this time the boy understood just why they made their appearance. He was freed not only from night terrors but from other symptoms just as disquieting which were apt to occur if his night terrors had been driven away by suggestion. Through being released of his exaggerated guilt feelings he was relieved of his conscious and unconscious need for punishment and was now a carefree, healthy boy, capable of using his liberated energy in school work and play. She challenged the physician's statement that the young adults to whom he referred failed to develop neuroses. His diagnoses had been based on the absence of obvious symptoms such as occur in conversion hysteria or compulsion neuroses. He was unaware of the possible existence of partial impotence, frigidity, or difficulty in establishing an independent existence.

There are many aspects of direct treatment that have been omitted, but this does not mean that they are less significant than those discussed. The recognition and treatment of the physical and educational defects are indispensable to the treatment of the problem child. Emphasis has been placed on the important contributions of analysts because much of their work is as yet unpublished or not translated, and therefore not available to most of you.

Every case carefully studied in which the data presented are evaluated, so that the deductions made have a scientific basis,

helps in the development of a technique that will benefit other cases. Child guidance clinics should be considered primarily as research and educational centers, despite the fact that this phase of their work must receive secondary consideration. We must be alert to take advantage of the knowledge gained from other fields, especially sociology, psychology and medicine, particularly psychiatry and psychoanalysis. We cannot afford to react emotionally to any contributions made by others interested in the welfare of the child. It is our duty to evaluate their claims with the same care that is given any new experiment.

The problem of finding the most suitable method for treating the neurotic or the delinquent child will always be with us, if we are to advance. The neurotic suffers and needs help; the delinquent reaction frequently must be changed to a neurotic one before he can be helped. This appears to be a cruel procedure, but actually it is not. The delinquent is happy only for the moment, in being able to gratify all his wishes. Sooner or later he will meet with the law and his liberty will be taken from him—with eventually greater suffering.

The court and penal institutions, after a long period of lethargy shared by medicine and psychology, are watching with interest the progress made in the treatment of the problem child. It is to be hoped that they will be prepared to change their procedure when the results of our efforts shall warrant such a change.

THE TIME ELEMENT IN MENTAL HYGIENE
THERAPY AS APPLIED TO SOCIAL
CASE WORK

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THE word "therapy" is used instead of "treatment" because in its derivation and in my own feeling about the word there is not so much implication of manipulation of one person by another. "To treat," according to the dictionary, is to apply a process to someone or something. The word "therapy" has no verb in English, for which I am grateful; it cannot do anything to anybody, hence can better represent a process going on—observed perhaps, understood perhaps, assisted perhaps, but not applied. The Greek noun from which "therapy" is derived means "a servant"; the verb means "to wait." I wish to use the English word "therapy" with the full force of its derivation, to cover a process which we recognize as somehow and somewhat curative but which, if we are honest enough and brave enough, we must admit to be beyond our control. In fact, if it were not so, life would be intolerable. No one wants another to apply any process to the inmost self, however desirable a change in personality and behavior may seem objectively. One may be willing to let the physician cure a bodily ill, although even that is not so sure; but one's self is defended against every encroachment, even the most benevolent, which is not to say that resistance to cure is necessarily open, conscious, or violent. The most docile patient is often best able to demonstrate the worthlessness of the remedy and the helplessness of the doctor. In the face of my own personal realization of the impotence of the other to help me unless I let him—in fact, of my necessity to keep him impotent lest he use his interest in

my welfare to interfere with me—I am forced to accept the full limitation which this recognition implies, in my own power to help others. I know in advance that no one is going to experience change—call it “growth” or “progress” if you have the courage—because I think it would be good for society, good for his family and friends, or even good for himself. I know equally well that no one is going to take help from me because someone else thinks it desirable. The anxious parent, the angry school teacher, the despairing wife or husband, must bear their own burdens, solve their own problems. I can help them only in and for themselves, if they are able to use me. I cannot perform a magic upon the bad child, the inattentive pupil, the faithless partner, because they want him made over in their own terms.

This means not only a limit put upon those seeking help but a genuine limitation in myself, an impotence which I am forced to accept even when it is painful, as it frequently is. Here is a beloved child to be saved, a family unity to be preserved, an important teacher to be enlightened. Before all these problems in which one's reputation, one's pleasure in utilizing professional skill, as well as one's real feeling for the person in distress are perhaps painfully involved, one must accept one's final limitation and the right of the other,—perhaps his necessity,—to refuse help or to take help in his own terms, not as therapist, friends or society might choose. My knowledge and my skill avail nothing unless they are accepted and used by the other. Over that acceptance and possible use I have no control beyond the genuineness of my understanding of the difficulty with which anyone seeks or takes help, my respect for the strength of the patient however negatively expressed, and the reality of my acceptance of my function as helper not ruler. If my humility is actual, born of a conviction and experience too deep to be shaken, then at least I am not an obstacle to the person who needs help but fears domination. He may approach me without the added fear and resistance which my active designs for his cure will surely produce and find within the limitation which I accept thus sincerely—a safety which permits him to utilize and

me to exercise all the professional skill and wisdom at my command. On the other hand, the person who seeks the domination of another, in order to project his conflict and avoid himself and his own development in resisting the efforts of the other to save him, is finally brought to a realization of the futility of his striving, since he cannot force upon me a goal which I have long since recognized to be outside my province and power. Whether such a person will ultimately succeed in taking over his own problem, since I cannot relieve him of it, is something which only the individual case can determine. There are those who are unwilling or unable to go further, which outcome every therapist must stand ready to admit and respect no matter how much his professional ego is hurt or his therapeutic or economic aim defeated thereby.

This is in no sense to be designated as passivity in treatment. As I conceive it, the therapeutic function involves the most intense activity; but it is an activity of attention, of identification and understanding, of adaptation to the individual's need and pattern, combined with an unflagging preservation of one's own limitation and difference. This kind of activity combines a steady maintenance of one's own will and integrity, with a simultaneous acceptance of and respect for the other's right and ability to heal himself in his own way if he is left free to use the therapeutic situation creatively.

With this preliminary explanation of the choice of the word "therapy" in preference to treatment, because of its relation to serving or waiting upon, not in the moral or religious sense, but in the realization of a psychological fact of limitation which must be accepted before therapy is possible at all, I am ready to discuss time in relation to the therapeutic process. It might have been discreet to limit my title to "Therapy as Exemplified in Social Case Work," since I intend to consider it for the most part in that connection; but what I have to say about time is true, as I see it, for all therapy, while my conviction and understanding of its therapeutic function is derived from analytic not from case work experience.

It is the type of work found in the child guidance, or psychiatric clinic, which I think comes nearest to what I mean by case work as individual therapy; and it is this kind of case work that I wish to consider in its relation to time. Here where there is no practical barrier, where the agency is set up to offer therapy, we are faced with the full responsibility for the time factor, the horror of unlimited time, visit piled upon visit, dictation upon dictation; on the other hand, equally the fear of having cut off too soon something that might have happened if only the worker had held on a little longer.

In the therapeutic case work with which I am acquainted it seems to me that the worker has finally accepted, at least intellectually, the fact that she can be of no use unless the client wants something, is willing to take her help and actively seeks it; but on the other hand she is not yet rid of her feeling of responsibility for his improvement. Why go on week after week if nothing happens to indicate progress; how justify herself for this piling up of time; how recognize when there has been enough therapy, except by results. Yet, for results she cannot be responsible without putting pressure on the client. As soon as she decides what ought to happen, must she not take command and decide, however tactfully, that the client should come longer, or has come long enough? This responsibility without control is the dilemma of therapeutic case work as now practiced.

Then there is the worker who has given up responsibility for the client's behavior in the world, for any final shaping of his personality, but who still cannot rid herself of responsibility for the interview in which she takes part. How can she go into it blindly and passively? She may be willing to be silent, to be very slow and patient; but is she not there to guide the process somehow to a result which will be therapeutic? If the whole affair is to be left to the client, where does she come in? It is no wonder she clings to history and the value of catharsis. If she cannot show the patient how to live, if she cannot give him moral, religious, or ethical instruction, at least she can see to it that he empties himself of his past, and even that he learns to

interpret it in ways he never thought of. In other words, she can use the single hour or two of the weekly conferences to bring out material.

That this preconceived idea of what the hour should sooner or later bring forth, tends just as much to the control and domination of the client as if she had tried to reform his habits or his morals, very few case workers ever realize because, if they did, they would be greatly at a loss as to what function remains for them. Moreover, the reliving or rehearsing of the past plus the worker's interpretation of it seems to offer some kind of rational limit to an otherwise unlimited affair. If it is dangerous to use the disappearance of symptoms as a criterion, then what can be used? Perhaps the fact that all the material from the past seems to have been brought out and understood will provide a natural ending. Yet, as I know only too well from my own earlier efforts, it is a very baffling experience to see your patient with his past so clear before him and you, all his involved relations to his parents finally revealed and interpreted, and his problem of living as unsolved as ever. "Yes, I understand," he says, "but what can I do about it? I don't find it any easier to live." If you decide he should continue to come, what happens next? There is always something, there always will be something, to be found in his past that he has not brought out before. There is really no limit to the past either, with this approach; and the client may well go on until he rebels or you grow too weary to bear it, and end the struggle with or without therapy.

The futility of this type of relationship to the client has led certain case workers to the recognition of two other factors, which may be determinative of therapy and perhaps contain an inherent time limit or criterion for ending. The one recognizes the relation between worker and client as dynamic and present; the other recognizes time as a qualitative, as well as a quantitative, affair, valuable in and for itself when it is actually utilized in the passing moment without dependence on a next time. The first factor, the recognition of the reality of the relationship between worker and client and its dynamic changing quality has

been quite completely accepted, at least verbally, among the more radical group of case workers.

But the cloven hoof remains, in my opinion, in the fact that the dynamics of the immediate relationship is often obscured by the concept of living out, reliving, or solving past relationships on the worker. The worker is being used, according to this concept, in the present to work out in immediate feeling experiences from the client's past. An utter confusion results, a practical denial of the reality of the present which is functioning for the sake of the past. Once more the worker is effectively hidden behind the screen of father, mother, brother, sister, while all the time her value for the client is that she is none of these and he knows it. He may be using patterns which were developed by him in birth, nursing, weaning, toilet training—*Œdipus* situation and what not—but he is using them now with all the changes wrought by years of living, using them afresh as they are in this present hour, in immediate reaction to someone who behaves as no one has ever behaved to him before; someone who understands and permits a use of herself, which determines for the client a new experience, valuable, if at all, in and for itself. He does not want a father or a mother, but he does want someone who will let him find himself apart from parent identifications without interference or domination, someone who will not be fooled, someone strong enough not to retaliate. The moment the worker confuses her own relation to the client with his relation to anyone else past or present, that moment she has again entangled herself with history, with external fact, with the static goal of definite material, and also has escaped her own responsibility for the present. The relation may be dynamic; but the client is unable to avail himself of its therapeutic possibilities because it is predetermined, set in advance, without creative opportunity.

According to this doctrine, which I am criticizing, the client is not really "cured" or through, until he has lived out all of his faulty biological and sociological relationships. If he has apparently worked through his use of the worker as a mother, he is

not safe to go until the father relation has been lived through also, and so on. How long it should take before one can be sure that everything essential has been re-experienced consciously is as uncertain as material and relationships from the past are unlimited. Once more, therapy is defeated by the setting up of an external norm or purpose for which the case worker must assume responsibility willy nilly, but which unfortunately again contains no inherent time limit.

Driven into a blind alley by this limitless possibility in long-time case work, certain groups have taken refuge in what has come to be known as "the short contact." Here, for the first time in the history of case work, as far as I know, case workers are struggling with the fundamental problem of therapy; and it is interesting to see that they have been able to come to grips with the real issue only when they have set up for themselves an arbitrary limit in time. What happens, they ask themselves, to make a single or short contact meaningful, as it often is, for client and worker even if they never meet again. The fascination which the study of the short contact holds for our ablest workers indicates that somehow they realize that it contains the whole problem of therapeutic case work and its solution, if only it can be mastered.

I find the significance of this concentration on the short contact, by individuals who represent the experimental emphasis in case work, to be threefold: first, it indicates a self-confidence which has freed itself of fear to the point of taking responsibility for its own part in a process; second, it points to a growth and achievement in case work which can afford to admit a limitation; and third, it is a recognition of the fact that whatever takes place between worker and client of a therapeutic nature must be present in some degree in the single contact if it is ever to be there. If there is no therapeutic understanding and use of one interview, many interviews equally barren will not help.

In the single interview, if that is all I allow myself to count upon, if I am willing to take that one hour in and for itself, there is no time to hide behind material, no time to explore the past or

future. I, myself, am the remedy at this moment, if there is any; and I can no longer escape my responsibility, not for the client but for myself and my rôle in the situation. Here is just one naked hour to be lived through as it goes—one hour of present immediate relationship, however limited, with another human being who has brought himself to the point of asking for help. If, somehow, this single contact proves to have value for the applicant, how does it happen? What in the nature of my functioning permits this hour to be called "therapeutic"—at least qualitatively?

Perhaps one reason we find it so difficult to analyze what takes place in the short contact is that there we are brought face to face with a present from which it is hard to escape and which, in consequence, carries symbolically and really our own personal pattern as it relates to time and the self-limitation which is involved in its acceptance. Not only is the client limited by this brief period of time, not only is he facing the possibility of being turned out too soon or kept on after he is ready to go, but I also am forced to admit my limited function as therapist, dependent as I am upon his right to go when he must or to deprive me of a second opportunity no matter how willing I may be to continue the contact, no matter how much he may need the help I have to give from an objective standpoint. My only control, which is not easy to exercise, is my control over myself in the present hour if I can bring myself to the point of a reasonable degree of acceptance of that hour with all of its shortcomings. This fact, that our personal reaction to time gives a clear picture of the real nature of our resistance to taking full responsibility for therapeutic case work, makes it necessary at this point to consider time and its relation to therapy more philosophically.

Time represents more vividly than any other category the necessity of accepting limitation as well as the inability to do so, and symbolizes therefore the whole problem of living. The reaction of each individual to limited or unlimited time betrays his deepest and most fundamental life pattern, his relation to

the growth process itself, to beginnings and endings, to being born and to dying.

As a child I remember struggling with the horror of infinite space, but the passing of time was even more unbearable. I can remember my gratitude for Christmas, because at least presents remained, something lasted beyond the moment. There was deep depression in adolescence over the realization of this flow of time. Why go to a party, since tomorrow it will be over and done with? Why experience at all, since nothing can be held? On the other hand, there is equal fear of being permanently caught in any state or process. Fear of being bored is perhaps its most intellectualized form; panic in the face of a physical trap or snare, its most overwhelming and instinctive expression. As living beings we are geared to movement and growth, to achieving something new, leaving the outworn behind and going on to a next stage. Hence, we do not like a goal that can never be reached nor yet a goal that is final—a goal beyond which we cannot go. In terms of this primary double fear of the static and of the endlessly moving, the individual is always trying to maintain a balance, and frequently fails because of too great fear either of changing or of never being able to change again. To put it very simply, perhaps the human problem is no more than this: If one cannot live forever, is it worth while to live at all?

We see this problem and this double fear¹ reflected in every slightest human experience from birth to death, and consequently also in the case worker's, as well as the client's, attitude toward the long or the short contact. Whether or not she can face the reality of either, depends on whether life to her can be accepted on the terms under which it can be obtained—that is, as a changing, finite, limited affair, to be seized at the moment if at all. The basis for believing that life can be thus accepted, beyond the fact that all of us do more or less accept it if we continue to exist, lies in the fact that we are, after all, part and parcel of the life process; that we do naturally abhor not only end-

¹ See Otto Rank, *Technik der Psychoanalyse*, Vol. III.

ing but also never-ending, that we not only fear change but the unchanging. Time and change, dying and being born, are inner, as well as outer, realities if fear of external violence or compulsion does not play too great a part. Life is ambivalent; but so are we, "born and bred in the briar patch." And on this fact rests the whole possibility of therapy. We cannot change the fundamental biological and psychological conditions of living for others, nor for ourselves, but somewhere within each individual is this same life process which can go on for and of itself, if the fear which has become excessive primarily in birth and the earlier experiences can be decreased in quantity sufficiently to permit the inherent normal ambivalence to function and hence to provide its own checks and balances.

Time in itself is a purely arbitrary category of man's invention; but since it is a projection of his innermost being, it represents so truly his inherent psychological conflict, that to be able to accept it, to learn to admit its likeness to one's very self, its perfect adaptation to one's deepest and most contradictory impulses, is already to be healed, as far as healing is possible or applicable, since in accepting time, one accepts the own self and life with their inevitable defects and limitations. This does not mean a passive resignation but a willingness to live, work, and create as mortals within the confines of the finite.

So literally true even in the slightest situations is this description of our relation to time, and particularly to a time limit, that in any therapeutic interview where, in coming, the individual admits a need for assistance, it is possible to see the operation of this person's particular pattern, his own way of reacting to time, or, if you like, to the life problem itself. This one is at your door fifteen minutes too soon; the other keeps you waiting, or perhaps fails to turn up at all. The very one who makes you wait at the beginning of the hour may be equally loath to go at the end and leaves you to be responsible for getting him out. The other who comes before you are ready is on edge to be gone before the time you have allotted to him is up. Neither can bear the hour as it is, with limits set by the other,

even though he has agreed to them beforehand. The one makes you bear the burden of his lateness and his lingering; the other tries to bear too much, both his own responsibility and yours, depriving himself of what is his, and you of the chance to contribute what you have already assigned for his use in terms of time. And so it goes, for every individual a slightly different pattern but with the same motivation. This is not in itself a serious matter to the analyst, who is paid for the hour in any case and should be skilled enough and courageous enough to protect his own time beyond that limit; but so deeply symptomatic is it of the individual's problem that one might fairly define analysis as a process in which the individual finally learns to utilize the allotted hour from beginning to end without undue fear, resistance, resentment, or greediness. When he can take it and also leave it without denying its value, without trying to escape it completely or keep it forever because of this very value, in so far he has learned to live, to accept this fragment of time in and for itself, and strange as it may seem, if he can live this hour he has in his grasp the secret of all hours; he has conquered life and time for the moment and in principle.

Here, then, in the simplest of terms is a real criterion for therapy, an inner norm which can operate from the moment the person enters your office to the moment at which he departs, more or less finally, whether he comes once or a hundred times. It is a goal which is always relative, which will never be completely attained, yet is solved in every single hour to some degree, however slight, if the client really wants help; and I present a situation in which limitation is accepted and acted upon at least for myself. If I believe that one hour has value, even if no other follows; if I admit the client's right to go as well as to come, and see his efforts and resistances in both directions even when he cannot; if I maintain at the same time my own rights in time as well as my responsibility and limitations and respect his necessity to work out his own way of meeting a limit even when it involves opposition to mine as it must, then I have provided the essentials of a therapeutic situation. If with this per-

sonal readiness, I combine self-conscious skill and ability to utilize the elements which make for therapy, the client may, if he choose, in greater or less degree, learn to bear this limited situation which as he finally comes to realize, is imposed by himself as truly as by me; by his own human nature, no less than mine; or, if you like, by the nature of the life process itself.

I have often heard discouraged case workers with much—perhaps too much—analytic information, question the value of case work, since only analysis seems to offer real therapy. In my opinion the basis of therapy lies in the therapist himself, in his capacity to permit the use of self which the therapeutic relationship implies as well as his psychological insight and technical skill. If this is true, therapy is potentially present wherever the therapeutic attitude is maintained, whether the contacts be one or many and whether the vehicle be case work or analysis. Analysis, as I understand it, is not case work and involves a training, personal discipline, and responsibility for self which the majority of case workers have not undertaken or achieved. Yet they are being forced into a kind of long time case work which seems to be nothing unless it is analysis in disguise—analysis carried as far as the case worker knows or dares under conditions involving practical responsibility for the patient which no analyst would accept. Few case workers are willing to be entirely responsible for this type of work. Either they do not let themselves know what they do or they rely upon a supervisor or psychiatrist to soften the responsibility which they are not able to carry.

The alternatives seem quite clear to me. Either the case worker should prepare herself to do analysis responsibly or she should learn to differentiate case work from analysis and to value it for itself.

Personally, I have never been so convinced of the value of case work as a therapeutic agent, which can go where analysis will never reach, once it learns to utilize analytic understanding legitimately without practicing a distorted analysis. Therapy is a matter of degree and may be present anywhere, but one has

to control this quantitative element. Analysis is a particular, highly specialized form of therapy, which can no more be practiced by the case worker than dentistry by the doctor. If the case worker can learn to understand therapy in the short contact, if she can be willing to accept a limitation of function for case work and refrain from analysis unless she goes into it openly with preparation, she can solve the problem which now confronts every case worker and every social agency which thinks it should be doing therapeutic case work but is not and, from my point of view, ought not.

While the topic of this paper is "Time," I end as I began, not so much with concern for limiting treatment in time,² although that is one of the most valuable single tools ever introduced into therapy, but with the necessity for accepting deeply, not merely intellectually, but emotionally and organically in our daily living, the reality of personal as well as functional limitation. A time limit is a purely external, meaningless, and even destructive device if used by someone who has not accepted limitation in and for himself. It becomes, then, merely a weapon turned on the other, or a salvation to be realized through and by the other. In order to use time as a major element in therapy, then, one must first have come to grips with it in one's self; otherwise the limitations which it introduces as a therapeutic agent are unbearable, and what the therapist cannot bear in and for himself, the patient cannot learn to bear either—at least if he does, he succeeds in spite of, not because of, the therapist.

In the last analysis, therapy as a qualitative affair must depend upon the personal development of the therapist and his ability to use consciously, for the benefit of his client, the insight and self-discipline which he has achieved in his own struggle to accept self, life, and time, as limited, and to be experienced fully only at the cost of fear, pain, and loss. I do not mean that knowledge is not necessary, that technical skill is not necessary. They are, but they are of no value therapeutically without the person. To practice therapeutic case work, in the long or short

² See Rank, *op. cit.*, Vol. II.

contact, no less than to practice analysis, one must be a therapist, and only to the extent that this is true are the relationships one sets up therapeutic, regardless of the label, the number of visits, or the interpretation recorded in the dictation.

The distinction between therapeutic case work and analysis is primarily quantitative not qualitative, and rests upon the acceptance of their respective limitations, the nature of the task which is undertaken, and the capacity of the client to take the type of therapy offered, whether it be more or less. The next step for case work, as I see it, is not to become more analytic but rather to become responsible for therapy, for practicing it overtly or for refraining deliberately, but, in any case, for knowing and bearing its own strength as well as its weakness—in other words, for accepting itself.

HOW CAN WE INTERPRET MORE EFFECTIVELY TO
THE PUBLIC THE RÔLE PLAYED IN THE COM-
MUNITY'S WELFARE PROGRAM BY SOCIAL SET-
TLEMENTS, RECREATION AGENCIES, AND NA-
TIONAL PROGRAM AGENCIES?

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I SHOULD like to answer this general title in one sentence. That sentence is: We can only interpret these group-work agencies more effectively when we ourselves understand their values and their programs better than we do at the present time.

It seems to me that we have been engaged for the past decade in the business of interpreting social programs which we ourselves did not understand in any specific terms. It takes very little by way of thoughtfulness to see clearly that we have been engaged in much advertising of social work and very little by way of interpreting social work results. Further consideration will probably lead us to the conclusion that, at the present moment in the year 1932, almost no logical basis has yet been worked through for the interpretation of specific results.

For years throughout the whole field of social work we have had to accept the specific results which are achieved in the day-in and day-out programs of social organizations, very much in terms of faith. Nowhere is this more true than in the group-work organizations commonly referred to as the "character building" agencies. As a matter of fact, our social accounting skill has hardly passed beyond an accounting of gross numbers contacted either in practice or concept. In the field of group work, all contacts made, whether short time or long time, whether intensive or casual, are all lumped together into one figure and the whole is designated as being of a character-building nature.

In our rather frantic attempts to develop intelligible "social statistics" we seem to have forgotten one of the laws of arithmetic which I believe occurs about the second grade. That is the law that only like things may be added together. To be sure, one contact plus another contact is two contacts. An apple and an egg may be added together if we call them objects. But in the process of calling them "objects" we have destroyed any possibility of understanding the nature of either the apple or the egg. Only as we can attach meaning to these contacts made through our group-work programs has the idea of contact making the slightest value or meaning. To meet our dilemma we have tried desperately all these years to give all contacts made by these organizations precisely the same value. It would be, however, unfair to state that no basis exists for trying to evaluate these group-work programs. Let us for a moment analyze what has been our guide in our attempts to estimate one of these programs.

Probably the two most important factors have been, in the order of their importance, the prestige and power of the community group sponsoring the program and the gross numbers which the program has reached in some way during the year. Along with this there has been an acceptance that the ideals and the aims of one of these programs was a rather complete justification of the program in the community. There has been a further acceptance that it might be taken for granted that those engaged in this work, locally and nationally, would develop and maintain high standards of work. There has been the practice of breaking up of programs into various parts, such as number of clubs, number of classes, boys' work department, physical education department, which has served to give some general idea of the different kinds of work done in these organizations. Sometimes the duplications of enrolment are eliminated, but more often they are left. Lastly, great stress has been laid upon individual illustrations of success achieved. These have been accepted as good evidence that the program as a whole is successful.

I remember an illustration given me which was characterized as one of the finest stories which had ever come out of the group-work field. The incident was this: One morning upon a visit to a church center five boys were discovered playing basket-ball. Every one of these boys had an older brother who was serving time for some criminal act. Yet, here these little fellows were playing basket-ball in the church center. I inquired how long ago this had been. I discovered that it had happened three years earlier. "Where are they now?" I asked. How many of them since that time have also acquired records of delinquency? I regret to say that it was not possible to discover the answer. Nobody knew. Yet I suspect that, according to our present concepts of social work interpretation, this incident had been accepted as constituting valid evidence that this organization was "building character" and "cutting down juvenile delinquency."

Each year in its announcements the St. Paul Institute offers, in the manner of proof positive, the fact that some years ago a young man who was enrolled in one of their night classes later became world famous as an artist. That is certainly interesting. Actually it proves very little. An incident of this kind may or may not prove anything. Real talent may succeed in spite of, as well as because of, a school.

Actually, neither of these illustrations, interesting as they are, prove much that is definite about either program as a whole in which they occurred. In terms of cold logic, if one story of one success proves the success of a whole movement then we will have to admit that our annoying critics who use one story of one failure to prove the failure of a whole movement have, at least, flattered us by adopting our own technique.

If all boys and all girls were exactly alike, then one success or one failure would mean a great deal. But they are not alike. And it is no good to try to advertise character building in the terms of mass production. Some day the leaders in the field of social work will begin to perceive clearly that the adoption without modification of the advertising pattern of big business because it had been successful in the selling of radios and automo-

biles was done a bit hastily. I am not so certain that its technique is quite adequate as a medium for expressing the somewhat less material values with which social work deals. We have actually talked about building character almost exactly as we have talked about Ford cars, farm tractors, and innerspring mattresses.

Less than a year ago a young man who was engaged for a number of years in group work walked into our office in St. Paul and made the statement: "You know we can build more character now by the present methods we have developed, in four weeks at summer camp, than in a whole year at school." When his statement was met by a somewhat skeptical attitude, he offered that argument which is meant to silence even when it does not convince: "There is a book written which says"

But in spite of all these attempts made to judge or to justify, as the case may be, few communities are in a position to seriously claim that they possess a very satisfactory basis for any very specific analysis of these group-work programs. Of course this does not come to any of us as a surprise. We have known it for ten years or more. But we have not been particularly concerned. It has been relatively easy to secure the acceptance of these agencies in all our communities during the past years of prosperity and profits on the blanket claim that they "built character." But now that profits have diminished, if not vanished, there is a rather alarming tendency to refer to these youth organizations as "frills" by rather grim visaged business men and to point out that all available money is needed for relief. As a matter of fact, this argument pertaining to the necessity of cutting out frills is also being applied to the schools, the police, all public and government employes, as well as social workers.

The situation seems undoubtedly one in which, first of all, we ourselves who are connected with the actual operation and support of social work programs need to be able to identify and interpret the specific social values in our community-wide programs. We can hardly hope to meet the whole situation by merely stating that our own faith is unshaken. We need to add

considerably to our technique of interpreting these values, first for ourselves and then to the public.

The phrase "character building" has both advantages and disadvantages. One can argue without fear of contradiction that character building is of first importance and an absolute necessity. We cannot economize here in good times, and even less in bad times. We may even covertly imply that anyone who does not wish to support our character-building organizations does not believe in building the character of our youth and wax eloquent in our indignation. But this is not quite fair.

Our so called character-building agencies in the community is but one aspect of the machinery that civilized society has provided for the development of the child. Character building is quite as legitimate an ideal for the school, the church, the home, the child guidance clinic, as it is for the Boy Scouts, the settlement house, and the Y.M.C.A. It seems to me to be quite impossible to establish a claim that the child's character is an outgrowth of any one of these contacts, but a direct outgrowth from them all plus a good deal more. No one can predict what values will finally impress the child most in the world about him other than a fairly safe prediction that the values of his time and generation will probably prove among the most potent. And I greatly doubt if any specific definition of character could be found which even all the character-building agencies themselves would accept.

But if these agencies cannot, and I do not believe they can, present a unique claim as the one factor concerned with the child's character, they can legitimately present a unique claim upon the child's leisure time which may in turn become an important factor in a combined responsibility for the child's development with its home, the church, and the school. The importance of the play process is well known and widely accepted; the danger of the unsupervised gang is acknowledged by anyone with the least knowledge of growing boys and girls; crowded city conditions and its many temptations are familiar to all; modern

psychology and parent training have made familiar the idea that the developing child needs many forms of self-expression.

All these things have intimately to do with leisure time. To function well to make the play time constructive, to make leisure time a developing experience, seems an ambitious enough program for any organization. And it seems to me that if the character-building organizations would be content to have *an* important place instead of *the* important place—if they would be content to be allies with the church, the home, and the school instead of the implied assumption that they are the all important factor in character building—they would have less trouble in being accepted by the whole community. No good program of interpretation ever shuts out the community and makes social work entirely the business of social workers.

The character-building agencies might still learn much from the schools. This youth organization makes a rather impressive effort to account for themselves not directly but through their relation to the child and the child's progress. The school provides a factual, objective record of each child as he participates in a specific program through a specified period of time. His standing and his progress is defined. Success and failure are not vague general terms. Success is not postulated where it does not exist, and failure is not ignored. If the child does not do well, it is so stated in no uncertain terms. If he does do well, this too is stated.

This comparison is not entirely valid in all respects, but it is something to be studied as a rather successful attempt to interpret another institution's relationship to the child.

There has been too much attempt to interpret our group-work agencies in terms of their aims and ideas and programs and leaders and too little attempt to interpret in terms of a clear relation to the boys and girls for whom these organizations exist. The schools, again, lay less stress on the excellence of their program, or the skill of their teachers and their general aim. If a child is succeeding in any program, the skill of the teachers and

the excellence of the program may be more easily taken for granted than in the reverse. The school, of course, speaks with greater authority in the community as youth's institution. The child must attend school whether he likes it or not. But it is not wholly a disadvantage in interpreting the group-work agency that the child attends because he wants to and because he finds friends, interesting things to do, and new forms of self-expression there.

In casting about for a new basis of interpreting group-work agencies, or leisure time agencies, as I would like to call them, I have started at the point of listing the things I would like to know and which seem to me to be essential in trying to evaluate these programs. First of all, I would abandon and banish the concept that gross numbers contacted mean anything. Second, I would develop an individualized record keeping system for the intensive, organized part of the group-work program. Third, instead of distributing individuals through a program, I would develop a system whereby the program was shown in relation to each individual. Out of this would emerge a clear picture of the individual's participation in the program and some basis for an estimation of the values involved. Long time service can be located to whatever degree it occurs. The individuals who come a short time and drop out may be estimated. A program cannot be judged apart from the service it renders. Fourth, I want to be able to study the program itself, not as it exists on paper, but as it actually is in operation. I want to know the various group formations within the program. I want to be able to locate and identify the well organized groups, the occasional groups, the activities not formally organized, and the occasional groups who use the facilities but are listed elsewhere.

Then I want to study the various units of the program in the organized activities. Are they varied enough to serve different age groups adequately and a wide range of skills and interests? Is there an adequate staff to maintain the program on a satisfactory level? Is the participation in activities scattered through

the program generally or does it tend to concentrate at one or two points—athletics, one or two types of handicraft, etc.

Now that I have established to some degree the things I want to know, we can begin to think of the mechanics of the job. And perhaps it is here that I might mention that, until we have reached the place in our own thinking where we consider adequate machinery for social accounting as good an investment as the machinery which we have long accepted as being necessary for financial accounting, we may as well abandon any pretense that we ourselves understand the social values we urge the public to purchase annually in large undifferentiated quantities.

I cannot imagine a community chest budget-making group ever suggesting that the bookkeepers be eliminated in social organizations, even to save the expense of maintaining them. Yet, unless we frankly admit that we think the money raised for social work is more important than that which it buys, there is no excuse for an argument that it is too expensive to account for what the money buys.

The first steps are fortunately fairly simple and fairly inexpensive. They consist of taking a sheet of paper or several sheets of paper and listing fields of activities of group-work agencies and the program units under these fields. The fields are numbered. The program units are lettered.

In St. Paul, "Field 1" is athletics; under this field, which is the same in all organizations, are the program units which may be expanded indefinitely. The only rule in the list is that, once a letter is assigned, nothing else can be assigned to that letter. "A" is basket-ball. Hence, 1 A is always basket-ball throughout the program. "B" is handball; "C" is squash; "D" is boxing; and so on. Field 2 is gymnasium and swimming; 2 A is always gymnasium; 2 D is swimming. Field 3 is tournaments; Field 4 is classes; Field 5 is clubs. This provides a key, and the code is the same throughout the field.

I am personally committed to the code as a device for program recording, since it can be indefinitely expanded. One can portray many things. It may be revised and expanded at will

without affecting the accounting machinery. Recording the code is simple and requires little space. It is the auditing of the code after it has been entered that takes the time. Groups may be recorded in the code, as may that part of the program which is intensive and organized be recorded. Group activities may be recorded in code. The group record shows date, the activity or activities in code, the attendance and a rating for that particular meeting. Each individual engaged in the organized intensive program has his own record where all his activities appear.

Let us suppose five boys comprise a basket-ball team which plays regularly. Their individual records shows a 1 A as often as they play. The game itself is recorded as a group activity also under 1 A, with date, attendance, etc. Dances, political meetings, picnics, etc., are recorded in terms of the group. Participation on the part of individuals in these things who appear also in the intensive program may or may not be recorded.

Actually, this particular method of accounting is now in the experimental stages of the Neighborhood House, St. Paul's largest settlement house, a section of the Y.M.C.A., and in a program set-up for five groups of unemployed boys where record keeping is an important part of the experiment. Therefore, my approach is still quite theoretical, and certain difficulties are not solved. The fact that the individual's program is recorded so far as his organized activities go, while his more casual contacts are merged with the group record, is a weakness. So far, however, in the program of the Neighborhood House, I have asked them to merely experiment with the recording and determine how fully they shall make individualized records show participation in the occasional groups, the less organized activities, etc.

Attached to the key and also coded are fields of information and a field for group rating and a field for individual rating. Field 15 is recorded by the number 15, and it means the boy or girl to whom it refers needs employment. The number 16 means that the boy or girl is employed. Field 17 provides for fairly complete information of any previous delinquency record or for

recording any trouble contacts within the organization. Groups are rated by code, and the scale is simple: satisfactory, fairly satisfactory, unsatisfactory, group easy to control, and group difficult to control. The individual rating scale has 12 points. They are: fits into group well; shows initiative and leadership qualities; leadership qualities used to further group interests; leadership used against group interests; fits into group well, but not a leader; fits into group poorly; a trouble maker; considered hopeful material; considered fair material; considered poor material; showing improvement in adjusting to program; improvement reported from outside contacts, parents, employer, pastor, etc. This individual rating scale is not particularly good. It portrays the desirable ends to be served—the adjustment of the child to the program, rather than any effort to adjust facilities to the child.

Actually, there is much valid criticism which may be offered at many points. But definite progress may be made in an attempt to select certain kindred values to add together. The more intensive part of the program, which is the portion to be most carefully examined, is located within the whole program. The age groups served emerge. The program may be studied as it relates to the individuals it serves and as their relationship to it becomes more easily defined. Program trends become definite. Directors and staffs get a much clearer picture of how their program is being used by those individuals whom they serve at many points.

It provides for another thing which I believe is highly important throughout the whole social fields, and in which we have been lamentably weak in the past. It provides those who are really interested in social work and who have some responsibility—such as a board member of a group-work agency, a director of the community chest, the budget-making group, etc.—with some basic material from which to draw conclusions of their own. We have been rather wholesale in our predigested methodology. We have passed on our faith in the faith of those who are in a position to know what their faith was built on. It

is no wonder that faith has often been a little cold by the time it was passed to the parties of the third part. It seems to me to be essential in any valid conclusions that these parties of the third part be given certain evidence which more or less speaks for itself.

Any program, such as the program of the Boy Scouts or the Girl Scouts, which testifies eloquently to a continuous growth in skills and constantly widening interests, defends itself and does not have to be defended as a wholesome, desirable use of leisure time for developing boys and girls. The programs of the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A. are really many programs. The spiritual accent of these organizations gives them a distinctly religious significance in the community. They stand pledged, over and above all, to a way of living as defined by the Christian religion. But even this is not enough of an accounting. They, too, have long time contacts and short time contacts. They have contacts at many points and boys and girls who merely use the swimming pool and the gymnasium floor of the buildings. They have an intensive organized program in each of their several departments which differ widely in their significance and must be evaluated separately as well as a whole in terms of the influence of the whole organization. Budget-making groups in particular, I believe, would welcome even an imperfect audit, which would locate for them the program intensive and serving at many points, the program serving at one or two points, the well organized program, and the program around which plays the life of a whole community, such as one finds in a well developed settlement program.

I have made an audit of one of the five groups of unemployed boys for March and April and the first week in May. This group held twenty-five meetings with their two leaders in this period; there were 24 boys in this group ranging from fifteen to twenty-one years of age—16 were unemployed and needed employment; 4 were intermittently employed; 4 were in high school. In the period audited there were three business meetings; 14 periods of basket-ball; 14 periods of indoor tennis; 8 periods of baseball; 4

vocational talks; 3 periods of cards; 1 card party; 1 health talk; 3 swimming periods in the Y.M.C.A. pool, and 3 periods of kitten-ball. There were 22 ratings made by the leaders. Of this number, 8 were rated as entirely satisfactory, 10 as fairly satisfactory, and 4 as unsatisfactory. Neither of the leaders felt that they knew their boys well enough yet to make an individual rating. The cost of this group for the period was \$3.05 per boy enrolled.

Certainly no conclusions could be drawn from any standpoint of character building. These boys are a rather tough gang, and 4 of the group already have a delinquency record. From the standpoint of providing something for these boys to do, here is a rather interesting and intensive program of activities. Yet it would seem ridiculous to assume that of course there will be no recurrence of delinquency in the group. Most of these boys need to be working. Recreation is probably far more valuable combined with a normal work experience than it is with enforced idleness. Recreation is no more a good substitute for the normal activities of work and growth than relief is a good substitute for wages. It seems to me that we must guard our interpretation entirely against the sentimental belief that we have something to offer which mitigates greatly the plight of individuals whose life is cast in abnormal lines economically.

Social work has been conditioned to the belief that it must advertise itself and its wares as glowingly as automobiles. In telling what it has done, what it has tried to do, it is easy to forget that powerful forces are at work in society which tend to destroy character.

I am not very hopeful about the kind of social thinking that segregates one contribution from the rest of an individual's opportunity for normal development and finds it enough. I am not entirely convinced that I do not think that social work in the year 1932 is not to be portrayed as much a victim of the economic breakdown as those who are walking the street. I am unwilling to lend voice to any claim that our youth organizations can do much to salvage the morale of youth indefinitely,

just as I am unwilling to make any claims that social case work can maintain family morale when charity is substituted by wages. I am not very clear in my own mind just exactly what we can claim in this situation, as to what any phase of social work can offer that is not bread alone.

Social work functioning back against a fairly normal society where men and women and boys and girls reaching manhood and womanhood can be offered a normal work experience is one thing. Social work functioning in a period of economic disaster is something else. I do not pretend to know what its function is at this particular time other than to carry on with whatever hope it can. But whatever else is true, social responsibility and the need for social reorganization cannot be interpreted in terms of social work. Therefore, I have been content not to try to define the work of the youth organization in this particular period. At best we are all trying to function in an emergency. But if, and when, we emerge we have some groundwork for better interpretation of these organizations, we will have gained some reason for support that is based upon a somewhat increased understanding of what these organizations actually do, rather than mere approbation of what they are trying to do.

QUESTIONS TO BE FACED IN THE USE OF FUNDS, LOCAL AND NATIONAL, IN THIS EMERGENCY PERIOD

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IN AN emergency period, when large sums of money are required for relief in food and clothing and shelter and also for other forms of relief, the question naturally arises as to the guiding principles to be followed by those who are responsible for the use of funds for social work purposes. Each dollar is secured with greater difficulty, has greater value, should be made to go farther. It is worth while, therefore, to try to set down as briefly and concisely as possible the questions which must be faced, and to indicate what answers certain groups at least are giving.

1. *Relief.*—Relief for the unemployed must be provided and, with millions unemployed, carries no stigma, whatever the source from which it is received. With the magnitude of the relief problem, the fairest way of distributing the burden is through taxation, by town and city and county first if possible; if that is not possible, through state taxation; where state taxation fails, by funds provided through the federal government. Where wages are reduced many billions of dollars a year, there is no hope of providing adequate relief through contributions, and there is no reason why those who have property or income should not, through scientifically devised taxation, share this burden in proportion to their capacity. There is no reason why those more responsive to human suffering should carry the burden for the less generous.

2. *Non-relief.*—The resources of our country are such that the giving of relief does not make impossible the maintenance of religion, education, health, recreation, and essential welfare

and social work. It is specially important that the spiritual life and morale of people be not impaired. Local churches in particular need the support of their constituencies.

It is important that fundamental health service be maintained during such periods, so that when the depression is over the health of the people shall not be lowered.

Libraries, museums, night schools, recreation centers, and athletic fields are needed on a larger scale during periods of unemployment when there is much enforced leisure. There is little enough that can be done to make life bearable during long periods of unemployment. Every effort should be made to make use of volunteers and of the unemployed with special provision for training so as to keep the cost down.

In time of near material bankruptcy, among the last things to be sacrificed are: first, religion; second, education; third, a measure of living—the human satisfactions which keep alive hope. As Dr. Abraham Flexner has said: "Upon education and philanthropy the very worth whileness of life and civilization depends."

3. *Children first.*—If there must be a choice, children should be cared for before adults. Children should be the last to suffer—and their wants are much more than food and clothing and shelter. Civilization in our cities has been increasingly built upon adequate care for the education, the play, the growth and development, the health of our children.

4. Human beings should be cared for before trees, buildings, machinery. Extension of sewers, street paving, opening up new streets, and erecting new buildings are usually not as immediately important as school nurses, hospital clinics, children's playgrounds. Great as are the disadvantages of not keeping up physical equipment, buildings, and furniture, it is usually better to postpone expenditures of this nature which are not absolutely immediate rather than to lose essential personal service, which, after all, usually is the heart and center of social work. All this refers to current income. Bond issues for public works to give

labor to the unemployed and increase purchasing power are another story.

5. *Less institutionalism.*—Consider all work to be done from the human, rather than from the institutional, point of view. This is almost beyond human capacity. This does not mean that work with fundamentally different ideals must be ruthlessly combined by outside coordinators who are unable to see essential differences. It means getting groups to think of the various parts of their work not in terms of present workers, of present machinery, but in terms of human needs; what needs to be done now—not last year, or the year before—what can still be done economically with a cost out of proportion to the results to be achieved.

What can be done to relate the work of our society to all other societies, our department to other departments? Can any part of our present work be better done by some other society or by some city department? Can we offer a certain part of our service to some other group and thereby enable them to make a substantial saving in their expenditures?

This is a time for reexamining the fundamental philosophy back of each organization and of each project of work within the organization. Have we drifted into doing certain work that has no relation to our fundamental aims? Have changed conditions made certain work no longer needed? Is there work now going on in the city government that we could help to make effective, giving up our own present program?

6. *Tax funds and contributed funds* should be thought of together. If certain projects are greatly needed and tax funds cannot continue them, contributed funds should consider taking them over, and vice versa. Care should be taken to make the tax-supported program and the contribution-supported program a real unity.

7. *Waste.*—There should be every effort to limit waste in government and in social work. Keeping political appointees who render practically no service on government pay rolls is

particularly reprehensible at such a time. This is no time for the toleration of workers of low efficiency in any branch of social service.

In all departments, before any expenditure, however small, is made, the question should be asked: Is this expenditure absolutely necessary? It is surprising how many ways can be found to save, where there is a will to save on the part of each person in the group.

Work should not be continued which cannot be advantageously done under present conditions and where the cost under present conditions will be disproportionately greater than the return to society.

It is hard to release workers when it is no longer profitable for their work to be carried on, but under our present system there is no alternative. Societies are trustees of funds provided. Of course, adjustments must be made with as long as possible a notice to workers.

Every expenditure must be watched. No expenditure must be made except as there is reasonable assurance of adequate return.

8. *Efficiency*.—Present conditions make it essential that all possible inventiveness be used to devise better ways of doing things.

In extensions of work which must be expanded because of the present emergency, volunteers may often be discovered, trained, and used.

9. What services mean most in the present situation?

Certain undertakings have an enhanced value to the community and to the individual because of existing unemployment conditions. What such projects are should be carefully considered in each community. In one city it may be morale building; in another, crime prevention.

Other services are least productive under present conditions. Such services can be more easily suspended.

10. What services are most essential to rebuilding the organization in normal times? Other things being equal, it is more im-

portant to continue the services of such persons as are essential to rebuilding the organization if and when normal times return.

11. *New work.*—Start no new undertaking except as it is clearly of utmost importance. Usually, one should be clear that the new undertaking is of considerably greater importance than some existing project.

12. *Replacements.*—Wherever any existing worker drops out, consider carefully whether the remaining staff can carry the responsibility or whether any properly trained volunteer can be utilized.

13. Work which is being given to men and women who would otherwise need to receive relief ought not to be discontinued if it is at all possible to continue it except where such work, because of materials used or otherwise, costs disproportionately more than relief.

14. In general in a period such as this, research which has value for the immediate emergency ought to be continued. Research which can be done almost equally well or better at a later time may well be postponed.

15. *Salaries.*—The existing scale of social work salaries is lower than that of other comparable groups.

Where individual workers are receiving salaries greater than salaries now prevailing in other comparable groups, such individual salaries may be adjusted by the governing board.

The present load for most social workers is greater than in ordinary times. Increasing the amount of work, and lowering the salary, at a time when the work itself takes more out of the worker might be termed double or triple punishment for the same offense.

In general, salary increases may be suspended, except when the circumstances are most unusual.

16. *Budgets.*—Under present circumstances there should be a much greater extension of the best budget practice in facing what each project in each organization is costing, including the proportionate cost of administration.

There should be in such an emergency period each quarter a

refacing of budget provisions and projects in the light of possible changes.

17. So far as practicable, attempts should be made to arrange for an extension of time for the payment of mortgages and other debts of social service groups falling due at this time.

18. *No national uniform ratios.*—Where reductions are necessary, it is not possible to indicate, or even to suggest, certain rates of reduction for different fields or for different projects which might apply to communities in general, for each community has, or at least should have, its own local traditions, its character, its own special needs, its own individual ideals which ought to be maintained even in time of depression, which ought to be respected in any consideration of reductions.

19. In our cities there should be no ground for charges that non-relief agencies are "riding" on the relief appeal, while relief is largely furnished from tax funds. In some cities it may be desirable to have a separate emergency relief fund for which contributors may designate their gifts.

20. It is not possible under present conditions to promise our cities that giving once will result in immunity from further appeals.

We must remember that the total amount that individuals will give in war time, in time of great disaster, or industrial depression is not a fixed total; that unusual specific need will bring unusual giving, unusual readiness to give up personal luxuries for the common good.

21. No one individual and no small committee is qualified to determine exactly what the majority or the various minorities want in periods of stress. The widest possible participation is desirable. It is important that no large minorities be disfranchised and without an opportunity for a hearing.

In times like these we must do nothing to make more difficult the task of organizations such as the consumers' league, the local child labor committee, and the other forward looking, independent liberal forces. Just because only a minority is interested is no reason for cutting out any particular work. No non-

ey raising system can be permanently satisfying if it disfranchises any considerable minority by making it too difficult for them to support a work in which they deeply believe.

22. *Cooperation.*—Upon each individual local agency board of directors and executive should be placed the responsibility of considering each society's own financial needs in the light of the problem of the city as a whole and in a cooperative and non-institutional spirit.

In the local council of social agencies, or community chest, or other cooperative group, there must be consideration by the leaders in these various social work organizations of the problem of the city as a whole as to what can be done under given limitations.

In each locality within each field (such as health, child care, for example) it is desirable for those in charge who have special knowledge of that particular field to study the particular values of various projects at this time.

23. *Public hearings.*—There is need in each community for public hearings to receive testimony as to what is being achieved by each social work program, so that the contributing public and the taxpayers may be better informed as to values in social work.

24. Because of the long-continued depression and the severity of the problems growing out of it, there is need to expend more money on local and national social welfare planning; in facing the terrible nature of the distress caused by unemployment; and the necessity of holding as much as possible of the social betterment work built up in the last hundred years.

25. The cities, counties, and states of the United States are not spending an unduly large sum for social welfare services, or more than the resources of the country justify. As a people, we are still spending large sums for luxuries, and social work is not in the luxury class.

26. Working men are often forced, in time of near material bankruptcy, to use all their capital. Men and women of larger capital, giving voluntarily out of their capital to maintain our present civilization and culture, are showing a high and wise form of citizenship.

THE COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

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MR. STUART CHASE has been endeavoring this past couple of years to reform the country by urging upon us two opposed and mutually irreconcilable doctrines. On the one hand he has been picturing the beauties of Mexico—her delightful irresponsibility and the charms of leisure and whimsicality that dominate her culture. You will recall the story he relates with such evident gusto about Mrs. Dwight Morrow and her chairs. Mrs. Morrow, it seems, encountered a workman who had made a very beautiful chair. The price was so low that she promptly purchased the chair and ordered a dozen more identically like it. "But Madam," exclaimed the Mexican, "if I make a dozen just alike the price will be much higher, for it would be such a bore to make two chairs exactly alike." Mr. Chase has urged throughout that we ought to imbibe deeply of this Mexican philosophy, that our American society should be much less routinized, less standardized, dominated in larger measure by whimsy and the attitude of *mañana*.

But on the other hand, in looking about America, Mr. Chase has been appalled by the facts now too well known to all of us—production outrunning consumption, hungry families in lands that are running with milk and honey. And he sees as a cure for this nightmare a rigidly planned economy. He has asked for a "conning tower"—a sort of lofty look-out from which our chief medicine men could survey the entire scene and plan out schedules of production which, if strictly followed, would balance supply and demand. Now it seems clear that Mr. Chase cannot hope to have his cake and eat it too. A planned economy im-

plies a disciplined society—a society in which plans are not only made but are actually followed, a society in which we know fairly exactly today what we are going to do tomorrow—a society, in short, in which whimsy, except perhaps in the most intimate personal matters, is allowed very little play. In so far as Mr. Chase is crying for a society dominated by whimsy he is merely revealing an adolescent urge toward the care-free and irresponsible state of childhood. The psychiatric social workers would say, I believe, that he is “regressive.” But in so far as he sees the need for introducing elements of rationality into our economy, in so far as he is seeking a planned society, he exhibits the qualities of statesmanship and is striking out along the lines that our development seems certain to follow. Of course, Mr. Chase is not the first to advocate planning in the economic field. The Russians certainly were ahead of him there. Recently I saw an article that traced the planning idea much farther back than the Russians. I didn’t read the article; but since it was written by a professor, I have no doubt that he got back at least as far as Plato.

It is a source of satisfaction to us that the social workers of this country were urging the need of a planned development long before the famous Five-Year Plan really caused the idea to become a subject for common discussion. For at least twenty years the social workers of this country have seen clearly the need for a planned development in the social welfare field and have been working toward that end. The whole council of social agencies movement is an expression of that belief; for if the council movement has stood consistently for any one thing, it has been for the principle that thought, study, and planning must precede action, and that the chaos of individualized sallies against social evils must be replaced by an integrated attack.

In the early days the planning activities of the council were negative in character. Our chief efforts then went, not toward accomplishing something, but toward preventing something. We thought, for example, that it was bad for two or three organizations to be giving relief to Widow Jones at one and the

same time, and we sought to prevent this duplication. We could see the folly often perpetrated upon a community by a group of benevolent enthusiasts who would launch new agencies and new pieces of work without taking stock of what was already being done in the field of their choice. We were first to recognize that the principle of cut-throat competition is not tenable, at least in the welfare field, and that the operation of the law of *laissez faire* is as likely to smother an essential program as to squeeze out the ineffective marginal organization.

We have not yet entirely outgrown the elementary stage I have sought to describe. Our councils are still, for the most part, spending a great deal of time and energy in the negative type of planning that seeks only to prevent follies. But, as we have jogged along in this work, we have gradually come to see much greater possibility in the council than we visualized at the outset. In recent years we have talked about a new kind of planning that is not negative in character, a type of planning that seeks not to prevent but to accomplish. We seem now to be fairly well agreed as to the soundness of this principle—the principle of joint planning. Our difficulty lies in determining the means for transmuting this principle into action.

Even the most superficial observer of our social welfare pattern must be aware of some of its weaknesses. It is shot through and through with inconsistencies, is hampered by antiquated machinery and incompetent personnel, is characterized by gaps in the service that are now coming to seem more serious to us than the ignorant duplications with which we used to wrestle. How then can we progressively remedy this situation?

The council of social agencies is the instrumentality to which we now look for the accomplishment of this constructive planning which we all desire. The council has no definite pattern to follow in seeking to achieve this end. It is a task for constructive imagination and also, I suspect, for a great deal of trial and error. Certain tendencies have already emerged. For example, it has been recognized that the social welfare field divides quite naturally into a number of special interest groups. Following

this lead, we have in many communities developed within the council certain subcouncils that are charged with the study and development of their special fields of interest. The alignment in subcouncils is not uniform throughout the country, but it is a fairly common arrangement to find a family and child welfare subcouncil, a health council, and a council of agencies that are interested in leisure time and character-building activities. In some of the larger cities, each of these subcouncils has a salaried staff.

The council had not been long embarked on its task until it became clear that a very difficult job had been undertaken. Then came the period of searching about to see what kind of tools might expedite the effort. Joint thinking and joint planning seemed likely to be barren of results if we had nothing to go on but our individual prejudices and predilections. We needed something tangible to gnaw at, something concrete upon which our imaginations might build. And so we were led inevitably to the research approach. Countless studies, many of them of course fragmentary and unscientific in character, have been undertaken by the council and its subcouncils in the past ten years. I would not venture to guess how many of these studies have been pointless. I do not know how many have neither revealed anything nor accomplished anything. But I do feel quite certain that the net gain to our field has been considerable, that quite apart from the specifically rational elements that have been introduced into the pattern there has been a great gain in an equally important direction, namely, social workers have come to think much more in terms of the community and less in terms of their own particular agency, and they have developed an attitude of asking for the facts before action is taken.

As a result of the activities of the past ten years, research has come to loom larger and larger in the affairs of the council. In New York, under the able leadership of Dr. Neva Deardorff, the research division has come to occupy a pivotal rôle in the council; and I have it on the testimony of numerous friends in New York that the great service rendered to the city of New York

in our present crisis by the research division of the council has firmly entrenched it in the structure of that very complex city. In other words, the slow and painful gathering of facts over the past years and the building up of channels that will actually produce facts have reaped an abundant harvest.

The importance of statistics in community planning is only now coming to be widely recognized. Five years ago there were certainly not more than five councils in the entire country which were collecting comparable monthly statistics from all agencies operating in the community. Community chests, to be sure, had expected their member agencies to send in some type of service report each month; but little concern was manifested, for example, if one organization reported numbers of different homeless men served and another reported numbers of meals given to homeless men. Such slipshod methods could reveal little that council planning committees could make use of. It became clear that if we wanted any help from statistics we had to induce all agencies functioning in a given field to compile their data in terms of a uniform system. This was obviously a job for the council rather than for the chest, since in many cities important segments of the social service program are in the hands of the non-chest agencies. The first attempt to get city-wide statistics that would be comparable, not only within any given city, but also between cities, was undertaken in 1928 at the University of Chicago under the joint auspices of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the University's social science research committee. Councils throughout the country were ripe for this new venture, and the success attained far exceeded the expectations. In 1930 this undertaking was transferred to governmental direction and is now being carried aggressively forward by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. At first thought, it seems a tremendous accomplishment that there are now councils in some forty cities that can turn to uniform and, in some cities, complete statistical data. But this achievement seems belated and fragmentary when we reflect that the poor law authorities of England and

Wales can show us comparable statistics extending back as far as 1871 and that these figures have been assiduously studied whenever emendations in poor law administration have been under consideration. Nevertheless, social work accounting, as it has come to be called in contradistinction to financial accounting, is one of the important links that will strengthen the council. The first task is the pioneer job of getting data from the local agencies that are really comparable within a functional field. The unifying of interest and purpose will come later and will grow steadily, I believe, as the council members develop the habit of considering these data and of interpreting them together.

I think it would be interesting for us to peer together into the future and speculate concerning the council of the future. There is first the question of the relationship of community chest and council of social agencies. You have doubtless heard it advocated that chest and council should be fused, that they should be one and the same organization. This doctrine seems to me thoroughly unsound in principle. In small communities where resources are limited, it may be expedient to use the same personnel to perform the two functions, but we should never lose sight of the fact that money-raising is one function and social planning is another. The desire to merge the two is often only an expression of distrust in the council's ability to accomplish anything and a willingness to be content if enough money can be raised to perpetuate the existing pattern of community organization.

If we take the really long look into the future—the look that may possibly extend beyond the lifetime of anyone here present—it seems more probable that the council will swallow the chest than that the chest will swallow the council. We are headed almost certainly toward a more disciplined society than we have had before. In this society some of our present social services may be thrown into the discard as being not worth the money they cost. But the essential social services will be more securely financed than they are now. Public education was once de-

pendent upon private bounty in much the same way as some of our basic social services are at present. If it is true that the indispensable social services will eventually be as securely established as the public school system, the money-raising function of the chest will dwindle in importance and the function of the social engineer will loom large.

But we are speaking here of the future; and for us it is important not to ignore the present. Whatever may be the ideal arrangement, it is clear that today, here and now, the budgeting function and the social planning function must be very closely allied. I venture to suggest that in the past ten years the social planning in this country has sprung almost wholly from the budgeting groups, or at least from groups very closely allied to the central budget committees. Some observers deplore this fact. They assert that it puts social planning at the mercy of those whose chief interest is to guard the purse strings and that as a result the saving of money is the sole standard by which plans are judged. I cannot wholly share this view. I think that in our present state of development we must perhaps be somewhat opportunistic. I think it is more important to get the social planning habit established than it is to quibble just now as to who is to establish this habit. But I should like to point out that this alliance of budgeting and social planning by no means implies that the whole planning function is simply handed over to big givers and to those interested in reducing the bill for the social services. Nor does it necessarily mean the exclusion of the public agencies from the planning function. There are a number of cities in which representatives of the public agencies are members of the central budget committee of the chest. Where such an arrangement prevails, any plans developed by the budgeting group are formulated by a body that is not composed exclusively of members of a single economic class. Representatives of public agencies and of non-chest private agencies are always present, against whom, presumably, no charge of personal advantage could be leveled. Therefore, it would seem to me that for the present, rather than attempt to set up social

planning groups that are wholly detached from the budgeting groups, and sometimes actually opposed to them, the more practical procedure consists in so interrelating chest and council that the budgeting groups will contain a liberal representation from public departments, private non-chest agencies, and similar groups whose disinterestedness may be assumed.

Before speculating further about the future of the council, it may be wise to appraise frankly the position we occupy now. How much strength does the council now have, and what are the steps to be taken next? Truth compels us to admit that at present councils in most communities are deplorably weak. In almost every city they fall short of the ideals we project for them. They are not all-inclusive, and thus their most constructive plans can often be nullified by unorganized and non-cooperating agencies. I have recently been in a city, for example, in which the council has made an heroic attempt to centralize the service for homeless transient men. The municipal government was prevailed upon to establish a central office at which an applicant could register and from which he could be sent to the local agencies, public or private, that were best suited to meet his needs. But unfortunately several shelters, with a joint capacity of nearly 500 beds, refused to come into the scheme. These shelters chose to accept such applicants as they wished and were even unwilling to refer their beneficiaries to the medical services which the registration bureau had established in an effort to detect contagious diseases and protect the public health. Not only was the constructive plan of the council thus undermined, but also the way was laid open for the pauperizing type of duplication that leads so certainly to criticism of the welfare program, not to mention the personal disintegration of the client.

We are much concerned today to learn how we may correct such situations—how we may make the councils really powerful and effective. Chest agencies can perhaps be coerced into a semblance of cooperation, but there is no such club to hold over the non-chest private agencies and the tax-supported public

agencies. These two types of organizations constitute the nub of the problem.

In assessing the means by which we may enlist the active support of all agencies, both public and private, I have been able to discover only three factors upon which we may rely: enlightenment, self-interest, and salesmanship.

I wish I could predict that enlightenment alone will do the job, but the record of the past does not encourage such a belief. I do not mean to discredit the process of enlightenment; undoubtedly it brings us some gains each year. But social evolution is slow, and we are concerned to expedite the process. Already we have learned that something may be accomplished by an appeal to self-interest. There is a tendency among social workers to spurn appeals at this level and to insist upon an appeal to higher sentiments. But is every appeal to self-interest actually at a low level? In the final analysis the social service exchange appeals to the self-interest of the agencies. They see in the exchange a means to economize their own time, money, and effort as well as to serve their clients more effectively. Joint housing makes a similar bid for agency support. The agencies are aware that better and more economical housing can be obtained under one roof than in a dozen buildings scattered throughout the city. Yet the by-products of this type of self-interest, in terms of mere intimate acquaintanceship and better understanding, are of considerable value. Joint publicity, joint purchasing, joint financing, and joint bookkeeping are other developments that might be mentioned, each of which has probably in the first instance appealed to the self-interest of the agency but has in the end come to be recognized as worth while in itself because of the experience gained in the difficult habit of working together.

The joint services to which I have referred undoubtedly make a stronger appeal to the private agencies than to the tax-supported organizations. But it has by no means been demonstrated that we have tried as hard to devise joint services that would appeal to the tax-supported agencies as we have in the

case of the voluntary agencies. I have been very much interested in the monthly statistical summaries that a few of the councils have circulated among all local agencies, both public and private, in a given functional field. We must not forget that our public agencies are coming increasingly to be staffed by trained social workers, thoughtful men and women, whose imagination would be touched by the possibilities of the monthly statistical service to which I have referred. Perhaps one immediate step that suggests itself is for councils to study their programs closely to determine whether joint services might not be established which would have an especial appeal for the tax-supported organizations.

At this Conference, for example, we are hearing a great deal about a new national effort called the "United Educational Program." As I understand it, the purpose is to conduct a great educational campaign designed to acquaint the public more fully than ever before with the character and purpose of the various social services. Could not such efforts as this be used locally to increase council solidarity? Surely there are many non-chest private agencies and many public departments that would like to have the public understand more fully the nature of their work. If such agencies come to see that the council provides a channel through which they may not only learn about national movements but may participate in them, their allegiance, it would seem, would not be indefinitely withheld.

Salesmanship is a term to which of late an unjustifiable opprobrium has been attached. There is nothing dishonorable about salesmanship, provided the product is good and the methods honest. In my opinion a major portion of the energy of councils today should be going into this humble job of salesmanship. There are a good many agencies outside the councils that do not know what it would mean both to them and to the community to be participating in council endeavors. There are joint services available in councils, of which public agencies are unaware. Every effort should be made to explain the opportunities afforded by the council. If the prospect remains obdurate, there

is always the possibility that the salesman is ineffective or that his product is unconvincing.

For salesmanship in this field means much more than a line of chatter. It must have a sound product to offer, in terms either of constructive services or of plans for services. Moreover, the salesman himself must be effective. If the council is conceived merely as a clearing house for committees, the routine of which may be handled by a clerk, the progress will be slow. The personnel of the council must include men and women thoroughly trained and experienced in the field of social work. In brief, like other successful salesmen, they must not only know their product thoroughly but also they must not be above getting out and trying to promote it.

We come then to the question: Will it always be necessary to rely exclusively upon the feeble reeds of self-interest and salesmanship to promote council solidarity? Before trying to answer, let me cite a case from Chicago. I select this illustration, not because it is exceptional, but because it is typical and because I happen to know Chicago better than some other towns. The Municipal Tuberculosis Service of Chicago expends annually about two and a quarter million dollars of public funds. This organization not only provides institutional care but also renders a very extensive nursing service in the city. An even larger organization, from the point of view of expenditure, is the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare. Its budget for the fiscal year 1931 was almost four million dollars. Its service includes the usual outdoor relief, the intake service for the county home, an extensive social service in the courts, the administration of the state blind pensions and the veteran relief under the Bogardus Act, and a nursing service in the rural sections of Cook County. Incredible as it may seem, these two extensive social service organizations, supported out of the pockets of substantially the same group of taxpayers, function in complete independence of one another. The Cook County Bureau participates actively in the work of the council, but the Municipal Tuberculosis Service operates as if it existed in a vacuum. It does not clear its cases

through the Social Service Exchange; it does not sit in on the deliberations of the Health Council; it has no knowledge, at least officially, of what the Child Welfare Council is doing and thinking with respect to child health. I have no means of guessing how many of the clients of the Cook County Bureau are also cases with the Municipal Tuberculosis Service, but I feel safe in venturing that the number must be considerable. I do not know the extent to which the social services in Chicago would be improved, both from the standpoint of economy and of effectiveness, if these two important services were working closely together with full understanding of one another's programs and plans. But it seems safe to suggest that the resulting improvement would more than compensate for the effort involved.

I venture now to ask you to take with me a very long look into the future. I contend that situations such as I have just described in Chicago will not be permitted to continue indefinitely. The state has a right, and the municipality has a right, to regulate the welfare agencies that are fed by their taxes. Government is or should be interested that the welfare services yield a maximum return. Government is or should be concerned that its various welfare departments correlate their activities and strive to render a well rounded and integrated program of service. It would therefore seem that government would be well within its rights if it insisted that these departments participate in a community-wide deliberative body. It would, in short, be only seeking to insure good administration if it imposed by statute the duty of participation and cooperation.

There is precedent for this suggestion. Consider, for example, the administrative arrangement that has been set up in Germany since the revolution of 1918. This plan is embodied in two federal enactments known as the Reich Statute on Relief Works and the Reich Juvenile Welfare Law. These statutes, supplemented by the enactments of the regional legislative bodies, provide for the formation of administrative committees for public welfare and juvenile relief, on which the private welfare

agencies, as well as the public bureaus, have a place and a vote. In both acts the principle is reiterated that the private welfare activities should stand on a plane of equality and should work systematically with the official welfare activity of the townships and incorporated townships. In other words, the state does not deny philanthropic citizens the right to exercise their altruism collectively. But it does insist that this private beneficence be correlated with the state program. And it further insists that the tax-supported programs must not be carried on as if they existed in a vacuum. The obligation to understand, to consult, to cooperate, is imposed by law.

England likewise offers a precedent for the suggestion that the state should assume the initiative in creating local welfare councils for purposes of consultation and cooperation. The outstanding feature of the Majority Report of the Royal Commission of 1909 was the recommendation that there should be created in all poor law areas a statutory organization of voluntary agencies. While the majority group thought of the resulting super-agency as a functional rather than a planning body, the evil of uncoordinated activity was certainly one of the factors they hoped to overcome.

The minority group of 1909, through the fluent pen of Beatrice Webb, made known a plan for England that more nearly approaches the concept of a statutory council. And her plan was in part actually adopted through the Local Government Act of 1929.

In brief, the plan provides for public assistance committees in each county with certain ex-officio members and with a minority group of local citizens appointed in much the same way that we select advisory committees in this country. This committee has been given broad powers of a supervisory character that were formerly scattered about among the local public health authorities, poor law authorities, education authorities, and similar groups.

I do not mean to imply that we ought to set forth tomorrow and strive to obtain some sort of statutory council in which all

agencies, public and private, would be compelled to participate. I doubt if our social fabric in this country is as yet sufficiently integrated to justify machinery of the type they are trying to operate either in England or Germany. I have for some time believed that social workers who are really worthy of their salt are in reality educators, perhaps in a much more vital sense than those who hold teaching positions. There is an immense task of education imposed upon the social workers of our immediate period in a country which, even in its social services, has traditionally given precedence to the individualized rather than the joint approach. But if we must be content for the present to be salesmen and educators, we must also keep one eye directed toward a day when the council will actually be an instrumentality of first importance in the community. Then, perhaps, we shall be able to claim that we really occupy the conning tower to which Mr. Chase referred. Personally, I am enough of an optimist to believe that facts, plus good sense and sound professional education, plus the Council or some similar body through which joint deliberations may be expressed, will ultimately gain for us a position of prime significance in our communities.

THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF STATE WELFARE WORK—IN FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR LOCAL WELFARE SERVICES

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IT IS incredible that any good can come out of these terrible days through which we are living. They are devastating beyond belief. To social workers who have striven to establish standards and who, bit by bit, were achieving them the tragedy of their loss has been hard to bear. Yet, if we can but be frank enough to acknowledge our past weaknesses and out of the ruins build on a firmer foundation, we may still accept the values to be derived from this experience.

In the past the isolation of the worker in the field of private and public welfare work was practically complete. I shall not go back over the historical cycle extending from Elizabethan England, with its poor law, down to our own times when Mary Richmond pictured public relief as the extreme periphery of our structure of social welfare. But from this point on as the years have passed, the outer circle has dwindled and dwindled, until now we have but to reach out in any direction and immediately we touch upon public relief. Public relief was the stepchild of the welfare family; but today it has become the rich relation—the one we look to when all the rest of us are down and out and most in need of assistance. Again to refer to the question of isolation. The self-sufficient attitude of a church group, of a local unit, or even of a community believing that it is able to take care of itself, is *passé*. The very extent of our need today calls for vast planning, for extended cooperation, and can neither be met by the few nor dealt with on the basis of loyal affiliations.

Yet, when we approach the question of public relief, which now is of such interest, we are confronted with less knowledge as

to its extent and its practice than one would expect. To be sure, there are many reports—many people have written about a particular phase or a particular district; yet nowhere can one find complete figures. The interpretation as to where public relief begins and ends varies and is most subtle in its implications. Over and over again the same figure is presented to us—70 per cent of the moneys used for relief work in the United States come from public sources. When we come to analyze these figures, we find ourselves floundering in a confusion of conflicting statements. Though the figures are uncertain, we do know that many of us within the last year or two reluctantly accepted the existing reality of public relief appropriations. Probably each one of us in our particular field has at some time or other accepted some supplemental public funds, whether it be the municipal per diem rate to a local hospital, or a county order for the care of a delinquent or dependent child, an appropriation to an institution, or even a state payment, as in Pennsylvania, for hospital care. We thereby have accepted the fact that the governing unit owes something for the care of indigent individuals.

“Public health” and “public education” are entirely acceptable and have long been partially financed by public funds. This procedure is no longer questioned, nor is it scorned. Public welfare, just coming into this class, still looks askance at these practices. In a recent article Charles Merz presents a picture of governmental expenses under which he classifies state and local expenditures. In both of these groups, education heads the list, receiving between 25 and 30 per cent of their total annual budgets. In Pennsylvania we get a similar picture, although education receives even a greater percentage. Close to 50 per cent of the state budget is used for education—25 per cent for welfare work either for administration or custodial care. When we accept these figures and see how general they are, the next step, that of the acceptance of public relief for welfare, should not seem so unreasonable. I should also like to dispel a ridiculous notion frequently cited. The question is asked: Is it not unfair

that a state, that the government, should compel large districts, already overburdened, to extend moneys raised by them to parts of the state or parts of the country less able to help themselves? What nonsense this is! "Aid," the very word itself, implies the sharing by one who has with one who has not. In this case it is the means of livelihood.

Much has been published concerning the relative use of public funds as compared to private funds for welfare purposes. I shall, therefore, not repeat these figures. But upon the question of state grants to local districts, I find it more difficult to procure accurate and helpful data.

Let us first consider how such grants are distributed and the classes into which they fall. I should say there were three classes: direct grants to individuals; grants for custodial care; and grants to be matched by local districts. In the first group, that of direct grants, we find pensions for the aged, for veterans, and for the handicapped. Custodial care, of course, includes the care of the dependent in the almshouses, of the mentally ill and the feeble-minded in state hospitals or state schools, of the tuberculous in our sanatoria; and in Pennsylvania included in welfare is the custodial care of the criminal and the delinquent. In the third group, those in which state funds are matched by county funds, we find our Mothers' Assistance Fund and such emergency relief measures as that provided by the State of New York during the winter of 1931-32. In the first two groups it is very difficult to analyze either the full amount or to estimate a percentage that the state gives to the local unit. The aged, the veteran, may receive his support from the state or the federal government; and while no actual cash is given to the local district for his support, that district actually benefits, since by the assumption of responsibility on the part of the larger unit the smaller one is financially relieved.

A picture of Pennsylvania expenditures showing changes from custodial to preventive care may well be indicated by the following figures:

During the biennium 1921-23, \$11,976,309.43 was appropri-

ated to the following agencies in what might be classed as custodial institutional care for an increasing number of feeble-minded, criminals ("chronics"), and so called insane.

PURPOSE OF APPROPRIATION, 1921-23

Department of Welfare:

Indigent insane.....	\$ 5,847,389.78 (not entirely custodial)
Feeble-minded and epileptic....	2,361,400.00 (not entirely custodial)
Homes—state-owned.....	240,000.00 (not entirely custodial)
Homes—state-aided.....	772,200.00 (not entirely custodial)
Penal institutions.....	2,755,319.65 (not entirely custodial)
Total.....	\$11,976,309.43

Under the heading of what might be considered preventive work, the following appropriations were made for the biennium 1921-23:

PURPOSE OF APPROPRIATION, 1921-23

Department of Welfare:

Mother's Assistance Fund.....	\$1,000,000.00
Mental clinics.....	
Orthopaedic unit.....	
Council for the blind.....	
Child placing agencies.....	72,000.00

Department of Health:

Nursing service (tuberculosis dispensary, etc.).....	442,489.00
Orthopedic.....	

Education:

Blind and deaf.....	1,037,750.00
Veterans aid to families.....	started June 1, 1929

Total.....	\$2,552,239.00
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So called asylum care for insane in 1921-23 has been changed to hospital care and treatment with some added restorative work in mental hospitals and penal institutions, and the amounts appropriated for penal and correctional institutions for the biennium 1931-33 could not be contrasted with the amounts appropriated for custodial care for some of the same institutions.

The preceding figures on preventive care immediately estab-

lish the use of state funds applied to service for individuals remaining in their own districts, as I have previously indicated. Now let me give you 1931-33 figures for this same group:

PURPOSE OF APPROPRIATION, 1931-33

Department of Welfare:

Mother's Assistance Fund.....	\$4,115,938.00
Mental clinics.....	50,000.00
Orthopedic unit.....	60,000.00
Council for the blind.....	70,000.00
Child placing agencies.....	125,448.00

Department of Health:

Nursing service (tuberculosis dispensary, etc.).....	572,190.00
Orthopedic—crippled children's work.....	292,000.00

Education:

Blind and deaf (not 100 per cent preventive).....	1,595,000.00
Veterans aid to families.....	232,000.00

Total..... \$7,112,576.00

This is an increase of \$4,560,337, or 178.7 per cent, over the appropriations in 1921-23 for preventive work.

You will note that the 1931-33 figures add "Veterans aid to families," thus opening the door to a service most seriously to be questioned.

Walter Lippmann, discussing such relief needs in England, says:

The great difference between the two countries in regard to payments to individuals is that in Britain the cost of the veterans has declined while the cost of social services to the whole population has increased, whereas, in the United States the whole increase has gone to the veterans. In other words in Britain the veterans are being re-absorbed into the civilian population whereas in the United States they are increasingly a specially favored class apart.

Therefore, it is on this huge expenditure that this country needs to focus its attention, for it is by all odds the most important element in the problem. The cost of the national debt is arrested and will decline with a return to normal times. The cost of the national defense is almost arrested. The expansion of the social services and of public works and of subsidies presents questions of national policy about which a democracy is entitled to make its decisions. But this mounting burden of expenditures to a special privileged class of voters is a menace not only to the budget but to popular government itself.

In addition to the striking increase of 178.7 per cent previously cited in the appropriations for preventive work, many of the agencies and institutions listed in the next table are now giving necessary treatment in order that dependents may be rehabilitated, obviating prolonged custodial care.

The following table will compare appropriations for the biennium 1921-23 with the appropriations of the biennium 1931-33, as made to the Department of Welfare:

PURPOSE OF APPROPRIATION	AMOUNT OF APPROPRIATION	
	1921-23	1931-33
Administration.....	\$ 185,000.00	\$ 660,000.00
Mothers' Assistance Fund.....	1,000,000.00	4,115,938.00
Penal and correctional institutions—state-owned.....	2,188,251.65	6,703,000.00
Penal and correctional institutions—deficiency.....	80,490.00	.....
Penal and correctional institutions—state-aided.....	486,578.00	676,502.50
Maintenance, care, and treatment of the indigent insane.....	4,700,000.00	2,647,622.00
Maintenance, care, and treatment of the indigent insane—deficiency.....	175,000.00	.....
Hospitals for insane—state-owned.....	902,389.78	8,871,500.00
Hospitals for insane—state-owned (deficiency).....	70,000.00	.....
Hospitals for insane—state-aided.....	.....	346,500.00
Institutions for feeble-minded and epileptics—state-owned.....	1,941,500.00	3,510,000.00
Institutions for feeble-minded and epileptics—state-aided.....	420,000.00	420,000.00
Medical and surgical hospitals—state-owned.....	1,144,500.00	2,672,500.00
Medical and surgical hospitals—state-owned—deficiency.....	269,898.85	.....
Medical and surgical hospitals—state-aided.....	6,280,300.00	7,151,500.00
Homes—state-aided.....	1,114,800.00	634,700.00
Homes—state-owned.....	240,000.00	.....
Development of prison industries.....	100,000.00	.....
Departmental administrative boards.....	.....	120,000.00
Orthopedic unit.....	.....	60,000.00
Total.....	\$21,298,708.28	\$38,589,762.50

NOTE.—In the biennium 1931-33, the word "mental" replaces "insane" as used in the biennium 1921-23.

Total budgets for these three departments cited for ten years follow:

DEPARTMENT	AMOUNT OF APPROPRIATION		INCREASE IN AMOUNT	INCREASE IN PERCENTAGE
	1921-23	1931-33		
Health.....	\$ 5,300,742.00	\$ 4,198,800.00	\$ 1,101,942.00*	20.8*
Education.....	45,349,916.07	91,659,975.00	46,310,058.93	102.1
Welfare.....	21,298,708.28	38,389,762.50	17,091,054.22	80.2
Total.....	\$71,949,366.35	\$134,248,537.50	\$62,299,171.15	Av. = 86.6

* Decrease.

The Family Welfare Association of America this month publishes probably the very latest report on governmental relief. From it one can determine the number of states giving mothers' aid, old age and veterans' relief, etc.; but when it comes to working this out on the basis of the ratio of state and local percentages, an analysis becomes more difficult. Though from all I can gather the soundest plan for state to local aid is the "matching" plan such as is employed by the Mothers' Assistance Fund grants in Pennsylvania and the one established by the New York unemployment relief set-up during the past winter, or as was proposed in the Costigan-La Follette bill.

With regard to the "matching" plan employed by the Mothers' Assistance Fund, the Pennsylvania law leaves the question of organization optional with the counties, which may appropriate for the fund through their county commissioners at their discretion. The state appropriation is divided among the counties on the basis of need and the counties must duplicate in full the amount granted by the state.

On November 9, 1931, Governor Pinchot called a special session of the legislature for unemployment relief. The Talbot bill was passed and forwarded to the governor, who, on December 28, 1931, permitted it to become a law without his signature. (During a session, a bill presented for the governor's signature which remains unsigned after ten days automatically becomes a law.) Both the governor and the attorney general indicated

that they considered the bill to be unconstitutional. It provided for \$10,000,000 for poor relief (food, shelter, clothing, and fuel), \$1,000,000 to be issued in December, \$2,000,000 in January, February, March, and April and \$1,000,000 again in May. This was to be distributed on the basis of unemployment figures prepared by the Department of Labor and Industry, each county receiving that part of the total which its unemployment rate bore to the figures of the entire state.

Upon request of Dauphin County to issue its share, and the refusal of the Department of Welfare, the auditor general, and the state treasurer to pay out these moneys, since the attorney general had decided that the act was unconstitutional, the case was heard before the Dauphin County Court and declared constitutional, although it was shown that to issue \$10,000,000 would create a state debt, and Pennsylvania is permitted to go into debt up to \$1,000,000 only. The Supreme Court again declared the bill constitutional, waiving objection to the limitations of Article III, Section 18, of the Pennsylvania constitution, which provides that "no appropriations, except for pensions or gratuities for military services, shall be made for charitable, educational or benevolent purposes, to any person or community . . ." but accepting the fact of the limitations of Pennsylvania's indebtedness. This limitation was met by indicating,

If other appropriations are compelled to suffer because of this preference, the complete answer is that it is the legislative will, and as the sovereign people have thus spoken through their designated agent, no one can complain. If appropriations for other charities and hospitals, equally as meritorious and perhaps some more deserving, are made to suffer because of insufficient revenue, the fault lies with the legislature in not providing means when it had the opportunity. If there are ample funds on hand, of course, or if funds later become available, no difficulty will be experienced.

On April 7, 1932, the bill was declared constitutional by a four to three vote of the Supreme Court. The bill, as indicated, provides for "an appropriation under the police power and as a governmental duty to the Department of Welfare for state aid to political subdivisions charged by law with the care of the

poor, and providing for the allocation and use of the moneys so appropriated." No money is allocated for administration. The Welfare Department merely prepares the requisitions for the auditor general and the state treasurer. The state's only check on the use of the money is the auditor's routine audit.

Much confusion has arisen. Pennsylvania's 67 counties have 425 Poor Boards. Some counties are on the county-wide Poor Board basis; some on the borough and township Poor Board basis. This has called for several methods of distribution by Poor Boards and by county commissioners. Much delay has been caused by the fact that the Department of Labor and Industry figures are prepared on the basis of the county. Figures of unemployment for boroughs and townships have not been accurately compiled, which has caused much delay in districts where the county treasurer is uncertain as to how to allocate to boroughs and townships. The bill did not indicate that Talbot funds were for unemployment relief but merely indicated that they were for poor relief, so one can scarcely compute the actual unemployment relief burden of these districts.

Orders vary from \$1.50 to \$7.00 a week for families of five; but the majority of the districts report a relief order, for food only, of below \$5.00 a week for families regardless of size. While most Pennsylvania counties were undoubtedly greatly in need of these funds, there is no doubt in my mind that state appropriations to local units should not be so loosely issued or so inadequately supervised. Indeed, our Pennsylvania appraisal of poor board administration during a period of unemployment relief indicates most emphatically the need for developing strong, reliable, organized county welfare units.

All of which leads us to the next question as to whether such state grants to local districts shut off the flow of local funds instead of stimulating them. Again to cite the Pennsylvania situation. In a state so seriously handicapped by an archaic constitution which prohibits a graded income tax and limits our borrowing capacity, we are also confronted by local tax limitations. We cannot, for the time being, raise sufficient money

from either the county or state alone. We find ourselves in Pennsylvania, therefore, confronted with but few revenue sources. In times like these, when the local source of taxation is based entirely on the real estate tax, we face before long the drying up of our source of income, since real estate returns reflect all too quickly the status of local business and general prosperity.

In lack of prosperity many a community finds it impossible to finance itself for the remainder of the year, since returns from the property tax have fallen off so greatly. Social workers, therefore, knowing the need for public funds and accepting the limitations of such returns, must now turn their attention to devising and suggesting other sources of income and taxation to be applied for relief work. There is in Pennsylvania a local personal property tax honored principally in the breach. Activity in collecting this has been at a standstill; and it is felt by some that were the State Revenue Department, with its excellent revenue collecting organization, to turn its efforts to the collection of these taxes, undoubtedly \$25,000,000 would be forthcoming. New York has already determined that state cooperation is required for the efficient collecting of local funds. To be sure, this belongs to the local units; but it is presumed that it would be less expensive for the state to offer its collection services than to accept the present bankruptcy of our counties.

A recent report of the New York State Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws indicates a desire to develop local resources. New York has given serious thought to transforming not only its state revenue system from one which depended primarily on property taxes to one which depended exclusively on special taxes. It has, in addition, definitely assisted the local government in obtaining income from sources other than the general property tax.

Furthermore, the New York report suggests the possibility of the assumption by the state of the entire support of poor relief. I should like to add that many of us in Pennsylvania are seriously discussing the advisability of complete state support

for the care of the mentally sick. Already a number of states have done so, and it seems most likely that this movement is bound to spread.

Not only do we find ourselves face to face with the needs of individuals—with the plight of community chests—but also are we confronted by questions about the tax income of municipalities, counties, and the state. In devising plans for administration of state and county relief we must at one and the same time give serious thought to measures for more efficient collection of taxes and for devising ways and means of taxation.

THE NEED OF TRAINED PERSONNEL IN PUBLIC SERVICE

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WORKING TOWARD ONE PROFESSIONAL STAND- ARD—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

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IT SEEMS pointless to discuss professional standards in a time like this, when social work is necessarily in such a state of flux, in terms other than of the probable effect of the present situation upon them.

If social workers are sufficiently flexible and see their opportunity, they will also be in the forefront when it comes to the organization, development of standards, and direction of public relief. It is a time when governing officials, having been made aware of their responsibility for the mitigation of suffering, are unsure and perplexed. It is a time when many such officials are prepared, as never before, to listen to the man who knows, who speaks with the authority of experience, and who can show the way. In other words, it is a time of rare opportunity for social workers who will assert themselves and seize their chance to utilize their professional equipment in behalf of the millions of human beings who must be aided. These things have been proved at least by the experience of the past year in New York State. Because I believe that experience is fraught with much significance for the development of professional standards in public social work, and because I have some acquaintance with it, I should like briefly to refer to some pertinent aspects of it.

In the early autumn of 1931, the legislature of New York State enacted the Wicks Law, which established the State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, and appropriated

\$20,000,000 for state aid to the cities and counties for both home relief and work relief up to June 1, 1932. It was provided that the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration should consist of three citizens appointed by the governor, serving independently of any other state department, but with authority to call other state departments for assistance. To this Administration the governor appointed originally Mr. Jesse Isidor Straus, president of R. H. Macy and Company in New York City, as chairman, Mr. Philip G. Wickser, leading attorney of Buffalo, and Mr. John Sullivan, president of the New York State Federation of Labor. It is interesting to note that because the professional social workers of the state had already exercised notable leadership in dealing with questions of public relief, their counsel was immediately sought by these three citizens. It was entirely on the advice of this professional group that a highly qualified social worker was selected as executive director of the Administration in the person of Mr. Harry L. Hopkins. In the selection of the other personnel comprising Mr. Hopkins' staff, professional social work training and experience was established without question as the criterion for appointment. Indeed, the Joint Vocational Service on request assigned a full-time member of its staff to the State Administration for the purpose of recruiting professional social workers for this task. Inasmuch as the Administration had a limited budget for the salaries of its personnel it sought the cooperation of a number of the leading social agencies in New York City and throughout New York State in lending without expense to the Administration the services of some of its staff members. The agencies, quick to see the opportunity of bringing social work standards into this public service, loaned some of their ablest and most experienced members to the Administration for this purpose. Aside from the small group of workers retained at headquarters for supervisory work, some twenty trained social workers were assigned as the field representatives of the Administration to the various cities and counties of the state.

The drafting of the rules and regulations under which the

Administration worked was left to these professional social workers, with the result that even under the stress of emergency conditions, the rules and regulations required of all localities, as a condition of receiving state aid, set a standard as to type of investigation, clearance with a central index, record-keeping, adequate relief on a family budget basis, etc., that could be regarded as a quite acceptable social work standard.

The Administration was given authority under the law to supplement the existing staffs of local agencies with workers whose salaries were paid in part or whole by the state. In all such instances the Administration itself, through its professionally qualified field worker, set a high personnel standard, approving only workers with a good background of training and experience. In spite of the heavy demands for social workers in these times, it was possible to find qualified persons to fill these positions, and they have accredited themselves very well indeed.

Thus, influencing the organization of the State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration along approved social work lines has been of incalculable value from the standpoint of progress in the development of professional standards in public social work in New York State. The state had been led in 1929 to repeal its antiquated poor law with its negative provisions that merely aimed to prevent abuses of relief-giving, and enacted in its place the modern Public Welfare Law, which gave to public welfare officials ample authority to do as intelligent, adequate, and constructive relief and case work as the best social agency. The change of the law, however, could not change overnight personnel and old traditions. Really putting into effect the objectives of the modern Public Welfare Law was recognized to be an educational task which would extend over many years. The state's emergency machinery, as set up under social work auspices, however, has had the effect of greatly speeding up this project and has, by means of the effective demonstration of real social work, made more progress of permanent value in the development of local public welfare programs than could have been accomplished in many years of effort under normal conditions.

One of the field agents made a visit to a city in her territory about ten days after a well trained case worker had been added by the State Administration to the local welfare staff of two political appointees lacking in special qualifications for the work. Entering the office she encountered one of these local officials sitting despondently at his desk. When asked by the field representative what the matter was, he replied: "Oh, I feel like giving up this welfare job. I used to think that I knew how to investigate, but when I go around with that girl you brought in here I realize I know nothing about it at all. She can find out more things about a family in a few minutes than I ever thought of asking them. She knows how to do this kind of work; she is trained, and I am not."

This merging of trained and untrained social workers, working side by side in the staffs of the same public welfare departments, has not had the effect of causing the trained worker to lose her identity or to become confused with the untrained worker, but has rather had the contrary effect of making the distinction between the two types of workers and the contribution they can make so painfully clear that it has been a most valuable object lesson to public authorities and to the general public.

What has happened in the following cities is quite typical of what has happened in many other cities and counties. In one city before November, 1931, home relief was limited to a \$1.50 weekly food order and a little fuel. The commissioner of charities had no assistants. Relief was granted or refused after an office interview. No records were kept other than the name on the carbon of the relief order. Bills were paid without any audit. Since November, relief, either in the form of relief orders or wages for work, has been granted after investigation, the amount being determined by a comparison of the necessary minimum expenses of the family and their income, if any. Relief has been fairly adequate, given because of demonstrated need and not for political reasons. Simple, systematic records are kept. Bills are audited and paid weekly. Although, owing to the city's

bankruptcy, a large part of the relief has come from state funds, the city has recognized its relief responsibility and has increased its relief appropriations for 1932 from \$25,000 to \$89,000. The work of the trained social worker, paid by the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, and of the field representative, has convinced the city of the necessity of better administration of home relief and the 1932 budget provides a salary for a trained investigator. For the first time, citizen interest in public administration of relief has been aroused. Private funds for work relief were raised in December to supplement city funds, and another effort will be made in the spring of 1932 to secure private relief funds. The most significant developments have been the insistence on the complete separation of politics from relief and the growing realization on the part of the city officials of the necessity and value of trained service and of citizen interest.

In another city, before November, 1931, the department of charities was in complete confusion. The commissioner had been sentenced to a state's prison for misappropriation of funds, and there were not records except a chaotic mass of relief orders. Relief had been given without investigation, decision being made apparently on the whim of the commissioner. After November, 1931, a marked change took place, owing to the city's desire to receive reimbursement through the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration. Adequate office space was provided. The city was persuaded to appoint a trained social worker as assistant to the new commissioner of public welfare, one-half of the salary to be paid by the city and one-half by the Administration. White collar workers to make investigations and do clerical work have been provided by the Emergency Work Bureau. Prior to November, orders for selected foods were granted in an amount not exceeding \$2.50 per week. Since November, relief has been given on a budget basis. The applicants have been allowed to select their own food. Rent, light, clothing, etc., is given more often. While relief is not entirely adequate, it is improving steadily. There is a noticeable change in

attitude of the recipients of relief, owing to the more courteous treatment which they receive. Most striking of all is the change in attitude of the mayor and the city council toward the department of public welfare. They now seem willing to discuss welfare with the field representatives from the standpoint of better service to the needy instead of from the standpoint of how small a grocery order they can get away with.

The following may be cited as outstanding achievements each of which are found in at least one and usually in most of the city or county units visited for the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration by the State Charities Aid Association staff:

Administration.—Public outdoor relief, for the first time, is recognized as an important branch of local government; a better class of commissioners of public welfare is being appointed; modern social service methods have been introduced by social case workers; personal contact between the county commissioner of public welfare and the town welfare officers has been established, with some degree of control by the county commissioner over town home relief administration; systematic records are being kept; the selection of dealers upon whom food orders are drawn has been improved; the regular monthly rendering of bills by local dealers, in form to permit of businesslike checking and of reliable audit, has been introduced; central indexes (confidential exchanges) have been established and are in use; co-operative relations with other local agencies have been developed.

Relief.—A more sympathetic reception of applicants and provisions for private interviews now prevail; individual consideration of applicants for home relief has been introduced; long lines and waiting crowds of applicants to a considerable extent have been done away with; the nature of present needs is being ascertained and considered, and an endeavor is being made to grant relief of such kind and in such amounts as will approximately meet the needs, the issuing of small uniform orders having been abandoned largely; relief is now much more adequate and tends to include rent, light, heat, milk, and medical care, when neces-

sary, in addition to food; in some places designation of the foods allowed on home relief orders is now based on scientifically prepared dietary lists.

Perhaps of the greatest significance is the conclusion reached by the members of the Administration themselves, all laymen, after they had, so to speak, turned social workers loose on the job. This is what they said in an official report to the governor and to the legislature:

The Administration has come to appreciate how important training and experience are in the field of social work. Those in distress are naturally sensitive and the approach by untrained or unsympathetic workers, or the promiscuous mingling with long lines of applicants, tend to aggravate that distress. The Administration desires to record the tactful and efficient methods of trained social workers and to express the hope that most, if not all, of the communities with which it has been in contact are of a similar mind, and will wish in the future to include among their executives trained personnel to handle social problems.

So highly did the Administration come to regard social work and social workers as a result of their practical experience with them in a severe emergency situation which put social work to a real test that it was on the recommendation of the chairman of the Administration that Harry L. Hopkins was appointed to the Administration to succeed Mr. Straus, when the latter was compelled to resign, and shortly thereafter to become its chairman. Naturally, the new chairman is continuing the organization of the Administration under social work auspices with Walter W. Pettit, of the New York School of Social Work, as his successor in the position of executive director. The significance of this emergency demonstration in New York State extends beyond the field of public relief, and I believe extends beyond the confines of New York State.

Even before the emergency, the development of social work under public auspices was far outstripping in extent social work under private auspices. Mr. L. A. Halbert, about a year ago, estimated that there were 20,000 persons professionally employed (but most of them not professionally trained) in public social work in the United States: 4,000 probation officers,

1,000 workers in the field of mothers' allowances, 4,000 in public relief, 3,000 full-time recreation leaders, and 8,000 in miscellaneous public fields such as almshouses, prisons, children's homes, mental hygiene institutions, medical social workers, and visiting teachers. These figures do not take into account the rapid development of state programs for old age relief, and the large number of workers who have fairly recently been employed in that field. Also, before the emergency it was estimated that 80 per cent of public outdoor relief was under public auspices, 90 per cent of correctional work, and 84 per cent of playground work. The outcome of the emergency, and of the unprecedentedly large programs of public relief that are being carried out under public auspices as a result of it, will undoubtedly be an even further development of public social work, so that, statistically, social work under private auspices will be but a small part of the total.

I know of no profession in which professional standards sufficiently high to insure adequate preparation for the task to be done are more important than in the field of social work, which deals more vitally than any other profession with the happiness and well-being of people. Professional standards presumably grow out of the best available scientific knowledge and practical experience as to what kind of personnel training and what kind of procedures may be most effective in achieving the objectives of this art of promoting individual and social welfare. Therefore, the standards which we hold up as a goal to be generally attained by all those who practice this profession, cannot, to my mind, be compromised. Professional qualification must have a real meaning, even though the majority practicing the profession at the moment are not able to qualify. On the other hand, those of us who are concerned with these high standards make a great mistake if we constitute a complacent inner circle. We must recognize that these high standards are worth something only in so far as we endeavor to achieve them for the profession as a whole.

Our standards are rather futile if they continue to be repre-

sented only in a relatively small group of agencies, affecting only a small fraction of all the people with whom social work deals. If our standards represent a minimum, to fall below which means an uncertain kind of tinkering with human beings that may, more often than not, be harmful rather than beneficial to the individual and to society, then we must not be content until all those engaged in the practice of social work come up to that standard.

As between public and private agencies, it is inconceivable that we shall be content to accept two sets of standards. Although standards will undoubtedly change and develop in the light of new knowledge and experience, and although individual opinions may somewhat differ, it is perhaps truer of social work than of any other practice that there can be only one standard, namely, what is for the best interests of the individual and the group. The initiative in developing one professional standard of social work, public and private, must come from the professionally conscious group of social workers, not all of whom are in the private field. This group of workers is largely represented in the American Association of Social Workers. That is the one organization which has attempted to establish professional requirements, and it has played a most important rôle in this field.

The professionally conscious social workers cannot entirely blame others for the lack of a more general acceptance and application of social work standards. It has been difficult to define our professional standards in other than very general terms that have required a long process of interpretation in the light of a large number of variables. For example, eligibility for membership in the American Association of Social Workers has not, up to now, been a clear cut, objective thing, so that one could say without hesitation to a given person, you do or do not come up to these requirements. On the whole, it has required an average of a year or more for an application to go through the membership process of the Association before a final decision could be reached as to the applicant's eligibility; and even then

there have been frequent appeals, reviews, and further discussion.

This is not criticism. It has probably been inevitable in the development of our professional standards. But a standard, to be really effective as something for people to measure up to, must be objective, specific, and readily understandable if it is to achieve its purpose—something like a yardstick. The *Standard Dictionary*, for example, defines a standard as, "any measure of extent, quantity, quality, or value established by law, or by general usage and consent." Social work standards aim to represent measures primarily of quality and value; but until they are more objectively defined, it will be difficult to get them established either by law or by general usage and consent. In other words, the ideal would be to have a standard of professional qualification in social work which we could shout from the housetops; a standard which would enable us to say, if you do this and that by way of training, and if you have such and such qualifications, then you can become a professional social worker, otherwise not.

To illustrate: A member of the legislature of one of the far western states was prepared to suggest incorporating into a statute governing the employment of trained social workers in the counties and in the state department of social welfare a provision that only persons eligible to membership in the American Association of Social Workers should be employed. This was a happy thought, and he wrote to the office of the Association for a copy of the membership standards. To this Mr. West was compelled to reply, under date of January 23, 1929:

The only difficulty with the recommendation which is made as I see it is the fact that we have never been able to devise any membership requirements which would not need to go through a long process of interpretation. In a large percentage of our applications we are able to specify certain educational or experience qualifications, but it taxes all the machinery both in local chapters and in the National Membership Committee to define "an agency of recognized standing," or how to accredit the kind of college or school of social work in which the applicant may have been prepared.

The American Association of Social Workers has recognized this need in the adoption of its new membership requirements

which for junior membership have already gone into effect, and which for senior membership will go into effect July 1, 1933. This is the first step, and certainly a step in the right direction, to state our standards in objective terms. They set up a minimum educational background of at least two years of college work, and as professional preparation, indicate so many hours of social and biological science, so many hours of approved technical social work courses, so many hours of supervised field work, and so much time spent in service of an agency of recognized standing. These new requirements also more clearly approach a common basic training for all fields of social work, which seems to be a further objective before we shall attain clear cut professional standards.

These standards still leave certain matters open to interpretation, such as what constitutes an approved technical social work course, and the limitation of social work practice to such registered social workers, and what is an agency of recognized standard? The National Membership Committee has, however, appointed two subcommittees dealing with each of these problems, in the hope that it may be possible to work out definite yardsticks there.

The establishment of some kind of standard to be tested through an examination, or otherwise, for the registration of social workers, has been proposed; and such legislation has even been introduced in one or two states. Such registration, of course, quite generally prevails now in regard to physicians, nurses, and a large number of other professions. Registration is, undoubtedly, the ultimate goal for professional social workers. While I recognize that registration standards may be raised from time to time, and that the original standard does not need to be the final one, nevertheless I feel that our profession is not as yet sufficiently defined as to the fields it includes or excludes, and has not experimented sufficiently with the kinds and amounts of training and experience that properly qualify a person to practice social work, to make registration of all social workers a desirable thing at this time. However, I do believe it desirable to establish in each state minimum educational and

training standards as a basis of certification of social workers for public positions. A classification of various social work positions specifying minimum requirements for various kinds of work, and based on job analyses of similar positions in successful agencies, is also highly desirable. In other words, until we reach the point where the highest standard which professional social workers agree upon as a minimum for satisfactory professional attainment can be set as a common professional standard for all fields of social work, we should be interested in establishing, especially for public social work positions, various successively higher levels from time to time until the really professional standard is reached.

Public social work has become so much the larger part of social work that it must inevitably be our primary professional concern. Social work cannot develop into a profession of great significance in our national life until our professional standards embrace the public field. This does not mean a leveling down of standards, but a constant, patient process of leveling up until one professional standard on a common high level is attained for both public and private social work. The emergency, in my opinion, although in some respects a menace to professional standards, is even more an unparalleled opportunity to prove the case for social work before an audience of public officials and of the general public, who are now prepared to give us a degree of respectful attention that has never been accorded before. Even under emergency conditions that do not permit 100 per cent case work, social workers can show what professional training means, as contrasted with the lack of it in the art of helping people out of trouble.

This is a time when we, as social workers, will miss the greatest chance that has ever been placed before us for obtaining general recognition of the value of professional standards unless we go forth to meet the challenge of our public responsibilities.

THE COUNTY AS A PUBLIC WELFARE UNIT

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WHAT IS HAPPENING IN COUNTY ORGANIZATION

Mary Ruth Colby, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington

WE HAVE quite generally accepted the county as a unit for education and for health, but the acceptance of the county as a unit for social service has come more slowly. Each year, however, sees additional states joining the ranks of those already organized on a county basis.

When we talk of the organization of county welfare agencies, what do we mean? In the Children's Bureau we have attempted to define the type of organization which might rightly be termed a "county welfare agency" and have arrived at the following, which we admit may need alteration as time goes on:

First, a county welfare agency is an agency which coordinates two or more services on a county-wide basis for persons living within the county. This would mean that mother's aid boards, such as those of Pennsylvania and New York, would not constitute a county welfare agency, for their work is limited to a single function—the administration of mother's aid. Likewise, those states in which county children's homes have been set up do not have county welfare agencies, for in these the service is limited to institutional care for children, or perhaps we should more rightly say "foster care" for children, because in some of these states it has been made possible to give care in either an institution or a foster home.

Second, a county welfare agency is controlled by a local board which may be administrative or advisory or has an executive officer who is under the general supervision of a state agency. All but two of the states (Missouri and New York) with a legis-

lative plan for county welfare agencies have provided for a local board. This board may be appointed according to one of three plans: by a state agency, by one or more local agencies, or by state and local agencies jointly. In three states all appointive members are named by the state agency. In Minnesota this means the majority of the board (three out of five or five out of seven). In North Carolina it means the whole board. In South Dakota it means the minority (two out of five). Three other states—Alabama, Nebraska, and Texas—leave the appointment to a local agency. In Alabama the judge of the juvenile court makes the appointments; in Nebraska the county commissioners acting with the judge of the juvenile court make them; and in Texas the county commissioners make them.

Four states—Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin—appoint their county boards through joint action of state and local agencies. Both Virginia and West Virginia provide for appointments by a local court from a list of eligibles submitted by the state department. Wisconsin has two members appointed by the state department and one appointed by the juvenile court judge; these, together with the chairman of the board of county commissioners (who is designated as the fourth member) elect the fifth member at their first meeting in the calendar year. Kentucky has a rather cumbersome system whereby the county judge and the county superintendent of schools jointly submit to the state children's bureau a list of nine names—or of fifteen names if the county be one containing a city of the first or second class. From this list the state children's bureau selects three or five persons whose appointment is recommended to the local judge and the superintendent of schools. These two then make the formal appointment.

Each plan has its advantages and disadvantages. Alabama officials are convinced that local appointment is to be preferred, for then the county feels that the board belongs to it. They feel, too, that the board through its local appointment has a greater sense of responsibility to the county which has selected it to serve. States with appointment by a state authority feel

that this method minimizes the possibility of local prejudices which might influence a local appointing agent.

The plan of appointment, however, is not so important as the method used in selecting the personnel of the board. To be most efficient, a board must be selected without reference to politics and only after the local situation has been carefully studied, so that representative persons from various sections of the county can be searched out who will be alive to the particular needs of the county which they represent.

The size of these boards varies from three in North Carolina and Kentucky (except that Kentucky counties with a city of the first or second class have five members) to a possible twelve in West Virginia. At a conference of state representatives called by the Child Welfare League of America in 1928 it was decided that the preferable number for a county board was five members. With a board of this size, representation from the different sections of the county can be secured; yet the board is small enough to make unanimity of action more possible. The size of the board, after all, is not so important as its character. A representative group carefully chosen for its interest in the problems to be considered and its knowledge of them is essential; but whether it consist of three persons, five, seven, or more, matters little.

Third, a county welfare agency includes on its advisory or administrative board some public official or persons appointed by local or state public officials. Half of the states with legislative provision for appointive boards have provided for official representation on the board. A member from the body responsible for county expenditures is frequently included; often the county superintendent of schools and the juvenile court judges are also made members. The other half of this group of states require appointment either by a single official or by an official group. It is of real advantage to have certain carefully selected officials serve as county board members, but a provision which calls for membership of officials simply because of their official capacity is sometimes a disadvantage. A county superintendent of schools

may be most helpful; but if he has no interest in the work of the board, he prevents the appointment of an interested individual and may even be harmful as a member. Alabama officials are convinced that it is unwise to make the juvenile court judge chairman of the board automatically, and I believe they hope to change their law in this regard. Would it not be wiser to provide for two county officials on the board and then have these selected, not by reason of their office, but because of what they as individuals will bring to the board? This might mean that in one county the official members would be the superintendent of schools and the state's attorney; in another they might be the juvenile court judge and the county commissioner.

Fourth, a county welfare agency receives support from local public funds for at least part of the cost of its administration. In several states the unit of administration is a district composed of two or more counties. These would be considered county welfare agencies provided they conform to the definition in all points but area covered. The movement for county welfare agencies began in 1917, when Minnesota and North Carolina passed laws calling for county welfare agencies, the North Carolina agency being a public welfare board and the Minnesota agency a child welfare board. Although a number of states have tried to set up a county plan since that time, there were on January 1, 1932, only twelve states that had succeeded in passing legislation to this effect. Six states (Alabama, Kentucky, Minnesota, South Dakota, Wisconsin, and Texas) limited their legislation to child welfare. Six others (Missouri, Nebraska, New York, North Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia) have made their organization one for general public welfare. Five states (California, Georgia, Iowa, New Mexico, and North Dakota) have undertaken to develop county agencies without legislative authority.

Seventeen states, then (about 35 per cent of the United States), have succeeded to a greater or less degree in establishing a county agency for social service. The need for a county agency was felt much more keenly in rural districts, in which

there had been few, if any resources to care for social problems; therefore it is not strange that the pioneer work in county organization, as well as later development, has been for the most part in predominantly rural states. Only New York can be classified as an urban state, and it has many counties that are decidedly rural in character.

It is also interesting that it has been largely those states with extensive areas that have found it advantageous to decentralize their social welfare program through development of a county welfare agency. Eleven of the seventeen states with county welfare agencies are in the 50 per cent of greatest area. This does not mean that a county welfare program is advisable only in rural and extensive states; it means simply that these states have felt the greatest need for such an organization to date. I have been unable to determine exactly how many counties are organized at the present time. The number fluctuates to a certain extent, but there has been surprising stability for these difficult times through which we are living. The seventeen states with county welfare agencies have a total of 1,615 counties, and more than a third of these are organized.

Organization does not mean the same in all states. In Virginia a county is not considered organized until it has a standard organization composed of a county board of public welfare with a full-time superintendent of public welfare and a juvenile court. In Minnesota every county with a county child welfare board, and in Wisconsin every county with a county children's board is counted as organized. States having more than half their counties organized are Alabama, California, Minnesota, North Carolina, South Dakota, and New York.

We should probably all agree that, ideally, every county with a county welfare board should have the full-time services of a professional worker. However, I disagree with those persons who contend that without such a worker a board is of no value. In some states no effort has been made to keep alive county welfare boards without executives. In others, it is felt that keeping the board active makes the possibility of securing a secretary

just that much greater. In every case it is most important that there be guidance, leadership, and supervision from the state department of welfare or from some other central agency equipped with sufficient personnel to maintain close contact with the counties. It should be the responsibility of the state department to stimulate the counties to the need for organization. This may involve county surveys so as to have a factual basis for urging such action. After organization has been accomplished, then it is the task of the state department to keep the machinery oiled. County welfare boards rarely keep going entirely under their own steam, so to speak. They need the constant stimulation of the state department through visits, correspondence, and educational material. For boards that have paid professional workers the responsibility of the state department is not so great as for those that have none; but even then, the state department must work closely with the county.

One may ask what a volunteer group may safely be allowed to do. That, of course, depends largely on the group. A limited amount of case work might be expected of them, and through this they may be the means of arousing public opinion to the need for a professional worker; as the calls upon their time increase, they are in an excellent position to know this need. The board may be of great assistance in guiding the policies of the juvenile court, for its members may act as a case committee for the court. Local boards can be helpful in promoting social legislation. Even a small group, if composed of representative people, has contact with a large group in a county through membership in local organizations. Such persons have entrée to other organizations and are in an excellent position to present to these organizations the need for legislation and to urge its support. The New York State Charities Aid Association has found the county boards a great force in promoting social legislation. In Minnesota the child welfare boards likewise have been used to excellent advantage in a legislative program. I have no actual knowledge of what has been done in other states, but I feel safe

in saying that where there is a live program the county board has been a real factor in social legislation.

As the boards grow in stature, more responsibilities may be given to them; but care should be taken not to overload them so that they become discouraged and do only indifferent work. There is one actual danger in permitting board members to do case work. The good board member may get the idea that she is quite capable of serving as a paid secretary for the county because of her experience and her service as a board member. This can be avoided if the state department has set definite standards for executive secretaries, superintendents of welfare, or whatever else they may be called. If the board member meets these standards, then it may perhaps be all right to let her serve. The reason I make a reservation is that I question the advisability of having a local person serve as the county social worker. The more rural the county, the more unwise this is. A local person frequently brings with her all the prejudices of the community, and it is difficult for the community to accept her on a professional basis. In Iowa for a time local persons were not recommended as county secretaries. In Alabama not quite so strong a stand was taken, but the state department is decidedly opposed to such appointments. A new person coming into a community is far more able to study its problems objectively than is one who has been accustomed to certain problems so long that she has ceased to think of them as problems or who—worse yet—has decided that there is no use in trying to do anything about them. A state department that keeps its finger constantly on the pulse of its county agencies can often prevent the promotion of a board member to the position of county secretary if the member is not professionally equipped to accept such a position.

I should like to speak at length on the qualification for a county secretary, but time forbids. Nevertheless, I do feel that the success of a county agency is so dependent on the type of worker employed that I cannot resist a word with regard to it. In the first place, she must have had basic training in case work

technique, because her success will depend on her skill as a case worker; and yet, skill in case work is not sufficient in itself. There must go with this an understanding of the rural point of view and a fondness for rural life. She must have executive ability, maturity, and a sense of humor. Too often the rural worker, weighed down by her load, constantly offers alibis for a comparatively low standard of work. In my opinion it is far better to select a few cases for intensive work than to spread the work so thin that all is far below standard. If a choice must be made, less attention can then be given to those cases which do not seem to need intensive service. Through such selection the worker's own self-respect in regard to her ability to do first-rate case work is preserved. Furthermore, the county is shown what can be done with those cases to which sufficient attention can be given.

The number of county social service executives is steadily increasing. At the present time (1932) three states (California, Alabama, and New York) have either one or more workers in two-thirds of their counties; one state (North Carolina) has workers in one-third to two-thirds of its counties; two states (Minnesota and Iowa) have workers in one-sixth or one-third of their counties; six states (New Mexico, South Dakota, Missouri, West Virginia, Virginia, and Georgia) have workers in nearly one-sixth of their counties; in five states (Texas, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Kentucky, and Nebraska) the service of full-time paid professional workers has just been begun.

It is interesting to see the wide variety of services that county welfare agencies are authorized to give. Not even by their official titles can one be certain of the scope of service. Many so called child welfare agencies closely approach the public welfare agencies in services rendered. On the other hand, the work of the public welfare agencies may be limited by lack of staff, by extent of territory, lack of other resources, and still other situations. I have not undertaken to outline all the services undertaken by county welfare boards, but the following brief outline gives a general idea of what may be expected of county agencies.

Nine states make it the duty of county agencies to assist in the administration of public outdoor relief. In certain other states the county agency is permitted to assist in this work at the request of the administering agency. Six states have provided that the county agency give general family welfare service. Nine states have provided that the county board or its secretary may do the probation work for the juvenile court. Six states have placed the major responsibility for school attendance upon the county agency. Five states may use their county agencies to make investigations of mother's aid applications, and three states give to the county agency the administration of the mother's aid law in the county. Two states require the county agency to cooperate in the enforcement of laws relating to child labor. Six states make it possible to use the county agency for supervision of persons paroled from institutions. Two of these states limit this work to juvenile parole. Two states make the county agency responsible for promoting wholesome recreation. In all but one of the twelve legally authorized county welfare agencies, the agency is given specific responsibility for some case work services for children.

In addition to these more generally accepted services by county agencies, various others may be mentioned: Making investigations for the court regarding persons about to be committed to state institutions; cooperating with the county board of health in matters relating to the welfare of children and in carrying out a public health program; investigating applications for pensions for blind; cooperating with county hospitals, almshouses, and jails; administering county funds for the care of dependent children; investigating for the court all cases of divorce and legal separation where rights of children are involved, when so requested by the court; and investigating adoptions for the court.

Some states place squarely on the county the responsibility for carrying on the social service program within its borders, with the advice and supervision of the state. In other states, of which Minnesota is a notable example, it is the duty of the state

to take the responsibility for certain services, and the county agency works as the arm of the state in seeing that these are performed. There is nothing to prevent a Minnesota county welfare board from working on its own initiative, but its load for the state is too heavy to permit of much additional work. This is unfortunate, as it means largely a curative rather than a preventive program.

I cannot close without a word about the sharing of costs between county and state. The rapid development of paid service in Alabama can probably be explained almost entirely by the fact that counties failing to provide paid services are penalized by the loss of \$2,000 from the state school-attendance fund. It will be interesting to see whether North Carolina will have a similar increase in the number of its county secretaries under its law passed in 1931, whereby the state assumes part of the salaries and travel expense of the county superintendent of public welfare. In North Carolina the state board of equalization has adopted a schedule of salaries based on population, and the counties have been notified that these amounts will be available to them if they agree to match them. As it was not until August, 1931, that the schedule was fixed, many of the counties had already made their yearly budget, and they found it too late to take advantage of the offer. The state board of charities and public welfare hopes that in June, 1932, the beginning of the new fiscal year, a number of additional counties will join the ranks of those counties already employing county superintendents of welfare.

New Mexico has used a different plan. Here the state asked the organized counties to carry on certain services for the state, and for this service the state pays part of the annual expense. In one county the bureau of child welfare assumes the responsibility for part of the worker's salary. In another district, composed of three counties, the state provides \$600 toward financing the unit. In Minnesota the State Board of Control has for the last two bienniums recommended that the state give financial help to counties employing a county secretary. Likewise in

Illinois, the bill for county organization prepared by the committee on child-welfare legislation proposed that half the salary of the local worker be paid by the state.

In addition to the stimulus that such provision gives for the further employment of paid personnel, it enables the state to set definite standards of qualification for the workers. A state department of welfare may recommend always, but its recommendation will have much more weight if ignoring it causes loss of state funds. A plan whereby aid for service can be given on an equalization basis is the fairest to all concerned. Oftentimes the poorest county is most in need of services. If to that county the state can give an added amount, this county may have the needed service, whereas otherwise the expense of attempting it would be prohibitive.

The Committee on State and Local Organization for the Handicapped of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection recognized that the development of county welfare agencies was a sound policy. What holds true for child care is equally true of care of adults. The report of this child welfare committee contained the following statement:

The county is generally the most practicable unit for the administration of child care. The majority of problems of handicapped children require study and treatment by an agency which is close at hand. To be effective, service must be immediately available in the neighborhood of the trouble. Only through such close-at-hand service as can be given by a county agency can an early discovery of the case be assured, with home treatment whenever possible and the development of preventive measures. . . . The state is too far removed to assume case-work responsibility within the counties or directly to influence conditions which are creating dependency or contributing to physical or mental disorders.

COORDINATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF WELFARE SERVICE IN THE COUNTY

Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Director of Medicine, State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton

THOSE concerned with the health needs of our communities discovered the county as a service unit years ago and, by experimentation and extensive research and demonstration, have built up a practical workable program for the elimination of disease and the promotion of health on the basis of the county.

Only 505 counties out of 3,075 have availed themselves of the type of organization and service, in the health field, which has been demonstrated as effective. The reason for this delayed development is due in part to lack of understanding of the project, lack of available funds, local jealousies, and local politics, all of which contribute to slowing up this phase of social development.

The building up of a modern health service, slow as its progress has been, has not met the obstructions and the inertia which is encountered in any effort to modify the administrative organization—the objective, the methods—in any field of social welfare. The organized health services, even the most backward, are relatively modern, most of them having developed within the past fifty years, while thinking in this field was still fluid.

On the other hand, for centuries private charities have staked out their claims to certain fields of service which they have cultivated in accordance with their individual whims, and public welfare activities, crystallized early (even before Plymouth Rock was discovered) into forms which were adapted to the ox cart era but have now solidified into politically sacred institutions and methods entirely out of harmony with modern knowledge. Nothing short of a social earthquake can disturb these

fixed ideas in the social field, and this makes it difficult to secure coordination and development of county welfare services.

Public and private charity have gone their several ways, assuming little or no responsibility for each other's activities, save as an occasional shaft of criticism has been hurled from one side to the other. On the part of public charity there has been little or no inclination to modernize its methods to meet a changing time, while private charity has blazed the way to new and better methods. Therefore, he who attempts to coordinate and develop social work on a county basis has an extraordinarily difficult task ahead.

In addition to these fundamental facts there are other major factors which have hampered social development on a county basis. The first is geographical area. Mountains and rivers have in the past separated communities in space, in time, and in thought; but now good roads, automobiles and the telephone have obliterated time and space as far as county services are concerned, although they have not modified the thinking greatly. The second is the intrenchment of politics in the local welfare field which has obstructed the coordination and development of social work activities because of the "ulterior motive" so frequently to be found behind local public welfare administration. A third factor is the social cleavage between the local public officials and the board members and executives of private agencies. This has erected a barrier which only the most skilful social engineering can pierce or surmount.

We have, then, before us a problem in social engineering to be worked out if we are to bring together into a coordinate whole the social welfare activities on a county basis. (We assume the county [or district] as a basis, because in population and in wealth it presents the necessary prerequisites to success, leadership, personnel, and funds.)

In any engineering project there are certain fundamentals to be frankly faced and adequately dealt with. They are: first, the objective—we must be agreed upon our ultimate aim; second, the plan for the promotion of the enterprise must be worked out

in detail; third, the organization by means of which the plan is to be executed must be assembled; fourth, the financing of the project must be sound and adequate; fifth, the supervision of the work to its completion must be first class, and the interested or investing public must be kept informed as to progress.

There has never been, I venture to say, an engineering project in which every one of these factors has been perfectly met; and yet colossal projects in the engineering field have been successfully completed in the face of impossible odds. We can expect no less difficulty in connection with our social engineering; and our determination should be no less great than that which put through the Panama Canal or tunneled the Great Divide. The social earthquake has arrived in the shape of the economic depression with its overwhelming burden of relief and has shaken the foundations of public and private social work to such a degree that in most communities there is evident inclination on both sides to unite in self-protection to meet the common danger. Therefore, we may approach our undertaking of coordinating and developing social work on a county basis with more optimism than would have been the case even five years ago.

Our objective is to bring together, in a coordinated body, the civic, the relief, the case work, and the character building agencies of a county so that a more effective piece of social work may be done at a cost within the capacity of the citizens to pay, whether as taxpayers or as philanthropists. As a by-product, we also aim to insure all types of necessary social service (constructive, reconstructive, and palliative) in all parts of the county. How shall we go about it?

We must take our community as it is, just as the engineer must accept the natural obstacles in his path, and overcome them; and then we must proceed to generate that driving force which, for want of a better term, we call "community consciousness," through which alone we can accomplish our aims. There must be generated the "will" to combine and to cooperate in a common cause. This can only be brought about through the living germ of the idea, embodied in some individual or group

providing the initial impulse. Leadership must come from somewhere within the collective group of the county citizens.

After the will to cooperate on the part of a substantial proportion of the individuals and agencies has been realized, what are the next steps? I can do no better than to give you, in some detail, the experience of one county which has succeeded in coordinating and developing its welfare services, and then in less detail outline certain developments in other counties which are suggestive of good things to come.

The county under discussion has an area of 185 square miles, a population density of 1,514 per square mile, and represents industrial and agricultural interests near the eastern seaboard. It is urban, suburban, and rural in its make-up, part of its territory actually including a populous segment of a large city. It includes in its resident population a group of socially minded citizens, and a considerable sprinkling of professionally trained social workers, accustomed to think in the broad terms of a community. Its public relief agency is established on a county basis, and at least one member of the county board has social vision and understanding.

There are in the county more than eighty organizations conducting civic, educational, welfare, character building, and health activities. Of these, more than fifty have become members of the county council. Of the private agencies, seven are doing public health work, six are engaged in family welfare, three are doing work for children, and four general hospitals are participating. The public agencies represented are the Directors of the Poor, the Mothers' Assistance Board, the probation officers of the juvenile court, and a protective agent from the largest municipality of the county. Included in the participating groups are civic and social organizations with welfare committees, such as the Parent-Teacher Association, the League of Women Voters, and federated clubs. The industries of the community are represented by the welfare departments of several plants.

"It was the realized need for cooperation with neighboring

welfare organizations and with the public agencies of the county, felt by a small group of experienced and experimenting social workers in the county, that resulted in the formation of our Welfare Council," says the president of the county council. This "small group" consulted with those whom they felt had help to give. With their advice a constitution was formulated under which membership in the council is on an agency basis, each member agency being represented on the board by one lay member and its executive, the chief social worker of the agency. A survey of the private social and health work of the county was undertaken, the natural outgrowth of which was a social service directory for the county, and spot maps indicating the location and sphere of service of the social and health agencies.

The council is divided into three sections: the family and children's division; the health division; the recreational division. These have developed normally but at unequal rates.

There are two special committees: one conducts the social service exchange (central index) and is responsible for promoting the understanding of and use of this piece of social machinery; the other, a committee on service and standards, brings about cooperation and better understanding between types of agencies and advises on administrative problems, etc.

The council meets four times at stated intervals from November to May; and the executive committee, composed of the officers, the committee chairmen, and five members at large, conduct the affairs of the organization in the interval. The meetings are educational in character, both for the council members and for the community at large. The annual meeting provides for an all day conference, roundtable discussions, a luncheon, and a stimulating address.

The budget of the council is based upon agency membership fees which are sufficient to provide for the operation of the social service exchange. The council is in no sense a money-raising agency, although twenty-four of the member agencies are participating members in two chests.

The astonishing fact is that this county council has been or-

ganized and developed without a paid executive. It has, it seems to me, demonstrated conclusively that any community which has the will to coordinate its social service activities can do so at a very moderate cost and thereby can place itself in a position to plan intelligently for the further development of various types of service; can eliminate duplication; can promote sound working agreements as between agencies, and so secure a maximum result for the monies spent. This piece of social engineering is a monument to the enlightened citizenship of Delaware County, Pennsylvania.

Let us look at another type of development in connection with social work on a county basis.

The County of Morris, New Jersey, has an area of 475 square miles, a population density of approximately 232 per square mile. It is distinctly suburban and rural in character, with substantial wealth and a considerable number of commuters engaged in business in New York. In Morristown, the county seat, are several private social and health agencies of excellent standing—a hospital, case working agencies, and a social service exchange. The public relief was, until recently, administered by thirty-seven overseers of the poor, while the almshouse was administered by the county. There is a community chest in Morristown, and there is an unusual amount of very high-class social leadership.

In 1931 the assembly of New Jersey enacted mandatory legislation requiring all counties to establish county welfare boards for old age relief. These boards were to be appointed by the county freeholders and to have in their membership public officials and laymen representation. A companion act provided for a referendum, by counties, to determine whether the outdoor relief of the county should also be administered by the county welfare board instead of by thirty-seven overseers of the poor, as was the case in Morris County.

Leadership in the county, through an active educational program, secured affirmative returns from the referendum, and there has been set up this year a county welfare board of high

caliber. This board has appointed as its executive a thoroughly trained and experienced social worker (a member of the American Association of Social Workers), who as the executive of a private agency in Morristown was already thoroughly familiar with the problems of the county. This modernizing of the public relief administration of the county, by legislative enactment and popular referendum, has laid the foundation for an integration and cooperation as between the public and private social and health agencies, which within a very few years ought to bear fruit as a county council.

The fundamentals in Delaware County and in Morris County are the same: the "will" to cooperate; the citizen leadership; the availability of trained social workers; and a public relief department based on county and not on township or municipal lines.

Let us glance for a moment at two other counties in which are "the makings" of a thoroughly cooperative and coordinated program of social work on a county basis.

Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, with an area of 522 square miles and a population density of approximately 316 per square mile, is urban and rural in character. The county seat is also the state capital. Public relief is on a county basis. Social leadership in the county centers in Harrisburg, in which there is a community chest which provides for city and suburban social planning. The outstanding social agency is the Associated Aid Societies. This agency, under trained leadership, represents the family and children's work (with the exception of the mothers' assistance, which is under a county board of trustees), and extends over almost the entire county area, as well as to towns on the west side of the Susquehanna in an adjacent county. There is already established cooperation between this agency and the public department. In this county are the usual Red Cross, tuberculosis, visiting nurse, character building, institutional and service organizations. It will require little social engineering to bring together this county community in a common purpose of social planning.

In the state of New Jersey, we look upon Monmouth County as a community in which foundations are being laid for coordination and development of social services. This county has an area of 476 square miles and a population density of 307 per square mile. It is suburban and rural in character. There is considerable wealth and very able citizen leadership. Over a number of years the citizen leadership has been building up a social and health service with a supervisory and advisory central unit in the largest town in the county and with cooperating agencies in many other municipalities. The dominant note in this service is that of public health, and the staff is chiefly composed of public health nurses. The chief executive of the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service is a trained social worker and is also a public official, the county adjuster, who in New Jersey determines the eligibility of applicants for relief at the expense of the county.

The citizen leadership has been instrumental in securing the acceptance of the county welfare board of responsibility for the administration of the County Welfare House and for old age relief, also for the supervision of all those paroled from the state institutions. There is close cooperation and a merging of funds of the state, the county, a number of school districts, and from private charitable sources in carrying on these services. There is friendly cooperation also with the juvenile court and with the mothers' aid in that district. As yet, however, no community council has been developed bringing together all types of social activity, and broad community planning is yet to be worked out.

Here again, we find the fundamental factors on the basis of which coordination and development may be hoped for: the realization on the part of a small group of a social need to be met; citizen leadership within the county; public relief work on a county basis; and last, but by no means least, trained personnel. It should be noted that the coordination developed in these counties has been on a voluntary basis in some; on a legal basis in some; by private initiative on the one hand; by public official

action in another. It should be noted, further, that the dominant social urge in one county is health; in another family welfare; and in another community planning. All of this merely means that our plan of development must take the county as it is and start from that point.

Let us agree that the counties we have discussed are unusually fortunate in the citizen leadership, realization of social needs, financial resources, trained personnel. Where is the divine spark to be found which will kindle, in less fortunate counties, the desire to coordinate and develop social work to meet their need? In a sparsely settled area, with limited funds, with lack of trained leadership, where are we to look for help for the county? We must look to two types of state agencies, which the larger state leadership can create—one public and the other private. The public agency, the department of welfare (by whatever name it may be called) staffed by trained personnel, should be able to stimulate the community spirit of the county; and by professional leadership and grants-in-aid, if need be, promote the coordination and development of social work on a county basis. Alabama and North Carolina have excellent demonstrations in that field.

It is not enough that there should be this stimulation and leadership from a public department, for the people have not yet learned to recognize government as their servant and not their master. There must be an association of citizens who have dedicated themselves to the promotion of the public service, such as the State Charities Aid Association of New York or the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania. Through agencies such as these the citizens of a county may be led to cooperate for the realization of a common purpose, the social welfare of all.

LEADERSHIP IN PUBLIC RELIEF IN THE UNEMPLOYMENT EMERGENCY: COORDINATING PRIVATE AND PUBLIC RELIEF WORK IN OUR CITIES

Arthur Dunham, Director of Special Studies, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City

OUR topic leads straight into the tangled question of interrelationships of public and private agencies in the field of family welfare and relief. This is no new problem. However, the unemployment emergency has given it a new urgency. The report of a recent field study of a number of public relief agencies expresses the general opinion that questions of relationship were difficult enough before the depression but that they have become much more difficult since the depression started.

We shall not, of course, reach any final solutions in this discussion. Our material is not static enough for anything resembling crystallization of thought. Even while we discuss the problem, the field and the situation are changing. One has a feeling as of emerging from the laboratory to report more or less hopefully upon the prospects of securing some new precipitate of cooperation—while at the same time warily keeping one ear cocked for the sound of explosions from within.

Our discussion will be more useful if we try primarily to get at some of the underlying factors and principles involved in interrelationships, rather than to stress primarily questions relating to mechanisms and details of division of labor. In order to focus our discussion and to keep it within manageable limits, let us eliminate from consideration questions of "combination plans" and of subsidies, and fix our attention on the problem of coordination of service in the community where there are at least one public and one private relief giving agency.

At this stage of our experience we have tried to gather up the thinking of a group of representative public welfare officials and social workers in private agencies regarding this question. A letter was sent to a small group of persons asking their opinions on three points: What are some of the most important factors underlying effective coordination of public and private relief agencies? What are some of the chief obstacles to such effective coordination? Can you cite any especially good examples of effective coordination between public and private relief agencies?

From the 32 persons to whom this letter was written, 17 replies were received. We are indebted to these 17 persons for a body of thoughtful and helpful expressions of opinion. Time does not permit of any formal summary of all the answers. We will touch upon a few of the outstanding points in the replies, and then, with these replies as a general background, try to formulate certain suggestions as to the factors underlying coordination.

Practically all of the obstacles to coordination or factors underlying coordination mentioned in the replies may be classified under one of the following four headings, descriptive of the places in which these factors are encountered: first, in both public and private agencies; second, in the private agency; third, in the public agency; and fourth, in the community.

Foremost among the difficulties cited as residing in both agencies (mentioned in seven replies) is mutual lack of sympathy and understanding, or even actual suspicion.

Failures of attitude on the part of private agencies are mentioned by 10 of the 17 correspondents, including representatives of private as well as public agencies. Lack of understanding of government, of the place of public relief and of the nature and limitations of the public agency; lack of tolerance, patience, and perseverance; willingness to exploit public funds; aloofness due to fear of politics; feelings of inferiority; complacency; a tendency to carve out a little job and pursue it without regard to its relation to the whole community situation, were among the

criticisms expressed. One penetrating piece of analysis is thus presented:

One of the greatest obstacles to cooperation that I have observed is the difference in economic and social status of lay boards and politicians. The board members hold public officials in contempt, they can approach them only formally through committees, and they usually attempt to win their points by being impressive. The most effective man I ever had on my board in the public agency was an honest business man, not very well educated and not socially prominent, who knew public officials and was a friend of many of them. He approached them with understanding, with sympathy as to their difficulties. He talked their language but was brutally frank and yet persuasive rather than argumentative or impressive.

In regard to the public agency, two major difficulties are pointed out: first, partisan politics; second, defects of organization and administration. Interference of politicians to get jobs for their clientèle and political pressure to secure favoritism to certain clients are mentioned as manifestations of politics in public welfare services.

Among the defects of organization and administration are noted such matters as the lack of a governmental organization which commands public confidence and support; frequent lack of a group of influential socially minded citizens to back up the public official; lack of professionally equipped personnel; and ineffective standards or methods of administration.

Most of the replies relating to positive factors underlying coordination stress elements that concern both agencies or the community as a whole. Five replies stress mutual understanding and toleration. One writer refers to "mutual understanding and trust, recognizing that this might be developed unevenly—that is, one of the agencies might be more understanding or more trustful. It comes down to a relationship which admits growth, not only growth of the participating agencies but of the relationship." Other answers emphasize willingness to work out plans on the basis of a joint study of the situation; and a spirit of real teamwork as contrasted with "passing the buck" and attempted domination.

Eleven of the replies emphasize the importance of clear cut agreements as to functions and division of the field, though

several point out the need for flexibility in interpretation and practice. Two answers urge that each agency should handle completely those cases which it accepts.

Six answers underscore the vital importance of community understanding of the problem. "There must be a genuine belief," says one, "that public relief can be made an effective service, and not merely the feeling that it must be tolerated because there are not private funds available." "The great thing," writes another, "is to have people demanding comprehensive care and the private will then be pushing for better support of the public and trying to fill in where they can't get enough."

Two writers stress the importance of community planning, and one suggests that "a budget committee of a council or, lacking that, a small committee of executives, board members, and public officials ought to get together in advance of formal budget submitting and work out a community allocation of expenditure burdens." Coordinative machinery is mentioned by several writers, including the council of social agencies, the community chest, and some "regular conference setup for allocating borderline cases."

Some encouraging examples are given of the growth of coordination between public and private agencies in specific cities. A representative of the family agency in one of our largest cities writes:

There is central planning and warm cooperation between public and private agencies. A division of field is being worked through step by step. Its worst danger is, I think, that it may have to go too fast for the public agency to prepare to handle the load adequately. They now have the unemployment relief service, old age cases, veterans, and are supplementing mothers' pensions. They plan to take next, families of adults.

A community chest executive in a city of about 300,000 says:

One of our greatest assets has been the willingness of the mayor to name an experienced and trained social worker as head of the department when the vacancy occurred. The main thing . . . has been having a group of people in on all of the discussions,—not only the workers in the public and private agencies, but a group of prominent citizens, in the preliminary meetings leading up to the family study, in the family study meetings, and in the follow-up meetings on inter-agency relationships. We have had to combat in our pre-

campaign publicity the feeling that the city was doing it all, because for the past year the public department had carried its families and the contributing public had been told that these were families being carried by the public department and for the first time the mayor had used the relief work of the city as a reason for the increased taxation. In the old days when the private agencies were in on practically all of the public agency cases on supplementary relief it swelled enormously the number of families the agencies were helping, and it has been a little difficult to explain at times that we were really doing more although in numbers it seemed less.

With this sketchy presentation of the questionnaire replies as a background, let me try to formulate what seem to me to be some elements underlying effective coordination.

Coordination is fundamentally a matter of spirit and attitudes, not of mechanics. As one of the questionnaire replies says:

I do not believe that it is possible to develop effective coordination unless there is that light of broad-minded leadership and the will to cooperate on both sides. You may set up the mechanics but, as a public official once said to me, "You can't make the damn thing go!"

Real teamwork grows out of a will to work together, a spirit of unity and solidarity; it cannot be produced by even the best coordinative machinery. When Margaret Byington wrote the first pamphlet on the Social Service Exchange, she began it with a quotation from the book of Ezekiel which closed with the words, "And the spirit of life was in the wheels." Unless the spirit of life is in the wheels, the wheels are unimportant. Coordination must be something that is alive and active, not a trim finished machine-made product. One of the chief attributes of coordination must be its ability to adapt itself, to express itself in new ways in changing situations. Teamwork has always about it the element of exploration and adventure; we are always pressing forward; we have never arrived.

How shall we capture this dynamic and elusive spirit that underlies real teamwork? We shall not gain our end merely through agreements. Such agreements are like laws; they have real vitality only when they express previous conviction and agreement on the points which they embody. If we are to achieve true coordination, I believe we shall have to proceed

chiefly by indirection. This is not entirely a cheering thought for those of us who are concerned to obtain immediate results that will apply to the present emergency. Some approaches to better coordination we can undoubtedly make through immediate and conscious effort; and the greater the common will to work together the more rapidly we may proceed. And yet in the long run I doubt that we shall see the growth of real coordination over wide areas of the field until we come in sight of some of these more fundamental goals.

The first of these goals is greater understanding of the nature, function, and limitations of both public and private agencies. I think we need to start with a recognition of the fact that, from the quantitative standpoint, public relief is the basic pattern in the field of relief. Every state in the Union provides by law for at least limited general public relief or "poor relief." There are about three thousand counties in the United States. In almost every one of those counties there is at least one public relief agency in operation. This takes no account of the great number of additional public relief agencies where poor relief is administered on a town or township basis instead of a county basis, nor of the large number of separate public agencies for the administration of relief to special groups, such as mothers' aid, old age relief, relief to the blind, veterans, the unemployed, and so on. As compared with this group of more than three thousand public relief agencies, there are 237 private family agencies which are members of the Family Welfare Association of America. Even if there should be an additional 250, more or less, formally organized private family agencies, it is obvious that the number of private agencies would be not more than one-sixth of the number of the public—that the vast majority of American counties and communities would have to depend primarily upon public relief services. These estimates as to numbers of agencies are further reinforced by the fact that the best available statistics indicate that probably between 70 and 80 per cent of the relief expenditures in this country come from public sources.

This is no disparagement of the private agency. The private family society has a unique and valuable contribution to make, in terms of pioneering, experimentation, the development of family case work services, and a contribution to community education and planning. But the facts that have just been cited do mean that the vast majority of relief agencies operate under public auspices and that, unless we can develop sound and efficient public relief services over the country as a whole, we are lost, as far as doing a good job of family social work or relief administration throughout the United States is concerned.

If this is true, certain corollaries follow. It is immensely urgent that we should gain a far greater understanding than we have had in the past of the basic principles of government; of the place of public welfare in government; of the many problems of organization and administration involved in the operation of public relief services; of the tremendously important underlying problems of public support and taxation; and of the possible alternatives—relief, social insurance, and more fundamental economic adjustments—in the attempt of the people through their government to grapple with the problem of dependency.

We need in our training schools more of the emphasis upon public welfare which has been expressed in a few schools, such as those at the University of Chicago and the University of North Carolina. No student ought to go out from the training school to enter the profession of social work today without an understanding of the fundamentals of public welfare.

We need also a focusing of citizen interest on public welfare services. One way to achieve this is through the development of unpaid citizens' boards and committees, whether administrative or advisory, in connection with public relief agencies. It ought to be possible to apply to the public relief field much of the rich experience of the last decade or so in regard to county public welfare or child welfare boards.

We need further conscious, continuous efforts by public relief agencies themselves, by councils of social agencies and com-

munity chests, by private family agencies, and by state departments of welfare, to interpret public relief needs, resources, and methods to the general public. These services are *our* services, and they will not, and cannot, carry on satisfactorily without citizen interest, backing, and support.

We need something else if we are to achieve real coordination: a common philosophy in public and private agencies. Both agencies are outgrowths of, and responsible to, the community. Has the same community two different philosophies regarding need and its treatment, according to whether relief comes from a public or private source? Government is not something in and of itself, apart from the people who compose it. Government is, after all, only "the means by which people live together"; it can express any philosophy the people wish. Surely the time is ripe for a revamping of the archaic poor laws which are reminiscent of the social thinking of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. We cannot expect public officials operating under medieval laws to produce modern results.

The time has come to embody in our public relief laws not the spirit of deterrence and coercion, not the implication that the American ideal is fulfilled if "no one is starving," but a clear and unmistakable expression of the conviction that there is a minimum level of human well-being below which no family, no man or woman or child, may be allowed to fall, and that the end of all public relief and family service is the not mere endless almsgiving but the opening up of opportunity and the restoration of the individual to his own normal place in the community. And if all this seems sheer unreality in the light of the present crushing case loads in both public and private agencies, I would answer that there was never a time when we needed to hold to this ideal more tenaciously, in order that we may not be swept into apathy or despair or an acceptance of the cruel inadequacy of starvation minimums and mass relief.

Another fundamental approach to coordination is through the channels of community planning. The essence of community planning lies in the concept of a community program of social

work. Such a program in the field of family welfare would attempt to measure the need and then to develop adequate resources, public and private, to meet those needs. This means community leadership—leadership from both laymen and social workers—leadership with an understanding of the community as it is and with the vision to see the community as it may come to be.

The council of social agencies is the best device we have thus far discovered for the development of community plans outside the direct sphere of joint financing. In the council, or the family division of the council, the public and private agency may meet on common ground for the give and take of group discussion, the consideration of common problems, and the forging of joint plans of action. The council has no virtue in itself. It is, as one of the early council executives said, a mere convenience, a device for making cooperation easy and natural.

Out of such joint counseling will grow agreements as to the division of the field, together with what one of the questionnaire writers describes as "flexible common sense interpretations of these agreements." Flexibility is as important as clear cut general policies, for human problems do not fit into rigid categories.

Other mechanisms will contribute to the day-by-day working out of general agreements. That the social service exchange should be used as a matter of course by both agencies on all cases is essential to any intelligent working together. This means, of course, inquiring of the exchange at the beginning of the contact with the family—not merely "registering" as a matter of historical interest at the end of the week or month. It means also, of course, using the information gained through the exchange in making decisions regarding acceptance, investigations, and treatment.

Perhaps there is no one thing that will more surely draw public and private agencies together than the development of professionally equipped personnel in both types of agencies. Among human beings there is no more divisive factor than the

sense that other groups are somehow essentially different from ours. This is the psychological basis of war propaganda and of appeals from both sides in class conflicts. Conversely, the possession of "common background" tends to draw people together.

The administration of relief is a task which calls for all that one has in skill and training. There is no way to develop effective service in public agencies without skilled personnel. And that inevitably means one thing: the elimination of partisan politics from public relief services. Political affiliation bears no possible relevance to the ability of a man or woman to minister to human need. It has been truly said that

the best law, the most intelligent plan of organization and administration may be nullified if the practical working out of the plan is entrusted to incompetent workers appointed on account of political patronage. The presence of partisan politics has done more than any other one thing to obstruct the progressive development of public welfare in the United States.¹

The elimination of partisan politics from public relief services is not merely a test of technical efficiency in public social work. It is a part of the fundamental problem of making democratic government effective.

The coordination of public and private services is one of the basic problems of social welfare. In attempting to achieve it, we shall need "the long view" and a realization of the magnitude of the task. We shall need understanding and open-mindedness and tolerance. We shall require much more experimentation, and the clinical discussion of the results of this experimentation, in small groups, at this National Conference of Social Work and elsewhere. We shall not expect the public to become a replica of the private agency, nor the private a replica of the public. We shall continue to respect the independence of each and the differences between the two, and to welcome the weaving of both designs into the pattern of our community life.

¹ Rose Porter, *The Organization and Administration of Public Relief Agencies*, p. 29.

PENOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN A STATE
WELFARE DEPARTMENT

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EVERY correctional worker (and by that I mean anyone who is actively engaged in the application of penal treatment to persons convicted of crime) has probably more than once had forced upon him the question of what aid social research might be to him in his work. That he has had faith in the possibilities of such research is shown by the number of research bureaus or divisions established by state or local boards or institutions and by his generally hospitable attitude toward those who, while not officially connected with his organization, have desired an opportunity to conduct some study affecting it. I propose, therefore, to limit my paper arbitrarily to a discussion of research in penal institutions, in the hope that the questions dealt with will appear to be generally relevant to other forms or steps in penal treatment.

A state agency, created for the purpose of administering the penalties defined by law and assessed by courts, is the executor of a public trust. Its work is rendered particularly difficult by the fact that the public mind as expressed in the law seems, paradoxically as it may sound, to be striving for goals which appear to be diametrically opposed—the goal of retributive punishment and that of national correction or reformation. The aim of penal treatment must be well defined in the minds of the public administrator, however, if his work is to be generally effective. I shall assume, for the purposes of this paper, that the aim of a state welfare agency in the correctional field, is to make secure the welfare not only of the public at large but also of the prisoner in confinement, and that social security will best be

achieved by penal treatment which, within the confines of legal restrictions, enables the agency mentioned to restore to an orderly life in freedom those offenders who may be considered as having been properly "corrected" and to retain in custody those considered incorrigible. One important task, then, of penological research is to discover, if possible, which prisoners are corrigible and how they may be restored to orderly life. I regret to say that hitherto scientists have been unable to solve either one of these problems. Excepting those prisoners who, due to pronounced mental abnormality, are unable to meet the ordinary demands of social life, there seems to be no valid criteria for separating in any scientific manner the corrigible from the incorrigible. Nor do we positively know today what methods of treatment are successful and what methods fail and why. The reasons for our ignorance are many. The social sciences, for instance, are practically undeveloped; and the mental sciences, upon which we must rely for an understanding of social behavior, are still in their infancy. This fact makes purposive research in correctional treatment all the more important. Those self-contained and socially abnormal communities we call "prisons" are wonderful laboratories for the study of behavior, and it may well be that the research division mentioned may ultimately make greater contributions to sociological and psychological knowledge than many other laboratories in these sciences—that is, if the research program and the personnel are adequate to the task.

Research, let me interject, is nothing mysterious, though it is sometimes worshiped by the ignorant or by others adopted as a cloak to hide the truth. Although the term has been indiscriminately used to denote inquiries of all kinds, whether trivial or important, it signifies in the strictest sense a search, by means of approved and standardized scientific methods, for relevant knowledge which may form the basis for generalizations applicable beyond the particular problem investigated. Social research implies the use of such methods in the study of social data. In a correctional system such research must, first of all,

be utilitarian and chiefly concerned with the practical application of its results to penal treatment. It should be conducted for the deliberate purpose of suggesting means, however tentative, for solving the many problems in human relations which face the correctional worker. This means that the personnel of the research division must be well trained, acquainted with the problems of penal treatment, familiar with scientific method in the social sciences and informed of the status of penological research elsewhere. The value of their studies will naturally depend entirely on the knowledge, insight, and artistic skill which they bring to bear on the problems investigated. They should be independent. It is human for a public administrator to desire his work and his institutions to be portrayed in a favorable light. I know instances where the results of social research have been suppressed because they were regarded as injurious to some administrator. Knowledge cannot be advanced under such conditions. The greatest administrators have welcomed criticism which would make improvements possible or necessary.

There are certain major problems which a correctional social research division should attack. First, it should broaden our knowledge of the nature of criminal conduct by a study of the individual prisoners with a view to determining the nature of the penal treatment to be given such a prisoner. Second, it should describe the apparatus and the methods of penal treatment with a view to adapting such treatment to the needs of the prisoner. In this connection a study of the correctional worker himself is most important. Finally, it must supply the public with information designed to show whether or not the purposes of the law are effectively carried out.

Study of the prisoner.—A craftsman must possess three characteristics: he must be thoroughly acquainted with his medium of expression; he must know the possibilities and the limitations of the instruments he employs in the creative process; and he must possess that intelligence and sense of rhythm and form which, when imparted to his product, gives it a distinction which elevates it above the mass.

As a social craftsman the correctional worker needs to know the nature of the offender who is to be subjected to correctional treatment. It is the function of the research division to place at his disposal all the information which can be secured by scientific investigation into the character of the offender, the background of his offense, etc.; in short, everything which may give the correctional worker some understanding of what are the treatment needs of the offender. It is likely that in a highly developed correctional system, the research division will become the directive agency in treatment and will not only prescribe, but supervise, its application. This has occurred in instances both here and abroad. This phase of research will also, it is hoped, assist us in arriving at a fuller knowledge of the main-springs of anti-social conduct, and lift penal treatment from the hit and miss level upon which it is found today to a higher level of understanding. Incidentally, the knowledge so secured should be of the greatest value in shaping future legislation with regard to the substantive law and its administration.

Study of treatment.—The value of penal treatment is measured by its results. This would seem self-evident, although hitherto public administrators have shown little interest in this phase of the problem. Penal treatment should not only have an aim, but we should know if the aim has been or can be reached. The research division, therefore, should have as one of its tasks the description, analysis, and evaluation of penal treatment in the light of this aim. The apparatus of that treatment is, of course, important, but it is less significant than the methods by which the apparatus is used. Hitherto, however, the apparatus has received most of the attention—classification, library and school, industrial shops, recreational facilities, construction of buildings, etc. The secret of success of correctional work does not rest in these instruments of treatment, but in the use to which they are put. Penal treatment must always remain chiefly a function of personal relations between the prisoner and those regarded by him as in authority, from the lowly guard to the lofty warden or commissioner. The institution with the fin-

est physical embellishments may be a menace to the public welfare if the personal relations to which I have referred and which are the only real vehicles of corrective treatment are such that they are destructive, instead of restorative, in their effects. It is these relations which the research division should study, in order that sooner or later, we may discover exactly what type of correctional worker we need to deal with certain types of offenders. We have all known "apparently" successful correctional workers who were untutored and knew little of so called science. We need to know the reasons for their success and in how far training, added to such native or acquired abilities, will improve their work. We need to know what training the average candidate for correctional work should have to be useful. There is no need to add that here lies a wide, and practically untouched, field of penological research.

I have guardedly used the term "apparent" success to describe the labor of some correctional workers. The reason is that we are not in a position to say that any form of penal treatment, institutional or non-institutional, is successful in the large sense of the word. Imprisonment is successful in keeping an offender from wide social contacts, but whether it is successful in correcting him or not is still problematical. The crux of the research division's study of treatment must be the evaluation of its success in terms of its aims. Until pragmatic tests have been applied to correctional work we must continue to rely on the rather unsatisfactory and naïve guidance of intuition and common sense, falling prey to the emotional crisis in public opinion, which alternately insists on the death penalty or the pardon, depending on adventitious circumstances.

A few attempts have been made to measure the effects of penal treatment on the offender, but these studies have judged the effectiveness of institutional treatment in terms of post-institutional conduct. Ultimately we may hope that such studies, when they have isolated the effects of the myriad of environmental factors over which the institution has no control, will be able to afford a satisfactory index to the relative value

of this or that method of penal treatment. Until then, and in order to make such post-institutional studies of greater value, the research division must endeavor to evaluate the treatment which the prisoner undergoes from the time of entrance to his discharge. Belgium has, since 1930, laid the basis for progress records which may afford at least a partial basis for such evaluations. More recently, Mr. Bennet Mead, of the United States Bureau of Prisons, has been urging the development of such records for the same purpose.

Social research and the public.—The research division, finally, should be a dispenser of information about correctional work and should furnish to the citizens of the commonwealth data about the status of penal treatment. The results of its researches should be published as a matter of course in order that the citizens may know what its public servants are doing and what problems they are facing. To the extent that this information is statistical in nature it should be presented in such a form that valid comparisons may be made with conditions and methods of work in other states. Since for a long time to come, our police and our courts are unlikely to be able to furnish us with much information about the offender, we shall also have to rely upon the penal institutions to supply the social statistics and other information which may be of importance for students outside the official framework of the correctional system who are interested in the problem of crime.

I am compelled to admit that penological research has not yet rendered much aid in the solution of the important and highly practical problems to which I have given most attention in this paper. I am equally convinced that only by the aid of more and better research shall we be able to put correctional work on a more rational basis. The question rests with the public administrators. Its answer depends to a large degree on the facilities they are willing to provide for research and the qualifications of the persons to whom they intrust it.

PRESENT STATUS OF IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION LEGISLATION

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SOME 175 bills dealing with immigration and naturalization questions have already been introduced in the present Congress. Consideration of our economic problems has so absorbed Congress that there has been little general discussion of immigration matters. Nevertheless, a considerable number of important bills in this field have already been reported and are likely to be acted upon either at this session or the next.

Only three measures so far have actually become law. One of these facilitates the temporary entry into United States of participants in the Olympic games. The other two reflect our present concern with economic problems. One extends the contract labor provision of the immigration laws to alien instrumental musicians, unless of distinguished merit and ability. The other increases from \$100,000 to \$200,000 the amount that may be used for the enforcement of the contract labor provisions of the law.

One of the most important measures reported is the bill (H.R. 10602) to reduce present quotas 90 per cent and to place Canada, Mexico, and other countries of the new world under quota. Not satisfied with what they have already accomplished, immigration restrictionists hope to take advantage of the depression to close the door even further. As it is, it is necessary to go back 100 years to find a time when fewer immigrants were entering the United States. Not since 1831 has the number fallen as low as the 35,000 likely to be admitted during 1932.

The bill in question is not an emergency measure but would be permanent legislation. It would reduce the number of quota

immigrants who might be admitted in any one year from 153,581 to 19,895. It would establish for Canada a quota of 4,117 in place of an average of 87,438 immigrants admitted annually during the past ten years. It would establish for Mexico an annual quota of 1,180 in place of 43,186 immigrants entering annually from our neighbor to the south during the past ten years. The opponents of this measure do not dispute the unwisdom of any new immigration, with millions in the country unable to find employment, but they do point out that further restriction is unnecessary. American consular officers have in fact already cut immigration considerably more than 90 per cent by virtue of the law excluding persons likely to become a public charge. The opponents of the bill urge further that permanent legislation is inadvisable at this time. As the Immigration Committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce points out, "permanent measures effecting major changes in our immigration policy should await opportunity for deliberate study."

Another effect of the proposed bill would be to postpone the reunion of separated families. On December 31, 1931, according to the figures furnished by the Department of State, 13,795 relatives of American citizens or resident aliens, entitled to preference, were registered at American consulates awaiting immigration visas. These consisted almost wholly of the wives and minor children of resident aliens and the elderly parents of American citizens. Few of them would be competitors in our labor market. Their number is so small that their admission would have no effect on our general situation. Every consideration of humanity dictates their admission. Yet, under the proposed law relatives in Turkey would, for example, have to wait eighteen years; those in Rumania, Greece, Spain, and Poland, from six to thirteen years. Certainly no permanent legislation should be enacted without providing for the reunion of families without delays of this sort.

Several measures which have been favorably reported will happily aid in the reunion of families. Both the House and Senate have acted favorably on bills (H.R. 10600; S. 2656) to

give non-quota status to the husbands of American women citizens. It may be confidently expected therefore that American women will shortly enjoy the same rights that American men do in this matter. The House Immigration Committee has also reported a bill (H.R. 8174) to exempt from the quota fathers and mothers over sixty years of age of United States citizens.

A further measure which is expected to aid in the reunion of families is the proposal for the review of consular decisions refusing immigration visas. Bills (H.R. 11552; S. 34) to this effect have been favorably reported by both the Senate and House Immigration Committees. They provide that in cases where an alien has been refused an immigration visa an appeal may be taken from the action of the consular officer to the Secretary of State by the alien or by a relative of the alien residing in the United States. The consular officer, if such appeal is taken, will be required to submit to the Secretary of State the grounds of his refusal, together with a statement of the evidence produced before him and any documents and written data on which he based his refusal to issue such visa. The Secretary of State would then consider the appeal upon the evidence so submitted and upon any additional evidence submitted by the appellant. If enacted, this measure will not only introduce greater uniformity of practice on the part of our consuls but will also be the means of checking the refusal of visas for insufficient factual reasons, refusals which in some instances seem to be almost arbitrary. Since the granting of visas depends in so many cases today on the economic circumstances of relatives in the United States, the proposed measure should aid greatly in obtaining a fairer consideration of such facts and in promoting the reunion of families so far as such reunion is compatible with law.

In spite of the energetic deportation policy pursued by Secretary Doak and his recommendation that our deportation laws be strengthened, only three deportation measures have been reported. The House Immigration Committee has recommended a measure (H.R. 12044) for the exclusion and deportation of alien communists, and the Senate Committee has reported

Senator King's bill (S. 7) relating to the deportation of alien seamen. Of more general interest perhaps is the proposal to amend the act of March 4, 1929, forever excluding from the United States an alien who has once been deported. This arbitrary prohibition has resulted in much hardship and injustice. It is proposed to give the Secretary of Labor in certain cases discretion to permit a deported alien to reapply for admission one year or more from the date of deportation. The Senate has already passed such an amendment.

The amendment in question was added by the Senate to the bill (H.R. 6477) passed by the House extending for two years certain naturalization privileges to alien veterans of the World War. To this bill the Senate has added, not only the deportation amendment just referred to, but a number of other provisions. Certificates of arrival would no longer be required in cases of derivative citizenship or in any naturalization proceeding where the applicant entered the United States before June 29, 1906. The bill also authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to provide free quarters in the building occupied by the Naturalization Service in New York City for a photographic studio operated by welfare organizations for the benefit of aliens seeking naturalization. Such studio would be under the supervision of the Commissioner of Naturalization.

Of deep concern to those believing that there should be no discrimination against the non-citizen in the matter of relief has been the action of the House on the emergency highway construction bill. This bill (H.R. 9642) which passed the House in February, appropriates \$132,500,000 for highway construction to relieve unemployment. It includes a provision limiting employment to citizens of the United States. If we deny the resident alien any share in the "made" work provided by our federal or local governments, we are denying him the most effective and often the only form of relief. Certainly, when it is a question of human distress, need and not citizenship should be the criterion for aid. Efforts are accordingly being made to elimi-

nate any discrimination against the alien in this and similar proposals.

Other immigration measures which have already been reported or passed by one house deal with the status of "treaty" aliens, the admission of non-immigrants, alien seamen, and the extension of the contract labor law to alien actors, singers, and choristers. The House Immigration Committee has reported for the first time a bill (H.R. 10274) to permit aliens who entered illegally between June 3, 1921, and July 1, 1924, to obtain a certificate of registry and become naturalized. Time precludes a discussion of other measures. Bills reducing naturalization fees, permitting the naturalization of conscientious objectors, providing for alien registration, and many others have not yet been acted upon by either of the House or Senate committees on immigration.

I do not want to conclude this summary of pending legislation without some suggestion as to a constructive program. Unquestionably, we have reached the end of an era in the immigration history of the country. Restriction is here and is likely to remain the policy of the United States unless present attitudes are modified by changed economic needs, by a more complete assimilation and incorporation of our present foreign stock, or by international considerations. In the meantime, however, there is much that is needed in the way of constructive legislation. Let me summarize what seem to me the most important general principles to be embodied today as part of our immigration laws.

First, reunite families. The wives, husbands, minor children, and elderly parents of citizens and resident aliens should be permitted to enter this country, if admissible under our general immigration laws, whenever their relatives here are in a position to provide for them.

Second, humanize our deportation laws. The recommendations of the Wickersham Commission in regard to deportation should be enacted into law. Some independent board of alien appeals should intervene in the deportation process in order

that the same government department should not be at once investigator, prosecutor, and judge. There should be discretion in this board of alien appeals or in the Secretary of Labor not to deport in cases where deportation will work unusual hardship or injustice or result in the separation of American families. There should be similar discretion to permit the readmission of deported aliens who merit such consideration.

Third, eliminate unjust discriminations against the resident alien in the matter of employment, relief, old age pensions, and other similar matters. Once we have admitted an alien for permanent residence, we ought not in fairness or decency to discriminate against him.

Fourth, facilitate citizenship for all aliens of good moral character sincerely desiring it. Nothing is to be gained by making our naturalization requirements more difficult. Literacy tests for the privilege of voting should be applied equally to native and foreign born.

The realization of these goals will be no easy matter. As contrasted with the program I have just outlined, let me summarize a series of resolutions dealing with the problem of the alien which were adopted at a meeting of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies on October 22, 1931. According to these resolutions, these societies advocate: reduction of quotas 90 per cent; extension of the quota system to all countries of the Western Hemisphere; exclusion of Filipinos from continental United States; exclusion of immigrants of non-assimilable races from continental United States from any geographical area whatsoever outside the boundaries of continental United States; exclusion of all aliens from any nation or area to which deportation is impracticable for any reason whatsoever; exclusion of anyone who within five years has been directly or indirectly a member of any communist organization; abolition of all limitation as to time in respect to the deportation of criminal aliens, inmates of prisons, and institutions for the insane and feeble-minded; power to deport any deportable alien to any country willing to receive him, if deportation to country of

origin is not possible; conferring of power on the president in times of financial crisis, to declare an emergency and to deport all unemployed aliens; conferring on president of power to deport any alien who in his judgment is a menace to public order, good morals, or the safety of the state; opposition to an independent board of aliens appeals in deportation cases as recommended by the Wickersham Commission; extension of time for completing citizenship from five to ten years; requirement that applicant for citizenship be able to read and write English with facility; positive legislation which will make absolutely impossible the granting of citizenship to any alien with any reservation whatsoever as to his or her obligation to serve in or with the armed forces of the United States in time of war; registration of aliens under a system of identification which will prevent any substitution of identity cards through changes in personal appearance by reason of lapse of time or otherwise; legislation by Congress and the states prohibiting the employment of aliens in the construction of public works; exclusion of aliens from the count on which representation in Congress is based.

These policies, advocated by the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, represent a spirit and point of view unfortunately all too common today, an attitude which has been quickened by hard times. It is well, however, that those of us who do believe in a different attitude toward the millions of foreign-born people whom we have admitted to our shores, should realize with what we have to contend. Only so can we adequately prepare ourselves to battle successfully for a juster and more tolerant policy toward the new American, for a future which will put less emphasis on the artificial distinctions of nationality and more on the human needs, urgencies, and desires common to us all.

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERSTATE ASPECTS OF DESERTION AND NON-SUPPORT LEGISLATION

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I. NATURE OF THE PROBLEM AND HOW IT ARISES

FOR this audience no background need be built in, as to the problem of families separated by immigration. That has been done year after year since the war, and particularly since 1921. As separation has been further and further prolonged, however, family ties are subject to greater and greater strain, more breakdown occurs, and the end results come sadly into view. With them, the frequency and difficulty of such cases increases.

Visible effects in the local community.—Nor do those end results lie in some remote field, or only in some distant land. They are present right here, in the local community, where part of the family resides. They are known by such names as desertion, estrangement, non-support, destitution, adultery, illegitimacy, bigamy, divorce—familiar in routine case work, but enormously complicated in those cases by the stretches of ocean and the differing jurisdictions of the countries which intervene between husbands and wives, parents and children. This discussion is meant to reach out toward some meeting place of jurisdictions, on which international policy and technique may be built.

Residence and court jurisdiction.—When such end results are met in the American community, the impulse is toward recourse to the courts. Then the question arises as to the competency of the court's jurisdiction. In cases of desertion, non-support, separate maintenance, alimony in divorce, it may be generally true that "courts in the United States cannot receive complaints

from persons not resident within their districts."¹ The statutes of one's own state, however, bear individual examination on that point. In Illinois, for instance, wives may bring equity suits for separate maintenance against their "husbands in the circuit court of the county where the husband resides."² The law gives the right. But practical difficulties of course, in representing a distant wife, make its application far from easy.

Coercive means to support may perhaps be brought into play through indirect force; the assistance of the man's employer; threats of adultery or bastardy action, or, bigamy action in the man's place of residence in this country, with the suggestion of the penalties attached; the possibility of deportation under certain circumstances; the possibility in some districts, of the denial of naturalization, or the cancellation of a naturalization certificate if the man does not support his family abroad. But force and threats of force must be used with the greatest discretion. Nor are the effects of coercion lessened in effect, if they became applicable through international treaties.

Application of treaties.—When the matter of enforcement of maintenance orders was first discussed abroad, and even later in the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations, the somewhat hasty conclusion was reached that support in divided families might be secured through treaties which would provide for enforcement in countries of immigration, of court orders for support, handed down in countries of origin. Enforcement even by treaty, however, is by no means so direct as might at first appear.

There is, for instance, a ten year treaty between the United States and Lithuania, signed in 1924, which provides for the extradition of persons charged with certain "crimes," among which appear³ "5. Bigamy" and "23. Wilful desertion or wilful

¹ *Maintenance Orders*, a report rendered the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations, in April, 1930, by Mlle Susanne Feriere, of the International Migration Service, Geneva, Switzerland.

² *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Cahill), 1931, chap. 68, Husband and Wife, par. 22.

³ Treaty between the United States and Lithuania, Articles 2 and 9, Treaty Series No. 669 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1924).

non-support of minor or dependent children." The two governments have agreed that such persons "who shall seek an asylum or shall be found within the territories of the other" shall be "delivered up." It is carefully specified that "the expense of arrest, detention, examination and transportation of the accused shall be paid by the government which has preferred the demand."⁴

Under this treaty a wife in Lithuania, if she could perchance prove "wilful desertion" or "wilful non-support" of children, and if she could persuade her country to pay for the return passage of her husband, might institute proceedings which would bring him back into her local court jurisdiction. In practice, however, the government of Lithuania expects her to meet this expense. When support is the issue, it probably becomes impossible for the wife to furnish such funds. But even if they were furnished by her government, forcible return, with the severing of the man's economic means of livelihood in this country, would undoubtedly not only defeat attempts for support there but also instill so much new rancor and discord into her marital relationship that it would be doubly wrecked. Extradition in non-support cases, unless all hope of reestablishing the family as a group were abandoned, appears not only very difficult but worse than futile.

Preventive measures in countries of origin.—Social workers in this country of immigration meet the problem after it has occurred. It should, however, be pointed out that the social workers in other countries are considering means of possible prevention. Czechoslovakia, for instance, had in operation for a period prior to 1928, when it was abolished, a law prohibiting the emigration of the husband without the consent of his wife.⁵ Another country has a law permitting steamship companies to sell a ticket to an emigrant only if he produces "a certificate

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Bulletin, *Contribution to the Problem of Non-support and Desertion in International Cases*, Permanent Conference for the Protection of Migrants (Geneva, February, 1932), No. 1.

from the department of public welfare stating that he has made arrangements for the support of his family."⁶ Still another country has a law stating "that no emigrant shall be given a passport unless he has signed a statement before the competent authorities that all the property which he leaves behind shall be given to his wife and children in case he fails to support them adequately."⁷

Such laws may check some intentional desertion. Experience with the breadwinner in this country who came to found the new home and then send for his family, seems to indicate, however, that cases of separated families do not usually develop into desertion until delays in reunion have been prolonged, until family ties have then grown thin, and discouragement ensues. The responsibility lies more heavily in this country—to prevent these delays by federal legislation, which should perhaps include the proposal for "family visas."

Effect of the depression.—In times like these the individual family situation has, unfortunately, a tendency to congeal as it is. In cases seen at close range, channels of communication had been opened up; old relationships rekindled; letters and new photographs sent; money started flowing again to families abroad. It is a moving experience to watch a father as he looks deep down into the faces of his children, whom he has not seen for years, and pores over the pictures of his wife to whom he has perhaps stopped writing. Years and distance, at least for the moment, seem to fall away.

But these channels of communication have in many cases again been interrupted, not so suddenly as by the war, but this time by the slow wearing down of support at its sources. The man's employment is cut to one or two or three days a week. Wages are reduced. Then perhaps work stops altogether. From the other side of the water America still looks like a country where there must be money, and where the husband must have it. Recriminations may result from this mistaken hope. He, on the other hand, perhaps is loath to confess that he can-

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

not send the funds expected; sometimes he takes the extreme step, self-destruction, because he cannot face the disappointment. It is for social agencies to keep these families from reaching that depth of despondency. All contacts are made far more complicated by the present economic stringency. But the agency must look all the more deeply into its methods and possibilities, and keep clearly before it, the objectives of family unity and normal living, when the times make them more possible.

II. INFORMAL PROBATION UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE AGENCIES⁸

As work reaches out toward international methods in the handling of these "support of relatives abroad" cases, the client-agency relationship takes on aspects of "informal probation." It is a relationship which might be adopted by a complaint department in an international court of domestic relations. Its tactics vary with the personality of the individual, the length of separation, and the seriousness of the family break. When the agency begins its work the case must first be studied and discussed with the members of the family here. The foreign agency studies the situation in Europe, and through correspondence a plan emerges. Some cases of non-support are merely neglect on the part of the family to keep in touch with relatives left behind and to know their needs.

Persuasion as a case work method.—The moderately simple problem which occurs at the beginning may often be solved by the entrance of the outside personality, able to reason with the husband and explain the difficulties involved. The assurance that the agency can get in touch with the family in Europe, adds a convincing note to the discussion and gives a feeling of security, which is a stabilizing influence over the man who is wavering.

Overcoming gossip.—One of the most disrupting factors in separated families is gossip, particularly if the separation has

⁸ Acknowledgment is made with appreciation to Miss Mary Brent, staff member of the Immigrants' Protective League in 1931, for material used in this section.

been over a long period. Too often, then, the husband adopts a retaliatory measure and administers "punishment" by stopping his money remittances from the United States. But gossip can often be overcome.

Painting the word picture.—When the worker is dealing with a man of high principles, who can be appealed to from the point of what is just, honorable, and right, the task though more difficult becomes more interesting. Letters from agencies abroad are an important factor, since they describe conditions of which he may not be aware. When compared with his mode of living in the United States, they are more effective in convincing him of the injustice he is inflicting than any other method.

Personalities in which coaxing and wheedling may be used successfully.—The husband who feels that he is abused must be given sympathy and coaxed. Once he is in a good humor he becomes more reasonable and with the proper application of urging and wheedling can be persuaded to more concern in the welfare of his wife and children. Parents of wives and husbands themselves, through their anxiety for the welfare of their adult children, often cause delay in adjustments. In fact, the adjustment might often take place without the intervention of a social agency if the selfish interest of these older parents did not enter into the situation.

Admiration for a generous act.—A slight expression of admiration and the feeling of approval occasionally wins over the client who has exhibited the most determined opposition. The mother is eager for the child to come to America and nags at a stepfather to assist; he becomes stubborn and refuses to do anything. There are touching stories in the files, however, of stepfathers who do rise to the rôle of real father.

Suggesting the advantages of a home.—The man who has been away from his family for many years has become so accustomed to drifting about that he has forgotten the advantages of a home. He must be called in frequently and reminded of the goal toward which he is working, or his enthusiasm wanes and the family becomes permanently separated.

Threats of force.—When milder tactics fail, however, it sometimes becomes necessary to use threats of vigorous measures. The husband may be living with a woman in the United States; and all the powers of persuasion, urge, appeal, shame, cannot arouse a spark of interest. Then he may be threatened with court action, upon charges of adultery, bigamy, or non-support.

Ease of "disappearance" in the United States.—One great difficulty in the way of successful "solutions" in non-support cases, is the ease with which a member of the family in the United States can "lose himself." It is not unusual for him to agree to send money, and frequently he does send small amounts for two or three months; then he disappears and it may be a year or more before he is located; many times he is never found.

Difficulty of disappearance.—As against that, however, is the case of a man who apparently had every intention of deserting his family but found too many agencies here to escape. His wife wrote from Germany: "My husband left for Chicago in December, 1923, and as I belong to the Russian quota, I have not been able to proceed to him. For three years, my husband wrote me and sent me money. Then for a year and a half he wrote very seldom and sent very little money. The past seven months I have not had a word from him. I had to give up house-keeping; my furniture went for debts. I have two children of school age, and no income. I wish you would see my husband, as I do not even know his present whereabouts, and ask him to send money regularly." Relatives in Chicago said he had gone to his brother in Pittsburgh. The International Institute in Pittsburgh found that he was "in business" in Detroit and traced him through the Detroit Institute. The two men seemed to reach the conclusion that the organizations were too far-reaching to elude, and that they were being followed too closely because within a few months word was received that the wife had her visa and was sailing for the United States.

Such cases as these lead directly to a re-examination of the laws of one's own state, to determine the comprehensiveness of their definition of desertion and its relationship to divorce. An

examination of the Divorce Act of Illinois, for instance, does furnish some leads toward international technique.

III. DIVORCE WITH A DEFENDANT ABROAD

What protection has the wife abroad, if her husband in this country files divorce proceedings? Or what defense has the husband, if the situation is reversed? The examination of the divorce law in this connection, particularly as regards "Causes," "Notification," "Defense," "Residence," "Alimony," discloses possibilities of procedure not always applied, in behalf of the defendant.

Causes.—Among the statutory grounds, desertion is one of the most usual. When the defendant is a wife in a foreign country, practically powerless to make a journey to the United States unless her husband sends for her, desertion becomes a temptingly easy ground to set up. The Illinois law, for instance, merely cites as one of the "Causes," a situation in which the defendant has "wilfully deserted or absented himself or herself from the husband or wife without any reasonable cause, for the space of one year."⁹

Witnesses.—The Illinois divorce law requires that "if the bill is taken as confessed the court shall proceed to hear the cause by examination of witnesses in open court";¹⁰ likewise, in cases of default, that "the cause of divorce must be fully proved by reliable witnesses."¹¹ The law contains no safeguard, however, that witnesses for both complainant and defendant shall be present. In practice, the court hears those who are produced, seemingly oblivious to the fact that some spokesman should always be present for the far away defendant in Europe. The witnesses for a husband here are often entirely ignorant as to whether the wife has "wilfully absented herself." They may not have seen the letters written to the husband in which the wife's desires and hopes may have been expressed. The unfamiliarity of most judges and lawyers, court clerks and attaches, with

⁹ *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Cahill), 1931, chap. 40, Divorce, pars. 1, 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, par. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

immigration and naturalization laws and regulations makes them, not only peculiarly blind to the direct bearing of this new legislation on the marital questions before them, but especially inept, as judges of the weight these regulations should carry in the court's decision. "Desertion" and "Reasonable cause" may become entirely inappropriate phraseology for the law, since the circumstances are so often quite beyond the wife's power to control. In fact, the "desertion" is usually on the other foot! The complainant is himself guilty of the charge he makes against the defendant! Here is travesty indeed! Whether separation has become desertion by the husband, should be the substance of the court's inquiry.

It is similarly easy to accept without sufficient evidence statements as to possible "adultery"¹² of the defendant. Rumor from abroad, the gossip of returning travelers, is not *proof*. In serious allegations such as these, when facts must be secured, courts are singularly provincial, although the world immediately around their function and responsibility has become international and demands international methods.

Notification and defense.—The Illinois law gives the courts such power. Indeed, it would appear that the law directs them to use it.¹³ Regular publication of pending divorce suits may be carried on in legal bulletins, but they would certainly never be seen by a wife abroad. Publication usually does not even take place through the foreign newspapers, whose circulation is wide. If the husband chooses to say that he does not know where his wife is, or actually does not know, no notice is attempted. Incomplete or incorrect addresses are sometimes given. Even if a notice is sent, it may not reach her promptly in a remote village. It comes in a strange language which perhaps no one near can translate for her. Lack of educational opportunity may mean that it is very difficult for her to reply—perhaps impossible. The period of time allowed by the court is sometimes insufficient

¹² Acknowledgment is made with appreciation to Miss Mary Brent, staff member of the Immigrants' Protective League in 1931, for material used in this section.

¹³ *Illinois Revised Statutes* (Cahill), 1931, chap. 40, Divorce, pars. 1, 2.

for response. If proper defense of the wife involves the service of an attorney, the Illinois law makes possible the payment of these services by the husband, even during the pendency of the suit.¹⁴

Foreign consuls could therefore retain, by some regular arrangement, capable attorneys as needed. They might even combine on such an arrangement. Indeed, the suggestion has been made that the law be amended to require the consul to appear as a party in divorce actions where the defendant is abroad.

Power of attorney by the wife.—In any system of defense for wives abroad some plan must be made for the prompt, careful, and adequate execution of power of attorney. They often think that the power of attorney represents their consent to divorce. Their natural fear could be in a measure overcome if statements printed in their own languages accompanied such documents; if explanatory letters were always sent by their own consulates; if the addresses of social agencies in foreign countries could be furnished as sources of information; and if those agencies equipped themselves to give the needed legal advice.

Nominal legal defense as futile as no defense at all.—That the general interest of a consul, or the consent of an attorney to represent a distant wife, will not automatically protect her interests, however, is illustrated by the situation of a wife who thought she was represented. Step by step, the case illustrates international procedures which should have been applied. The wife in this case is able to explain her predicament with directness and eloquence, as is evident from her letter:

I humbly ask an immediate reply regarding my husband, whether he has received a divorce from me, his legal wife, and on what grounds. I lived with him for five years very pleasantly and during our marriage I had three children. In 1913 he sent me back to Lithuania. After the war I heard he was living with another woman, and has transferred all his property to her. My husband promised in writing before the Lithuanian consul in 1925 to help me and our children by sending twenty dollars a month, and if necessary, more until he should back me to America. We have not yet received that blessing. Later, I received a letter from the consulate that my husband wanted to get

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, par. 16.

a divorce and asked me to agree, promising to make a settlement, but since that time I have not received any support from my husband. Therefore I ask you to kindly let me know as soon as possible about all this.

The divorce record showed that the bill was filed on grounds of desertion, alleging that the wife left for Lithuania and never wanted to return, and that all she wanted was money. Answer had been filed by a well known Lithuanian lawyer representing the wife, stating that she had always been willing to return; that she was sent away by her husband; that the husband had been living with another woman; that he was in the wholesale meat business and should provide for her and the children. When the case was heard the husband produced two witnesses to his wife's alleged desertion. No witnesses were produced for her. The fact that she had lived five years in Chicago suggests that such might have been found if sufficient care had been taken. When the attorney was interviewed it developed that he had no power of attorney from the wife, which he felt to be one reason why the judge would not grant time to find witnesses. It was learned, however, from the Lithuanian consul that the wife had sent a final power of attorney to the consul. The legal liaison had apparently broken down between him and the attorney. The default decree might have been obviated by one of three steps: The presence of the consul himself in court, with his power of attorney; the deputizing of the attorney as a part of the consulate for this purpose; the continuance of the case until an additional power of attorney should be furnished to the lawyer himself. There is every reason to suppose that the wife in Lithuania, who understood its meaning, would have executed it promptly. The lawyer could in this case, moreover, have corresponded with her in her native tongue. The lawyer was not paid for services, which may account for his failure to handle the case with ingenuity and vigor. There was apparently some unfamiliarity with the provisions of the divorce law as to the fact that, with proper authorization from the wife, attorney's fees might have been collected from the husband.

Usage, rather than the law, at fault.—It was not the law which

was at fault in this case, but paralysis as to its proper use, by attorney, judge, and consul. Foreign consuls should not be expected to be experts in American law. But judges and attorneys sitting and practicing in the courts of the state should be able to place the possibilities of the law—in cases of divided jurisdiction—at the disposal of foreign consuls as interested as was the representative of Lithuania. The outcome of this case leaves the wife and three children destitute of any help from the husband and father. He is the deserter, but has made his wife that, in the blind eyes of the law. Action is not possible now in the Municipal Court of Chicago on the charges of “abandoning wife and child,” because of course the man is no longer her husband. The Legal Aid Bureau believes that the divorce can be set aside on the grounds of fraud, as permitted under the Act. New power of attorney has been requested, but the wife has not replied, feeling, doubtlessly, that she was forsaken and forgotten at the crisis of her affairs.

Residence.—In the matter of residence the Illinois law requires “one whole year next before filing” the “bill of petition, unless the offense or injury complained of was committed within this state, or whilst one or both of the parties resided in this state.”¹⁵ A day’s residence on the soil of Illinois by the husband might satisfy the law, if he chose to allege that “desertion” or some other ground for divorce was committed on that day.

In initiation of suit in this country.—In a number of cases known to the Immigrants’ Protective League the wives have been able to come to the United States in order to defend divorce suits instituted by the husbands, or to initiate divorce proceedings. These wives have felt that special advantages resulted from their bodily presence in the jurisdiction where the suit was filed.

In initiation of suit abroad.—In disunited families such as these, however, the obstacles to joining her husband in this country have increased with the years, and there is usually no possibility that the wife can come to the United States. She

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, par. 3.

already has a separate residence, by the irony of circumstances. She is less concerned than are women in the United States as to the "right" of a married woman to separate domicile. The fact that action started by the wife abroad is regarded as officially non-enforceable upon the husband here, means, in most cases, that she is helpless to take any steps in her own behalf, and points the need, in such family crises, for international agreement as to the enforceability of action in the wife's country, upon the husband in this. Until such official agreements are reached, interesting possibilities suggest themselves for the experimentation of social agencies.

A maintenance order by a foreign court.—In a Yugoslav case, for instance, the husband living in Chicago was sued for divorce by his wife who lived abroad. The royal district court at Split ordered him to pay alimony amounting to \$12.00 per month. The Yugoslav consul in Chicago asked the Immigrants' Protective League to assist in collecting this money. The husband told a long story about having been drunk when he was married and of his wife's unfaithfulness, and generally excused himself. He was persuaded, however, to make a settlement of \$200.00, and to pay the attorney's fees, and in return was given the promise of a divorce. Since there seemed no possibility of reconciliation, and both parties were satisfied with this arrangement it was so concluded.

As experimentation continues, however, legislative action looms up as a necessity, out of experience with the end results in separated families. To make its direction partially concrete, the following suggestions and recommendations are offered.

SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Federal legislation.—In order to remove certain of the obstacles to reunion and to marital adjustment, which still confront separated families, the social workers of the United States will need to concentrate on three principles of federal legislation: first, prevention of Congressional suspension of immigration to the United States, or of the reduction of quotas with-

out regard to relatives' status; second, amendment of the Immigration Act of 1924 to extend non-quota immigration status to the following relatives of citizens or aliens in the United States—husband, wife, parent, child; third, reduction in the high costs of naturalization, with legislative and administrative simplification of its processes.

Action in the states.—In order to begin some improvement in the local communities of these forty-eight states, social workers will need to take responsibility for: first, studies in as many of the states as possible, to determine the present applicability of their laws regarding family support—to cases in which part of the family is in this country, part abroad; second, amendments to their divorce acts, so that at least notification of divorce proceedings to the defendant abroad will become effectively mandatory; third, initiation of a system of regular and automatic cooperation of foreign consuls, with adequate counsel, in suits for separate maintenance or divorce, when the parties to the suit reside in different countries; fourth, a social service organization attached to the local courts handling matters of divorce and non-support, which will assist in carrying out the policies of notification to, and legal representation of, the defendant abroad; and of enforcement of alimony or other maintenance orders in behalf of those members of the family in a foreign country.

International effort.—Social workers whose cases include these problems of divided court jurisdiction in separated families will find, however, that efforts on this side of the water alone cannot become completely effective. They will need the interest and help of those who meet it in other countries as well. Toward the solution there should be discussion of this problem of maintenance orders in separated families at all international conferences; out of which could come: first, the formulation of international principles in jurisdiction over cases involving the family group—perhaps international agreements, perhaps an international court of domestic relations; or, second, lines of effort toward uniformity in law and practice between countries,

as is now urged in various matters between the states of this country. Indeed, the possibilities of a special draft convention between "countries whose internal laws possess a certain degree of similarity" have already been considered in the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations.¹⁶

In the meantime, social workers with the foreign-born must continue experimentation, promoting the search for international case work technique which is worthy of adoption.

¹⁶ Report on *Recognition and Enforcement Abroad of Maintenance Orders*, Legal Subcommittee of the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations (Paris, November 12, 1929).

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERSTATE CONFLICTS IN DIVORCE

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DIVORCE, to a social worker dealing with the social problems of the family, is often but another factor of confusion and conflict. In attempting to understand the international and interstate aspects of divorce, the worker is beset with many difficulties which add to that confusion. It is well to lay down some of the historical, social, and legal principles of divorce with which, in our daily work, we come to grips.

The venerableness of divorce.—There is abundant evidence that divorce has been with us in some form since the dawn of history. Among primitive peoples customs varied. Often dissolution of the marriage at the will of either was customary during the first days or months, but it was held disgraceful when the marriage had endured for a time, and especially after the birth of a child. In spite of their intellectual refinement, even in the golden age of Pericles, the Greek husband could send away his wife, and the wife could leave her husband at will. Apparently this constituted a valid divorce. The procedure was delightfully simple, being evidently nothing more than a notice filed with a magistrate; and unless there was a contest, either party could remarry at will. Under the Mosaic law the husband could write the wife a "bill of divorcement or ghet," send her away, and she could become another man's wife (Deuteronomy, chapter 24). About the beginning of the present era there arose two famed schools of the law at Jerusalem. One, under Shamai, taught that divorce was unlawful except for adultery; the more popular one, under Hillel, authorized divorce for any cause. As Rome developed, the moral and religious element prevailed; and so

strictly was marriage respected in those days that no divorce is supposed to have occurred for more than five hundred years—a symbol of Roman virtue or morality. Be that as it may, the first recorded instance is that of Spurius Carvilius Ruga, 231 B.C., granted on grounds of barrenness. Ancient Rome, built on family discipline, granted the husband the right to exercise full sway. The stately and somewhat severe Roman matron disappeared utterly in the later dissolute and corrupt years of the republic, even before the advent of the empire.

The Mohammedan custom permits a man to have several wives and to repudiate them at will by a simple formula. However, a wife may procure dissolution, except when there is consent, only by judicial means. The new civil code adopted in Turkey several years ago abolished polygamy and raised the woman to the same level with the man in matters of marriage and divorce. In India divorce varies according to caste. Pious Hindus tolerate no divorce, but an adulterous wife may be made a slave in her husband's household.

During the medieval period, and to a large extent even in our own day, the Catholic church exercised full sway over marital unions. Its theory of the sacramental nature of the marriage, its attitude toward sex, led to the belief in its indestructibility; hence the belief in divorce as inherently evil. Because the Church of Rome treats marriage as a sacrament it becomes indissoluble without special dispensation, even for adultery. Protestants are divided—all regarding adultery as a sufficient cause, many considering desertion equally so, others cruelty, and others incompatibility of temper.

People have a loose way of speaking of divorce per se as an evil. Human experience has shown that marriages sometimes disintegrate and come to a sad end. It should be observed, however, that it is not divorce that thus annihilates them. It is cruelty, desertion, adultery, and the other causes that do so. It is to be remembered that divorces cannot be obtained in any civilized state unless it can be demonstrated, by legal proof in an established court, that the marriage relationship has already

broken down because of cruelty, desertion, adultery, etc. Without such proof no divorce is granted.

So confusing has divorce legislation become that a strong movement has developed in this country to place the whole subject under the control of Congress by a constitutional amendment. Much has been written to show how a man may, under the present conflict of laws in the several states, acquire, by the complications of domicile, a number of wives—all lawful in a certain sense. Such persons traveling from state to state find facilities for divorce and remarriage readily at hand—for sham divorces and sham remarriages, perhaps, but sufficiently real to perplex courts of law, stagger social service agencies, and undermine the whole fabric of society.

Colonial America brought over from England and Holland the concept of divorce as a function of the civil law, rather than as a sacrament, as accepted in most of Europe. At first the local colonial legislatures granted divorces, but ultimately all the states transferred powers in divorce to the courts. Toward the end of the last century people began to view with alarm the growth of divorce. Late in the eighties the federal government embarked on a study of this subject, which revealed that divorces were increasing at three times the rate of the population increase. This rate has continued to rise (see *U.S. Census Reports, Marriage and Divorce, 1930*) until 1930, when, coincident with the fall in the stock market, marriages, births, and likewise divorces fell off.

The growth of divorce led to the progressive revision of marriage laws, with a view to the elimination of hasty and under-age marriages. This was done by raising the age of consent and the parental consent requirements. Some states have gone so far as to prevent the marriage of the mentally unfit, and some demand a doctor's certificate of freedom from certain diseases. A good deal of the conflict of our divorce law is of course directly traceable to the fact that each of the forty-eight states has the power to make its own laws. These laws differ sharply in concept and purpose. It is these differences—sometimes sharp con-

traditions—that make for the conflict in interstate divorce legislation. It is, for instance, a well settled principle of general law that the tribunals of a country have no jurisdiction over a cause of divorce, where the offense may have occurred, if neither of the parties has an actual bona fide domicile within its territory (see opinion of C. J. Ames, in *Ditson vs. Ditson*, Supreme Court of R.I., 1856, 4 R.I. 87). This necessarily arises from the right of every nation or state to determine the status of its own subjects.

Under the Hague Convention Relating to Marriage, of June 12, 1902, a divorce or separation may be granted if the national law of the parties and the *lex fori* allow divorces or separations (Art. 1). A divorce can be procured only on grounds recognized by both the national law and the *lex fori*, but the grounds may be different (Art. 2). A judgment by default is entitled to recognition only if the defendant has been cited in accordance with the requirements of his national law for the recognition of foreign judgments (Art. 7). A divorce may be granted in France only if the national law of the parties at the time of divorce proceedings authorized such divorces (App. Paris, January 30, 1908—35 Clunet, 790). In Germany, if both parties are foreigners, jurisdiction for divorce will be assumed only if the court is competent, also according to the law of the country of which the husband is a subject (Sec. 606, Par. 4, Code Civil Procedure). Since divorce is not allowed by the municipal law of Italy (Art. 148, Civil Code), a decree of a foreign court granting a divorce to an Italian subject will not be recognized (Cass. Turin, June 6, 1894, LaLegge 1894, 2, 515); but with regard to foreigners, it will be recognized if procured in a competent foreign court (Cass. Rome, August 17, 1904).

The English Parliament used to pass special acts of divorce for the benefit of private persons after the ecclesiastical courts refused, from 1601, to divorce parties upon any ground whatever. The latter limited itself to granting separations only. In 1669 the first decree of this kind was granted to Lord de Roos. During the seventeenth century this expensive and tedious proc-

ess was confined to three persons, and they of the peerage. As has been observed, in early colonial days legislative divorces were also known in the American states; and divorce was formerly granted by governor and council in Massachusetts (*Gage vs. Gage*, 1782). The impossibility of obtaining an impartial hearing soon brought about the disuse and abandonment of this type of procedure.

In Russia under the czars marriage and divorce were controlled by the religious customs of the various religious bodies. Thus, Jews in old Russia enjoyed autonomy in this regard. This was also true, to an extent, in Austria and Roumania. Since the termination of the war, however, they became increasingly subject to the civil codes of the countries in which they resided. The Bolsheviks introduced civil marriage immediately upon their advent to power in 1917, and provided for divorce by a simple judicial process. The 1927 code of Soviet Russia abolished all court procedure and established divorce by mutual consent or upon request of either party without specification of grounds. The registrar must record the date of marriage, children born thereto, which family name each will retain, and the agreement as to the disposition and support of the children. In case of failure to agree either party may take the case to court. Both parents must contribute to the support of their children. The marital right of support continues for one year after divorce (see P. Lubinsky, "Marriage and Divorce in Soviet Russia" in *Family*, X [1929], 28-31).

Industrialism and urbanism are factors in divorce as they are in desertion. Studies here and abroad have shown that divorce is largely a phenomenon of the city—an agrarian population having comparatively little recourse to it. Also, and again like family desertion, it increases during prosperity and declines during depressions, and for similar causes. In the belief that marital happiness is possible only where marital bonds are not unbearably irksome, western nations seem to be moving rapidly toward divorce by mutual consent, and to a simplification of procedure. There seems to be no gainsaying the fact that di-

vorice, being a symptom of the liberalizing tendencies of modern culture, the great social changes attendant upon the progress of science and industrialism, the resultant emancipation of women, the decline of patriarchal institutions, the spread of rationalism with its undermining of religious beliefs and institutions, the decrease in the size of the modern family, the increase of leisure, seems likely to increase as long as underlying conditions continue along their present trends.

Interstate divorce in the United States.—If the fathers of the republic, in framing the federal constitution, had made divorce a federal question instead of leaving jurisdiction to the several states, much of our present divorce conflict would be avoided. They could not be expected to foresee that the handful of colonies, clinging desperately to the coast of the unfriendly Atlantic, would grow into a great nation of forty-eight states, each being a law unto itself in divorce. They could not foresee the jazz age, the economic emancipation of women, the changing concept of the home, and could not therefore foretell the future conflict of laws and of states vying with each other in making divorce a major industry and in attracting tourist-divorce business.

Not that the questions at issue are difficult to encompass. It is only the results that are complicated. If both parties are living in the same state, there is obviously no legal difficulty. If they are living apart—one in one state and the other in another—what court may grant the divorce? Here is where two conflicting theories meet in combat: first, that no decree is good without personal service; and second, that marriage is a *res*, and that the court of matrimonial jurisdiction has full power. The pronouncement of the constitution that full faith and credit shall be given to foreign judgments of another state (which means also of a foreign nation) was in recent times held as not applying to a judgment granted without personal service. Is divorce of that nature?

In the Atherton case, the first important case in which the question arose (181 U.S. 155), the Supreme Court, reversing a

New York decision, seemed to answer in the negative; but in the later and decisive Haddock case (201 U.S. 562), the Court took the opposite view and has affirmed this by later decisions. By this time there had grown up in most states elaborate systems, by statute and practice, on divorce in the absence of personal service. In effect what the Court in the Haddock case had said was that a state need not recognize a foreign divorce obtained without personal service by the husband who had left the matrimonial domicile, but might do so if it desired; and most states have gone right on rendering such decrees and recognizing those of other states. It is said that the Haddock case has changed law only in four states, namely, New York, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas. Whether or not such divorces are valid now seems to hinge on whether the suit is brought at the matrimonial domicile or not. The final outcome of the controversy, if it can be said to be final, seems to be that if the spouse leaves the state where they are living together (the wife leaving for "sufficient cause"), and goes to another state, and there obtains a divorce on substituted service, the husband can obtain a divorce which in the first state *may*, but does not need to be, recognized, while the one who remains may obtain a divorce which *must* be recognized everywhere. Under the "full faith and credit" clause, therefore, a divorce granted in another state may be attacked for want of jurisdiction (see *Bell vs. Bell*, 181 U.S. 175). Insufficiency of service is thought to constitute such want of jurisdiction.

The recognition of a divorce granted by a court of a foreign country depends on the law of the state where the question arises (*Lie vs. Lie*, 159 N.Y.S. 748). The National Desertion Bureau, dealing with Jewish cases of family discord, has, since its inception in 1911, dealt with many of these aspects of interstate conflict in divorce.

Conflict in international divorce cases.—If we are to apply the principle of the Haddock case to suits for divorce instituted in this country against alien wives whom husbands deserted abroad, who never appeared and were only constructively

served with process, we need not recognize such divorces. Practically, however, the presence of our immigration laws which effectively prevent the wife from coming here to assert her rights, the subsequent remarriage of the husband here, the coming of children of the second union, present formidable obstacles which the social worker finds it difficult to cope with. Of little use to us are the negative decisions (*Brugiere*, 172 Cal. 199; *Ackerman*, 93 N.E. 192; *In re: Grossman's Estate* (Pa.), 106-A86; *Toncray*, 123 Tenn. 476) which tell us that such divorce is void in the first state. Nor does it help us much to know that a decree thus obtained may be attacked by showing that the obtaining of the divorce was the sole reason for the residence (see the *Brugiere* case above cited; *Lieber*, 239 Mo. 1; *Ronley*, 166 N.Y.S. 818), if, for the reason quoted, the absent wife has no access to the American courts. And even courts of a state which protects its own residents against a divorce granted without proper service may refuse to protect a non-resident (see *Percival*, 186 N.Y. 587, and *Kaufman*, 160 N.Y.S. 19).

When the American colonies adopted the common law of England, they did not adopt the ecclesiastical law relating to divorce, so that no American court has jurisdiction to grant divorces apart from statute, and every power exercised by the courts must be found in the statutes or it does not exist (*Williams vs. Williams*, 136 Ky. 71). Since the proceedings are judicial in nature, a divorce can be granted only for sufficient cause and after the other party can be given a sufficient chance to defend (*In re: Christensen's Estate*, 17 Utah), it is obvious that wives living abroad who are only constructively served with process by husbands instituting suits in this country are not in fact given the chance to defend that the law clearly contemplates. The remedy, in the opinion of the reporter, lies in a general strengthening of the law in all undefended cases, in placing the burden of proof upon the plaintiff-husband, to show that the wife has actually received notice of the suit. As the courts alone have authority to decree a divorce, no divorce allowed by any church can have any effect whatever. (*Hilton*

vs. *Roylance*, 25 Utah 129, relates to decrees of the Mormon church. See *Stillman vs. Stillman*, 174 N.Y.S. 385, describing a Hebrew "ghet.")

In the Massachusetts case of *Kapigian vs. Dei Minassian* (Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, 1912, 212 Mass. 412) the relief sought was a decree of nullification of marriage, solemnized in Massachusetts in 1908, on the ground that the husband had a former wife living. He was domiciled in Turkey, was a Christian, and there married a Christian woman with whom he lived. In 1902, owning a small farm in Turkey, he left his wife at the home of a friend and came to this country, intending to earn some money and return to Turkey. He sent her support for some years and then ceased when he learned that she had married a Mohammedan and had become a Moslem. It was found by the superior court to be the law of Turkey that, when a wife renounces Christianity and embraces the Mohammedan religion and marries an adherent of that faith, her previous marriage becomes "null and void" and the first husband is no longer her husband. The libellant in this Massachusetts case was ignorant of those facts until her marriage to the libelee and, upon learning the facts, ceased to live with him and brought a petition. The court held that the validity of her marriage depends upon whether her husband's former marriage was in force at the time of her marriage to her libellant. The court held that the law of Turkey must be respected and that the marital status be adjudged in accordance with the law of the community to which they belong. The principle is laid down generally by writers of recognized standing upon international law and conflict of laws that divorce, as well as marriage, is determined by the law of the country of domicile of the parties. Story, in his *Conflict of Laws* (8th ed., p. 201), states: "There is no doubt that a divorce legally obtained according to the jurisdiction of the country where the marriage is celebrated and where the parties are domiciled will be held a complete dissolution of the matrimonial contract in every other country." (Wharton's *Conflict of Laws* [3d ed., p. 223]; Wheaton's *International Law* [8th

ed., p. 151]; Savigny's *Private International Law*; Dicey, *Conflict of Laws* [p. 387]; Piggott on *Foreign Judgments* [p. 275].) The Massachusetts court therefore dismissed the petition of the second wife on the ground that the result being that the domicile of the libelee being Turkey at the time of the happening of an event, which under the laws of that country dissolved the marriage, and which in its essence was not contrary to the moral sense of civilized nations or inconsistent with our policy, the marriage should be recognized by our country as dissolved. It follows that the husband was not under a legal disability, and his marriage to his present wife was therefore valid.

All of the other states of the union have laws prohibiting the marriage of uncles and nieces, as coming within the law of consanguinity, except that Rhode Island permits such marriage among persons of the Jewish faith. How this law may sometimes cause interstate conflict is illustrated in the Maryland case of *Fensterwald vs. Burk* (Court of Appeals, Md., 1916). In that case a couple resided in Maryland under the law of which they were prohibited from marriage. They went to Rhode Island, where persons professing the Jewish religion within the foregoing relationship are authorized to marry, got married, and returned immediately to Maryland. After his uncle's death one of his nephews filed a petition that the marriage be declared null and void. The Maryland court, however, upheld the marriage.

The National Desertion Bureau is frequently called upon in the course of its work of locating Jewish family deserters to handle cases in which action for divorce has been instituted in this country by husbands who have deserted their families abroad. A brief description of some of these cases, the social and legal problem involved, and the remedy applied here follow: Sometime ago Mrs. P., a woman living in Odessa, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, acting through her twenty-year-old son residing in Washington, D.C., instituted an action for maintenance against her husband who had abandoned her and her two children in Russia some nineteen years before. A newspaper

notice of the foregoing suit attracted my attention, and I journeyed to Washington, in the hope of assisting in inducing the court to allow the suit. I felt that this, if successful, would establish a precedent to be followed in cases in which maintenance orders in behalf of alien families abroad were sought. Among other technical objections, the attorney for the husband questioned the right of the wife to maintain the suit on jurisdictional grounds. To offset this objection a brief was prepared in which it was pointed out that this was a suit for maintenance and not to dissolve or affect the marriage status because of desertion or adultery. We maintained that jurisdiction was acquired by the court over the defendant because he is a resident of the District of Columbia. The case of *Tolman vs. Tolman* (1 D.C. Appeals 299) was cited as a precedent. As between the states and the District of Columbia, so far as concerns their internal government, they are as separate, independent sovereignties, as are Russia and the United States (see *Kentucky vs. Dennison*, 24 Howard 66; also the case of *Craig vs. Mo.*, 4 Peters 410). It is therefore to be borne in mind that when we speak of interstate and international aspects of divorce, we speak of things that are often identical. In the Tolman case quoted above, the wife lived in Boston when her husband left her to go to the District of Columbia in 1899. She remained in Boston and was living there when she filed suit for maintenance in Washington. The District Court passed an order for alimony *pendente lite* and counsel fees. The defense was that the court had no jurisdiction of the case or of the plaintiff. The court, in allowing the suit, said (p. 311):

This is not an application for divorce, but for maintenance founded upon the continued relation of husband and wife, and to continue only as long as the husband may think proper to live separate from his wife and refuse or neglect to discharge his marital obligations. *The husband resides here and is therefore subject to the jurisdiction of the court.* Upon the whole, this court is of the opinion that there is full jurisdiction in the court below to grant the relief prayed for, and if the allegations of the bill be established the plaintiff will be entitled to a decree for permanent alimony; on the bill showing a case for permanent alimony the plaintiff is entitled to an allowance *pendente lite* for support and counsel fees.

We also pointed out that while the plaintiff, Mrs. P., was a resident of Russia, her residence is *de jure* where her husband is domiciled. The residence of the wife follows that of the husband no matter where his far-reaching footsteps may carry him, as was held in the case of *Towson vs. Towson*, 49 Appeals 47. Our plea in the case of the Odessa woman was upheld, and the court refused to grant the preliminary motion to dismiss the proceedings, and placed the case on the calendar of the court. We waited rather impatiently for the case to be reached, for on its fate depended the outcome of a number of actions which we planned to institute in foreign cases in the event of the successful termination of the suit. Unfortunately for the result of the suit, but fortunately for the woman herself, her son found means of bringing her to the United States. Of course, the case assumed a different aspect and no longer afforded us the opportunity of a precedent which we had hoped to be able to follow.

It should be pointed out that in the foregoing case we attempted to maintain a suit in a case in which no foreign judgment existed. Foreign judgments obtained in other countries can, under certain circumstances and conditions, be enforced here. Under the full faith and credit claims of the constitution a defendant in one state in an action to recover alimony awarded by the court of another state cannot attack the validity of the decree where the court which rendered it had jurisdiction of the parties (*Thompson vs. Thompson*, 226 U.S. 551).

Enough has been cited to illustrate the difficulties, legal and social, which arise from international and interstate conflict in divorce which the social worker is often confronted with. It is to be seen that divorce laws function in order to regularize procedure in the interest of society, to safeguard the rights of persons, particularly of children, when the marriage itself has actually, though not nominally, ceased to exist. The social worker, in cooperation with the legal aid resources of her community, can render an important service to her clients and to her community if she will encompass the problems involved and apply such remedies as have been evolved in man's laborious climb to a more rational society.

THE POLICE AND THE IMMIGRANT

Ernest Jerome Hopkins

IN CITY after city where immigrants in past years have settled numerous after arrival, the type of contact which they have had with municipal police has tended to keep alive and to strengthen that antagonism against American officialdom which began, as a rule, at the port of entry. The vision of American law and American justice which many immigrant groups have derived from their experience has been, and is today, often enough a mingled picture of official sadism and official corruption. This is not a new phenomenon. It has, of course, varied considerably from time to time, and as between different cities. But police lawlessness, whether of the type that "lays on" or the type that "lays off," has been considerably better known to the foreign-born and first native-born generation of immigrants than it has to most American citizens of longer establishment; and it has had a malignantly miseducative effect upon the immigrant, so that we cannot see very far into either present day crime or present day radicalism, or the mere general deterioration of the spirit of law in this country, without encountering police departures from law as a contributing cause. If I may revive the unfashionable but still convenient term "Americanization," then the police abuses of which I speak have been an incalculable setback to a desirable kind of "Americanization."

I do not make these broad assertions without some degree of broad proof. Two very striking statistical set-ups lately have come to my attention. The first is Report No. 10 of the Wickersham Commission, on "Crime and the Foreign-Born." Its findings are, in the main, two; the second has been generally misstated in the press, and requires a word of comment. This report, on an impressive basis of some four million cases of arrest,

first establishes that the actual immigrant, born abroad, is better behaved than the American average. "In proportion to their respective numbers, the foreign-born commit considerably fewer crimes than the native-born." This finding is the more remarkable because by using the statistics of mere arrests, the report seems to assume that for an immigrant to be arrested is tantamount to his being actually guilty; whereas we know that false arrest, followed afterward by meek release, is fantastically frequent in many cities; and it is very probable that the residents of certain "foreign colonies" are falsely arrested with disproportionate frequency. But this only strengthens the favorable finding as to the good behavior of actual newcomers. As to the first native-born generation, of one or more foreign-born parents, the report only sets forth that, since no statistics worth the name are available, it is "impossible either to affirm or deny." It is this which was generally seized upon in the press as an exoneration of this first native generation; perhaps we may suspect the desire of newspapers to flatter their readers as operative here, for this report does not exonerate this first generation. On the other hand, it cites "practically every law enforcement officer who was interviewed" as declaring it was "not the immigrants themselves, but their sons, that constituted the big crime problem at the present time. All were emphatic in that belief." This seems competent testimony; and indeed it is borne out by what every police reporter sees of routine crime, and what every investigator has repeatedly published in regard to the modern gangster crime. So, even though police do not keep the basic statistics, we may have no hesitation in stating that at all events there is a picture of deterioration in immigrant legality; that both as to frequency and gravity of crime, American residence has brought the reverse of improvement.

Now, contrast this to Canada. It has been argued that a certain degeneration in the law abiding quality is intrinsic in immigration itself: that it arises from the adventure of changing countries, from economic displacement, from a weakened bond between parent and child. But here we encounter the second

document I have mentioned: the annual "Report of Statistics of Criminal and Other Offences" published at Ottawa for the Dominion. All nations are represented in Canada, much as with us—the balance is more heavily in favor of the northern European countries—but even so, in 1930 the foreign-born in Canada, being 22 per cent of the population, contributed 41.8 per cent of the persons convicted of crime. That is, the new immigrant there is not better than the national average, but considerably worse; and it is clearly indicated that the first native generation in Canada has not deteriorated, but definitely improved. So we must file an exception to the intrinsic-in-immigration idea of criminality, and hunt for other factors; and no factor will be found more striking, by contrast, than the swift, clean, lawful and impressive working of Canada's police and Canada's courts, as against the alternating violence and slothfulness of our own. Their system educates to citizenship; ours mis-educates away from it. There may be other environmental differences, but this one is outstanding.

The conduct of the police is, to the immigrant, the most visible lesson in law. The Wickersham Commission, in its Report No. 11, on "Lawlessness in Law Enforcement," dwelt upon the traditional excesses of police authority, and found them still fairly general throughout the country. Since memory runneth not to the contrary, our police have tended to forget constitutional restrictions; to indulge in unlawful street beatings and shootings, unlawful punishments of arrested men, unlawful arrests or deprivals of liberty, unlawfully long detentions and "incommunicado" imprisonments after arrest and before arraignment, and unlawful trials-by-ordeal to make men become witnesses against themselves—the so-called "third degree." Cities vary, but apparently these malpractices have been the most common and acute in cities where submerged populations are the most numerous. There is considerable evidence that these police abuses have found, and do find, preferred victims among the poorer and less influential immigrants.

The more outrageously violent abuses do show a decline in

recent years. They are traditional. Police work and constitutionality are converging, but they have not fully converged. Meanwhile, today's police are confronted with a serious antagonism in immigrant circles with serious crime and serious cynicism and a certain amount of serious radicalism, largely representing the attitude that has passed from father to son after having been forcefully implanted by the lawless police violence of an earlier day. Many "foreign colonies" are islands of antagonism today against the police. And in recent years a new development has come to the fore, equally—if I may again use the term—"de-Americanizing."

This is the modern upflare of official corruption, bred by the passage of various moralistic and regulatory laws, with whose general philosophy of conduct many immigrant peoples did not and could not agree. Because many citizens of older residence, and quite prevailing the police themselves, likewise did not accept the morality of these laws—and I do not mean only the anti-liquor laws, but statutes creating fiat crimes in such fields as dancehalls, cabarets, recreation, and other matters of personal conduct—there has developed an extraordinary connivance at non-enforcement, involving the ugly abuses of "protection," the "squaring" and "fixing" of cases, payment of money to political machines and to individual policemen; and because immigrant groups of non-Puritan morality were in the line of fire of these laws, they have had an emphatic lesson in American police work as a sort of racket, to be at once patronized, paid for, and scorned. I need hardly develop this picture, for it is notorious. What I wish to emphasize is, again, the miseducative effect upon the immigrant mind and the undermining of what was most essential—respect on the part of new citizens toward the law of the land. Again, cities vary; but it would be readily possible to find immigrant groups, and indeed immigrant families, whose elders were clubbed and tyrannized over by police of the past, and whose sons now indulge in some form of business, not wrongful in their inherited view, that involves the payment of tribute to politicians and police. This is hardly what we

idealistically visioned as "Americanization" in those enthusiastic days following the war.

I am far from stating all this in terms of mere superficial blaming of the police. Police work itself has reacted to trends and causes; and unrestricted immigration has swayed the practices of the American policeman as truly as police, in turn, have swayed the minds of immigrants. Let me state a bit of history accounting for the first tendency I have mentioned, that of lawless excesses in law enforcement. This was itself very largely a phenomenon of immigration. In the period when city police departments were forming, roughly two generations ago or less, city after city placed the important task of law enforcement in the hands of magnificent fighters who were, in point of fact, fairly recent arrivals themselves. In very many cases, the most vigorous of those early policemen came from the one part of the British Empire where British law had been the most tyrannically administered and the rights of individuals the most ruthlessly overridden. So the concept of official restraint and scrupulous Bill-of-Rights protections about the sovereign individual was abnormally lacking in American police work at the start; a discrepancy between constabulary conduct and our state and federal constitutions became established and was fixed as a police tradition. Even today, though greatly diminished, that tradition survives. Law is still, with us, very largely what the police make it. It was much more so a half century, or twenty years, ago.

To these gladsome warriors, immigration proceeded to present the welter of Slavic, Semitic, and Mediterranean influx, and the problem of policing the slum. What resulted was obvious. The memoirs of retired policemen yet living are full of mention of the real guerrilla warfare that was waged between slum gangs and the police—waged, it seems, as much for the sake of the fray, and because of race prejudice, as it was under color of "keeping order." Here was the supreme illustration of the type of law enforcement which, said the Wickersham Report, No. 11, "is degraded almost to the level of a struggle between two

law breaking gangs." Our public considered these clubbing affairs necessary; it could not foresee the results, the inimical effect upon mental assimilation. I think of these early gang fights when I read, as one frequently does, of the clubbing of communist paraders by police today.

There is, it seems quite clear, as much race prejudice and national prejudice in our current communist clubbing convention as there is economic disagreement. Were it not so, the futility of trying to alter an economic doctrine by corroborating its major premise with a club would surely be clear to the constabulary mind. Whenever the communist orator tells his hearers that capitalist government rests upon force, the nightstick is likely to descend and bear out his contention. What beclouds the issue is the fact that to the policeman the communist is, or appears, foreign, and his doctrine is a foreign doctrine. He need know no more than that. The tradition, dictating how "foreigners" should be treated, springs readily to life. And the result is similar: to cement communism, just as the isolation of certain foreign groups has been cemented. Wiser police officials today, perceiving this, are letting communists parade and keeping police away until rioting actually starts: as in Cincinnati, Boston, and to an increasing extent in New York. A very vital constitutional right, that of free speech and free assemblage, is here involved. Immigrant attitude is involved too.

If police cannot be greatly blamed for responding to tradition, neither can they be blamed for the existence of laws which cry aloud to be broken, and so breed corruption. We may, in short, view the miseducation of immigrants, whether through police aggression or police complacence, as a national tragedy; but the moving forces of that tragedy are far beyond the police. The police are only its point of application.

The principles I have tried to outline were seen in mid-stage, in San Francisco, fifteen or twenty years ago. The California State Commission of Immigration and Housing, with the State Department of Education, conducted citizenship classes for the adult foreign-born. The commission also had a bureau of com-

plaints, to which immigrants brought cases requiring individual adjustment. And the files of that complaint bureau were fairly clogged with cases involving unlawful aggressions by police of California cities—cases of beatings, cases of raids upon dwellings, cases of extortion of money, cases of third degree. Some of the immigrants asked our interpreter: "Why are we taught these things about our rights in your classes, if they are not actually so?" And, indeed, it seemed that to have a paper right, which collapses to nothing when called upon for use, is worse than having no right at all. The whole situation was contradictory and hypocritical. As we all know, the "Americanization" movement failed.

Two cases embodied the whole situation. One concerned a group of very law abiding Russian non-resistants known as Molokans. By long and tactful work, our commission had made good contacts with this group. When the Bolshevik revolution broke out, these people decided the millennium had come, and their leaders applied to the authorities for permission to go back to Russia. Many Californians had been advising all foreigners to go back to their country if they didn't like ours; but when these Molokans tried to take the advice, they were thrown into jail. It was quite a while before they were released, and the net result was this: that colony retired into itself and shut down the bars against all Americans. I am told that it is exceptionally isolated today.

In the other affair, in 1913, a gang of Italian bunko men, driven from New York, came to San Francisco. Under protection from the police, they swindled unsophisticated Italians out of sums of money running from \$200 to \$10,000 at a "trick," by a form of confidence game. They paid 15 per cent of their takings to the detectives of the bunko squad. Finally the detectives demanded 25 per cent. The swindlers rebelled, were arrested, and sent to San Quentin penitentiary. Feeling double crossed, they turned state's evidence, laid bare the entire deal, and—corroboration being found—had the satisfaction of seeing one officer join them in the penitentiary, while six others confessed

and went to the county jail. The exhibit of official corruption could hardly have failed to impress the Italian colony which these grafters had victimized.

Were an intensive local study to be made of police relations with the immigrant, it would start with the obvious matter of street violence, and violence with arrest. Those facts are fairly open. The conditions show an extreme variation among different cities. The next topic would be that of false arrest; which is, in my opinion, the fundamental malpractice of American police work, as well as the most prevailing, and the most anti-social. It is unlawful to deprive a man of his liberty unless there is actual evidence sufficient to form a reasonable indication of his guilt. Wanting an indication of the frequency of false arrest, I compiled figures showing that, of 735,000 arrests made in one recent year in a dozen leading cities, 325,000, or 44 in each 100, resulted in release of the arrested man, either by police or by the first judge who had the chance. I know it is customary to blame judges and prosecutors for such releases, but the prevalent cause is the failure of the police to produce lawful evidence. The stool pigeon, Chile Acuna, told the Seabury Committee about how the New York detectives, when they were, as he put it, "short of collars," would go out to Harlem and arrest enough colored men—any colored men—to make up the required record of arrests. I would like to see whether this situation is not paralleled in regard to the Italians and Jews in Brooklyn, the Poles in Staten Island and Buffalo, the Filipinos in San Francisco, and the Mexicans in Los Angeles. Such an inquiry might shed light on the validity of using arrest records as indicating criminality among the foreign-born. And it might lay bare an extremely hurtful, antagonizing, yet easily remedied, abuse of authority.

In a recent case under my observation the crime of rape occurred. At a considerable distance from the scene, a detective found a pair of overalls which he decided might be a clue. Since they had the odor of sandalwood and a certain nearby factory used sandalwood, he went to this factory hunting for someone

to fit those overalls, and selected a young Polish workman. Without interviewing him the detective had this boy taken to the factory office, put him in a side room, told the woman who was the complaining witness: "Your man is in there"; and she went in and "identified" him. This young man had a perfect alibi, but those who had been with him on the given evening were all his fellow-nationals, and they were not readily believed. More influential was the testimony of his employers that he bore a good character. Still, four months passed, during which he was suspended from work. He was up before the grand jury eight times, and he and his friends raised a thousand dollars for a lawyer, before he was finally cleared. His foreman now tells me that the boy's character shows bitterness, and from other sources I learn that the Polish colony is in a furor of resentment against the police. Whose is the fault?

Elimination of false arrest requires simply that police get real evidence before acting. In Canada the police must take oath to each and every charge they bring. This simple device of the "sworn information" has compelled Canadian police to do real detective work, with a progressive improvement in their skill. They never arrest "on suspicion." I do not know why we have not adopted that device—it conforms with our law, and brings impressive results.

Unlawful detention commonly follows false arrest. In fourteen out of sixteen cities studied the Wickersham Commission found that arrested persons were being held from two to fifteen or twenty illegal days before being produced in court. I have no indication whether immigrants suffer more from this malpractice than any other type of suspect.

But as to the third degree, there is indication that immigrants do suffer frequently and acutely. Of 107 cases since 1920, of record in state and the United States Supreme courts, 83 are verified and 24 partly verified. Of these, 24 victims were either foreign-born or of the first generation. These were mainly capital cases, hence not fully expressing the common run condition, in which the typical victims are men without influence, in cases

without publicity importance. The classic of all third degree cases is that of Ziang Sung Wan, a Chinaman, who was grilled for eight days and nights, desperately ill the while, by the police of Washington, D.C.

Hernandez, a Mexican, was arrested on little or no evidence in Texas, after a storekeeper had been killed and burned in his store. Officers and citizens took Hernandez, by night, with a chain around his neck, down to the burned store and seated him facing the charred body of the dead man while they gathered wood, as if for a fire. He made a confession, was convicted and condemned. The higher court reversed the verdict.

The cases of Rini in New Orleans, Maggio and Berardi in Chicago, Kosiensky in Cleveland, Barbato and Mummiani in New York, were immigrant cases. They variously involved the use of kicks, blows, and long grillings to make these men be witnesses against themselves. Barbato was a farm worker on New York's outskirts. He was acquainted with Mrs. Julia Museo, who was found murdered, and he was arrested. When brought at midnight to the Fifty-second Precinct Station, he was unblemished. But by six o'clock the next morning he had scrawled on a bit of paper: "I kill Julia Museo." A jail physician discovered why. He testified:

I found echymoses—that means black and blue marks—over the right arm, with some swelling of the arm, with a hemetoma over the middle of the arm; a hemetoma is a little collection or tumor of the blood. There were several abrasions over the right elbow and right forearm . . . livid stripes over the right forearm and back of the hand . . . echymoses over the left arm; also over both eyelids; on the left eye; over the left malar bone . . . a few echymoses over the back of the neck . . . over the right scapula . . . over both sides of the back . . . in the left lumbar region . . . the lower part of the side of the chest . . . echymoses over the right buttock . . . the front of the right thigh . . . the backs of both thighs. There were some abrasions of the right leg.

Barbato was in the deathhouse when reversal of his conviction came.

Such methods certainly win no support, whether from the immigrant people or from tenth-generation Americans. It seems we must come at last to the point of view that regards the

educative effect as the real test to be applied to the agencies of criminal justice. I am aware that a high percentage of convictions is generally regarded as the end and aim of police activity. But convictions may be obtained by methods that drive away support of law itself. Mr. George W. Wickersham made this point in a recent address, saying:

Read the Commission's Reports on Causes of Crime, on Lawlessness in Law Enforcement, on Prosecution and Criminal Procedure, and you will realize how often the machinery set up to enforce law or to prevent crime, becomes the most potent engine for creating criminals. . . . We should remember that men will respect law only when law is respectable, and that the method of administering justice is often more important than justice itself.

One would add that the principles of the Bill of Rights, for all the limits and restrictions which they put upon police work, are better criminology than the thing the police in many cities have substituted. The crime situation requires a return to law on the part of the law's own agents, as the first and foremost requirement. The future of our institutions requires it no less; for thirty million persons now classed as immigrants are on their way to becoming citizens, and their view of American law, American justice, American official integrity and ability, cannot but be a factor of cumulative importance.

SOCIAL WORK AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF THE OTHER PROFESSIONS

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AS WALTER LIPPMANN recently said, "It is easiest to see where we are by looking back over the way we have come." It is the fruitful custom of the National Conference of Social Work to survey frequently the past of social work in an attempt to evaluate its accomplishments and gain perspective for meeting the problems of the future of the profession. During the past year and a half I have had the opportunity of making just such a survey, not only of social workers and some of their problems, but of physicians, dentists, nurses, teachers, ministers, lawyers, and engineers. While viewing the way in which members of these other professions have succeeded or have failed to adapt themselves to constantly changing economic and social conditions, it occurred to me that their experience might form a background against which to examine the status of social work.

First of all, let us think about the respective ages of the professions. Like law, medicine, teaching, and the ministry, social work is at once decrepit with age and distressingly young. Like them it has its roots in the antiquity of human experience, but like them its evolutionary adjustment to the social pattern of a complex present-day world has only recently begun. References have so often been made, somewhat apologetically, to the youthfulness of the profession of social work that they are becoming rather wearisome. Certainly, there is no one here who is laboring under the impression that antiquity is the chief prerequisite for professional development and maturity. You undoubtedly recall that a distinguished gentleman stood before this Conference some years ago and remarked that he belonged to a profession which had behind it the experience of eight

hundred years. If anyone feels the need of a similar historical setting for social work, he has only to be reminded of the great figure of St. Francis of Assisi who, almost eight hundred years ago, devoted his life and that of his order to pointing the way to service for those in need of aid. Or one has only to recall St. Vincent de Paul, who, four centuries later, established in France the prototype of future philanthropic institutions when he introduced nursing service and homes for the poor sick, the foundlings of Paris, the abused insane, and the abject prisoners of the Conciergerie who awaited being sent to the galleys. So amazing were the accomplishments of his lifetime that not only was he canonized, but in 1885 Pope Leo XIII declared him the universal patron of Catholic charities. In spite of the lapse of centuries and the growing heterogeneity of a world which looks back upon the simplicity of earlier periods with a somewhat scornful superiority, those two figures are still a living and powerful influence. But great as they were in their service to men, and lingering as has been their inspiration, it seems to me that it avails us little to rely too much upon the authority of the remote past which they represent. The social fabric of civilization is constantly being re-woven into different patterns, and too strong a clinging to old patterns is often a handicap in the learning of new processes. The very profession to which the distinguished gentleman belonged has been having the greatest difficulty in adapting itself to the changed conditions of the twentieth century. Loath to renounce the idea that the bar should be free of access to any man of moral integrity, the profession of the law has continued in its old path of low requirements for entrance to law schools, the privilege of substituting reading in a law office for attendance at a professional school, and the use of the "diploma privilege" for admission to the bar. Only last month, when the Carnegie Foundation published its *Annual Report on Legal Education*, Dr. Reed referred to the reluctance of the legal profession to face its problems in the sentence: "The only excuse for the invasion of this field by an outside organization is that the lawyers have lagged far behind

other professions—notably, the medical—in cultivating it themselves. Under such circumstances, it is better that somebody else do the job than that the job be not done.” In spite of nineteen years of vigilant endeavor on the part of the Carnegie Foundation, and ten years of greater alertness within the American Bar Association, the fact remains that 65 per cent of the present students in degree-conferring law schools will enter practice with less than five years’ training beyond high school. It is also true that only four states prohibit men trained solely in law offices from admission to the bar examinations. If the history of the legal profession were to prove the merits of antiquity, I am of the opinion that many would choose to line up with a “new” profession free from the power of the “dead hand,” free to face the economic and social conditions of the twentieth century, and free to benefit by the experiences of other groups which are earnestly trying to adapt themselves to changing mores.

This freedom, then, from too much tradition may be one of the great assets of social work. A second very great asset which social work shares with those vocations which are still rapidly developing is the fact that it is not overcrowded. There seems to be a very real demand for large numbers of able and trained social workers, and it is probable that this demand will continue over a long period of time, especially if social work technique is carried out of the urban areas to the rural districts. When I recall the need for rural case work which I have seen in sections as far from one another as the mountain sections of New Hampshire and the turpentine area of Georgia, it seems as if social work had only just begun to envisage its problems. The 40,000 prospective lawyers now studying in the 182 degree-conferring law schools; the vast crowd of elementary school teachers emerging annually from some 350 teacher training schools; the 20,000 nurses who are graduated yearly but most of whom are prepared for the archaic service of private duty rather than for the developing field of public health nursing; the numerous doctors among the 4,000 yearly graduates who want to remain in contact with the cultural and professional advantages of

urban areas in a country which has many more doctors to the square mile than any European country—all these groups might well look with envy upon one of the very few professions which is still far from being overcrowded. Social work has not only been constantly in demand of more trained people, but the present depression is vindicating with ruthlessness the necessity for the social work contribution to a society where great numbers of people are unable to adjust themselves to a highly complicated industrial stage of the arts. Just as the war furnished a great impetus for further expansion, so the present cataclysm is an important factor in instructing people in the service which this specialized group can offer.

The education of the public to the value of social work will inevitably do much to raise the prestige of the profession. This, in turn, will have its influence upon the type of person entering the field, for among the considerations which an individual makes in choosing a profession is that of the prestige which attaches to the various vocations. The period which has seen the partial decadence of the high repute which once adhered to the ministry, law, and teaching, has also witnessed the ascendancy of medicine, dentistry, nursing, and social work. As the last group intrenches itself more and more securely in the hierarchy of the professions, its appeal to better prepared applicants will be enhanced. When one considers the other comparative rewards which social work has to offer besides its rising prestige, it obviously ranks second to none in its opportunity for service. Despite the would-be cynicism and disillusionment of the twentieth century, the ideal of service still has its many followers. Social work, moreover, ranks fairly well in the freedom it gives the individual to live her own life. If she is more at the mercy of the community than the lawyer, the engineer, or the dentist, it is doubtful if her time is more infringed upon than that of the minister, the physician, and the private duty nurse. Certainly, she is not made to conform to the moral whims of every small community to the extent that the teacher is often obliged to do.

Measured, then, by non-monetary rewards, social work comes

off comparatively well. It is the only profession in the group except engineering which can offer a position to practically every qualified applicant. Its prestige and the recognition of the right to live one's own life are increasing; its ideal of helpfulness has not become dim.

When social work is judged in terms of monetary remuneration, however, it has not fared so well. If the great numbers of lawyers, nurses, teachers, and ministers who are striving to force their way into overcrowded professions are not envious of the social worker, it is chiefly because her salary is inadequate. The fact that the largest group of positions filled by the Joint Vocational Service each year from 1927 through 1931 fell within the \$1,800 to \$2,000 class is encouraging only when present social work salaries are compared with those of fifteen years ago. The fact that the present median salary of 181 graduates of the New York School of Social Work is \$2,814, according to a study recently made by Miss Leal, seems particularly hopeful when compared with so many figures quoted for social work salaries, but it pictures the earnings of a group of students from one of the best schools who had had two years' training beyond college. The figure represents a salary so considerably above the median for social workers in general that it can scarcely be used to indicate salary trends. Its chief value lies in showing what has been accomplished by a small, well trained group within the profession.

In comparing social work salaries with those of the other professions, the most fundamental difficulty lies in the fact that there have been altogether too few comprehensive studies of salaries within the social work field. Interestingly enough, doctors, dentists, nurses, and engineers have all made extensive attempts since 1925 to examine their financial status. The National Education Association continues its biennial survey of teachers' salaries. Within the next few months the ministry will publish the first extensive information concerning the salary level of the clergy. Since social work, unfortunately, has no comparable data, one can only estimate the median salary. If the Joint Vocational Service statistics should be indicative of

salaries throughout the country, the median is between \$1,800 and \$2,000. Let those who believe that this figure is too low adjust it to what they conceive the probable situation to be. Then let us compare their average with figures available for some of the other professions. From a computation based on the study of 6,328 random reports of physicians from all parts of the United States, the median gross income for 1928 lay in the range between \$6,500 and \$7,500. The median net income was probably somewhere between \$4,500 and \$5,000. From 5,544 schedules which dentists contributed from twenty states, the average gross income in 1929 was \$8,279, and the average net income was \$4,911. It should be noted, however, that these figures represent arithmetic averages and are somewhat higher than the medians would be. It probably gives a fairer picture if one bears in mind that the most frequent net income was \$3,200. When the mechanical engineers evaluated the 1930 earnings of their group throughout the country, they excluded teachers of engineering and employes of the federal government whose salaries would have somewhat depressed the average. According to their survey, median beginning salaries are close to \$2,000, reach \$4,000 when a man has been out of the engineering college ten years, and \$6,000 at the end of eighteen years. During the period of thirty to forty years after graduation, median salaries reach their highest peak, which is a little less than \$8,000. Thereafter they decline, but slowly. Since about 90 per cent of engineers are on a salary basis and not in independent practice, the foregoing figures very largely represent net income.

For the three preceding groups average salaries are considerably above those for social work. Let us consider the situation in teaching, the ministry, and nursing, where the rewards are considerably less than in medicine, dentistry, and engineering. In 1927, according to the National Education Association, the average salary of teachers, supervisors, and principals in elementary and secondary schools was \$1,252. Averages varied enormously from New York State, which led the list with \$1,986, to Mississippi at the end, with the pittance of \$448.

Inasmuch as the average salaries of teachers are decidedly influenced by large rural sections, it seems only fair to consider salaries paid teachers in medium-sized and large cities where most social workers are found. In 1930-31 in the 204 cities with a population of 30,000-100,000, the median salary for elementary teachers (exclusive of supervisors and principals) was \$1,609; for junior high school, \$1,860; and for senior high school, \$2,111. In the 88 cities of over 100,000 population the figures for the three respective groups were \$2,118, \$2,348, and \$2,731. There has been little definite information concerning ministerial salaries. The Methodist and Congregational churches are the only ones which have kept continuous salary records. In 1926 the average for these two denominations was \$1,826. If the forthcoming study of the clergy reveals a median salary below that figure, one must remember that the situation is almost identical with that of teaching. The minister in the rural section does not receive a living wage, but his actual salary is frequently supplemented by free rent and gifts. The urban minister may likewise receive free rent, but in addition his salary is more nearly comparable to the standard of living which he must maintain. Finally there is the nursing profession. The private duty nurse seems to fare worse than anyone else. Although she earns \$41 a week on the average case, she spends an aggregate of five months in twelve out of work according to a study by Dr. Burgess. Moreover, she continues from year to year at an almost even level of pay. The median salary for the private duty nurse (exclusive of board and room which she may receive while on a case) is only \$1,297. The public health nurse comes off considerably better with \$1,685, and the institutional nurse better still with a median salary of \$2,000. (The last figure was computed on a cash-received basis and then increased by \$500 to cover the maintenance which institutional nurses almost always receive.) The evidence which the figures for the three foregoing groups sets forth, seems to indicate that on the average social workers are not yet receiving as much as teachers, probably no more than urban ministers, and scarcely more than the nursing profession. The facts suggest that social work

needs to continue its vigorous attack on salary levels if it hopes to offer remuneration at all comparable to most of the other groups.

Thus far we have visualized social work, in its newer aspects, as a profession young enough to be enthusiastic and largely unhampered by tradition. It is a growing, expanding vocation which is proving beyond doubt the value of its service to society; but it is facing the very serious problem of how to provide a remuneration sufficient to attract large numbers of the most able people to its staff.

Since the future of a profession depends not only on the rewards it can offer to its prospective members, but also on the preparation for service which it can furnish, it is pertinent to inquire what the professional facilities and requirements are in social work when viewed beside the other groups. One of the first facts which emerges from any comparative study of achievements in professional training is that the trends are everywhere similar but that the actual stage reached varies decidedly from group to group. Medical education has probably developed farthest, and is the most critical of its standards and the most forward-looking. Its progress has been phenomenal, for thirty years ago the future of the profession seemed sunk in vast numbers of badly trained men. Then, only 4 medical colleges out of 162 were requiring any college work, and only 20-25 per cent were actually demanding a four year high school course. A campaign for improvement was begun in 1904, furthered in 1910 by Dr. Flexner's efficacious study of *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*, and aided in 1916 by the attitude of the American Medical Association, which decreed that no medical school could thereafter belong to that organization unless it demanded two full years of academic work as an admission requirement. The 162 medical schools have been reduced to 76, all of which now require the two years of college courses; and 27 of the 76 require three or more years. The schools, moreover, are becoming exigent in their demands of some 28 semester hours in the physical and biological sciences as prerequisites for admission. Together with raising their entrance requirements,

the schools have strengthened themselves through better integration of the curriculum and improved laboratory facilities, through the appointment of full-time salaried teachers, the closer affiliation with teaching hospitals, and the enlarging of endowments.

The first serious difficulty which social work education encounters, when it is compared with professional training in the other groups, is the widespread and tenacious apprenticeship system which is still in existence to an extent permitted by few of the other professions. Already at an end in medicine and dentistry, it is fast disappearing from engineering and law, and there are some slight indications that even nursing may eventually abandon it. The professional engineering societies base their entrance requirements, much as does the American Association of Social Workers, on experience more than on education; but the 145 engineering colleges are providing excellent training for some 9,000 men who are graduated annually. In theory, in all but four states a man may still prepare for his bar examinations in a law office if he so chooses, but in actuality this antiquated method is no longer extensively used. Apprenticeship already appears doomed everywhere except in nursing and social work. There its future seems doubtful, but as yet undecided. Most people are of the opinion that the apprenticeship system, as a method of training for the professions, was once well adapted to the needs it served, but that it is becoming a vestigial structure, ill-suited, even at its best, to the uses of the twentieth century. However unsatisfactory it may be, one should not overlook the fact that it is undoubtedly better than no technical training at all, and unfortunately there are professions many of whose members are entirely devoid of any vocational training. Social workers trained under the apprenticeship system are certainly better prepared for their duties than large numbers of ministers and teachers serving enormous rural areas who have never had a day's experience in a theological seminary or a normal school. If teachers of social work are ever discouraged, they ought to recall the burden which faces that profession which three hundred years ago founded Harvard

College for the purpose of providing for an educated ministry. Today only 33 per cent of its white Protestant ministers and seven per cent of its Negro ministers are graduates of both college and seminary. The once distinguished profession of teaching has also had its difficulties as well as has the ministry. As late as 1920 Dr. Felmley estimated that there were some 22,000 individuals who would enter teaching the following year with no preparation whatever for their work other than a partial knowledge of the subjects they were to teach. It should be said, however, in extenuation of the teaching profession, that due to a recently accelerated activity the training schools have reached the place in some states, and are rapidly reaching it in many others, where they can place a trained teacher in every rural school. Frequently, however, the rural area is either unable to pay for a trained teacher or is unaware of the benefit which would accrue from paying for one, and so inadequate individuals remain in teaching at miserable salaries while some able teachers are unsuccessful in finding positions. "The existing supply of professionally trained teachers, conceived in terms of genuine social need," is still totally inadequate; and yet, due to the presence of a cheap teaching force, certain sections find themselves with an oversupply of women prepared for elementary work.

A second difficulty which the schools of social work encounter is that of attaining graduate status. This problem social work shares, in its various aspects, with the other professions. The best medical, law, theological, and teacher-training schools are all working toward graduate status. There is an unquestionable tendency in that direction; and social work has expressed its interest in being in line with that tendency. But immediately social work faces the serious problem which arises from the fact that the individual schools have not stated their position unequivocally on the matter of whether they intend to be graduate institutions or not. Graduate work is probably preferable to undergraduate, but many who have carefully studied the situation doubt its expediency for all schools at this stage in the evolution of social work. The difficulty lies not so much with

those schools which are definitely undergraduate and recognize themselves as such as with those institutions which call themselves graduate and thereby appear to be when in reality they are not. If a school is to be strictly a graduate institution, its courses will not be open to experienced social workers, to nurses, elementary school teachers, normal school graduates, and those having "other types of training" unless they hold the Bachelor's degree. One author points to the fact that five of the nine institutions calling themselves graduate schools err in this respect and certainly many of the "mixed schools" do likewise. Homogeneity of student body is essential as a basis for any absolute training, and if people with varying degrees of academic background are admitted to graduate work, the result is never entirely successful. Either the intellectual tone of the class will drop to the level of the most poorly equipped individuals and the students with the better preparation will suffer, or the instruction will be maintained on a plane above that from which a part of the class can benefit. Let graduate schools offer courses in extension, if they can and will, to social workers who feel the need of further training and to those who wish to learn the approach to social work technique; but let those courses be entirely distinct and separate from the unified and homogeneous program of the graduate school. If schools are too small to exist without admitting various groups to instruction in the same class, some authors have suggested that they should discontinue their training course.

In addition to the handicap of heterogeneity of student body, many schools fail to become as effective as they might, owing to their low entrance requirements. Some are coming to feel that the "broad, general education" of which one talked so much fifteen years ago is not the best background for social work any more than it is for medicine, dentistry, nursing, or engineering. Unfortunately, that "broad, general education" in liberal arts colleges where a student could elect whatever he chose within very wide group requirements, too often resulted in an array of isolated courses which bore little relation to one another and did extremely little to give the student any insight into the oneness

of human knowledge, the contribution of the scientific method, and the recognition of the operation of cause and effect throughout all phenomena. Schools of social work seem to be tending away from the acceptance of general education as an adequate background for their graduate work, and most schools recognize the value of preliminary instruction in the social and biological sciences; but, as yet, there is no rigid emphasis upon training in the scientific field comparable to that of the pre-medical requirements. Seven of the 28 schools make no mention of the sciences in their catalogues; and of those which do, it is often impossible to tell whether the sciences are required, recommended, or only mentioned as providing a desirable background. Although it would seem that a knowledge of the structure and function of society would be of paramount importance to the social worker, twelve catalogues do not as much as mention sociology as a prerequisite to admission. Economics and psychology come off even less well than sociology, and the rich contributions of anthropology and biology scarcely attract attention among the entrance requirements. Perhaps the schools take it for granted that entering students have had a generous amount of work in these subjects; but, as Professor Keller so often says in connection with his case-method presentation of anthropology, "You can never take anything for granted, for if you do, you are almost certain to be wrong." Dr. Hagerty has vindicated the truth of that statement in relation to the amount of the biological and social sciences which college graduates have had. He examined the curricula of women students in six Ohio colleges which he considered representative of the country. To his dismay, he found that only 25 per cent of the students, upon graduation, had had any work in sociology and only 10 per cent in psychology. More than 50 per cent were without training in biology, and 75 per cent were innocent of economics. I attended, not long ago, a course in the introduction to problems of human behavior given by an able psychiatrist in one of the foremost schools of social work. It was an excellent course, but one which presupposed a knowledge of human physiology and anatomy, of the germ plasm and the nature of hereditary trans-

mission, of the factors governing evolution, et cetera. If the members of that class had come off no better with their undergraduate work than Dr. Hagerty's Ohio students, one is doubtful of how many of those first-year graduate students understood that course in its broad outlines. In fact, the question arises whether students should be admitted to such highly specialized courses if they have not had the essential background.

Finally, if the schools of social work are to march in line with medicine, law, teaching, and engineering, they will probably need to increase the attention which they give to research. It is generally conceived that a graduate institution has a dual function—teaching and research. This second rôle has been more and more emphasized, particularly by the teaching profession, until there are universities where continuance on the staff depends not only upon the ability to teach but upon the accomplishment and publication of research projects. In their second function the schools of social work have contributed comparatively little as yet. Beset on the one hand by problems incident to the newness of their institutions and on the other by the attitude of the agencies in demanding individuals trained for immediate and responsible positions, the schools have given themselves to activity so zealously that they have had little time for reflection upon the less immediate but no less important rôle which research should play.

In conformity with the procedure which the graduate schools of other professions are recognizing as desirable, social work schools need to lighten the teaching load as much and as soon as possible. Just as the colleges and universities have made consistent and generally effectual attempts to reduce excessive teaching, and just as the Society for the Promotion of Engineering Education is now waging a war against the heavy schedules of professors of engineering, so the schools of social work need to recognize that leisure and freedom from too much teaching and from heavy administrative duties are absolutely essential to the accomplishment of extensive research.

THE EFFECT OF THE DEPRESSION ON PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS

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MANY things have happened to social work and to social workers in the maelstrom of the present depression. Perhaps one is justified in selecting two or three outstanding things which are apparent to us all.

As the unemployment crisis has lengthened from weeks into months and from months into years, it is inevitable that social case workers and those who have been in the front line trenches should feel a sense of weariness and a loss of morale which always result from such extraordinary strain upon mind and body. Case workers have faced ever increasing numbers of families seeking relief, while the available funds have been constantly shrinking. It is no easy task to tell human beings in need that you can do nothing for them because there is no money to do it. It calls for sensitiveness of a high order to be able to say this time after time in a way which is sympathetic, courteous, and which does not entirely destroy hope. Then, too, in our larger cities it must have been a trial to the workers caring for families to have constant shifts made in the relief plans of the community, with those at the top making bad decisions because of a lack of knowledge of the actual conditions which had to be faced by the poor with the help of the social worker. No doubt, at times the case worker began to wonder whether the widespread demand for reduction of salaries might not reduce his own slender competence to the point where he could hardly get along in decency and in health. Added to these difficulties was the apparent hopelessness of the outlook for the future. So little seems to have been done in the direction of permanent and fundamental improvement, and the prospect of another winter

worse than that through which we have just passed is appalling to those who are sensitive to the sufferings of their fellow men. However, this weariness will pass, and the loss of morale will be only temporary. The social worker is marching on. He is neither hopeless nor helpless, and he has learned to face reality and to make the most of the situation as he finds it. In other words, he is ready to accept for himself the philosophy which he expounds to his client.

That standards of work have been lowered because of inadequate funds cannot be denied. Generally speaking, at least in the large communities relief is on a disaster basis. However, one wonders whether standards of relief are as definite as we have previously supposed them to be. Do we in fact agree as to what those standards are? Certainly the depression has modified our methods very substantially already and has stimulated us to a reconsideration of things which we may previously have taken for granted. One social case worker in whom I have great confidence tells me that the necessity for handling large numbers of cases has developed new methods of intake through an improvement of the first interview, with the result that one worker can take care of a very much larger number of clients at the point of intake than was formerly the case. It must be true that the importance of brief contacts between social worker and client has been greatly emphasized because so many contacts had to be brief. However, are we sure that every act of relief giving must be accompanied by case work? In a great disaster like the present one, when so many persons of all walks of life are in need, would it be well to have the client determine whether he wished to have case work or not? However these things may be, it seems clear that the vitality and soundness of such standards as we have will be measured in part by the extent to which we are able to adjust them to the actualities of the present situation.

In such an overwhelming relief burden it has been necessary to supplement the work of the specially trained social case worker with a very large number of untrained workers, especially in

public agencies. The Home Relief Bureau in New York City has twice as many workers as all of the private agencies put together, most of whom are wholly untrained. What will be the result of this "debasing" of our professional currency? The medical profession knows how to make use of untrained persons in epidemics, and upon such occasions it employs students and non-professionals to assist in the performance of certain duties which do not require particular professional skill. May not the same be true of social work? Perhaps we may "rediscover" the volunteer whose importance we have always recognized by lip service but for the development of whose usefulness we have done so little in reality. I repeat again that the social worker is a realist and that he will find ways and means of adjusting his methods and procedures both to limited resources and to the infusion of large numbers of untrained personnel.

Such adjustments should be promptly made in order that the public may be aware of a confidence in our own standards. You know, it is a fact that much of our social work publicity shows some irritation because the depression has come upon us and has interfered with the fulfilment of our many plans, hopes, and aspirations. We shall probably have to realign these hopes in the light of what the depression has brought us; and it may be in certain respects a blessing in disguise.

Along with these difficulties the status of the social worker in the community has greatly improved. Everywhere he is being called upon to assist in the formulation of plans for the administration of relief and in the execution of those plans. The American Association of Social Workers has led the movement to bring the knowledge and experience of the social worker to bear upon legislation; and we find social workers influencing legislative policy in city, state, and nation. This improved status and enlarged prestige imposes an ever greater burden of responsibility for public policy than social workers have heretofore borne. We need to equip ourselves more adequately for this enlarged responsibility.

Perhaps the biggest challenge of all to the statesmanship of

the social worker lies in the fact that there will probably be less money available during the next twenty years for philanthropy and social work than there has been in the past twenty years. Surplus wealth has diminished rapidly and will not be quickly restored to its former volume. This means less money for the things in which we are most interested. With reduced income it is inevitable that new projects for social work will have to fight for their existence, and many lines of work which have heretofore been carried on may have to be dropped or curtailed because there will not be sufficient money to go round. Who is to decide what shall survive? Who will determine what are the relative degrees of urgency? Private social work represents a group of vested interests. Each interest naturally seeks to perpetuate itself and to safeguard its growth and development. Now one of two things will happen. Either social workers and the interests they represent will themselves come to an agreement as to those philanthropic enterprises which must be continued or the decision will be made by the contributors, the taxpayers, and public officials. Here is the challenge to social work statesmanship—a challenge of social planning which involves agreement at the point where many will be hurt. Nothing will so strengthen the confidence of the public in the integrity and strength of our professional endeavors as a recognition of this fundamental problem of support and an attempt to deal intelligently with its implications.

REGISTRATION OR CERTIFICATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Walter West, Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City

REGISTRATION or certification may be defined as the act by which a governmental unit indorses, by definition or by examination, the qualifications and competence of certain persons to perform a function in which this government recognizes an interest in the quality of performance.

In the United States the active governmental unit in the registration, certification, and licensing of other occupational groups has been the state.

Although there is no technical distinction between the terms "registration" and "certification," "certification" implies a more active governmental function than does "registration," which may be limited to keeping a list of certain types of individuals. During the next few months or years, while the social workers are debating the timeliness of moves toward governmental recognition and discussing how it will be done, the term "certification" may be the best to use, as it describes more precisely the professional objective.

In nearly all discussion of the extent to which social work has arrived at professional status, the point of control of practice is mentioned. On that point it is usually admitted that we get a low mark, and it is usually waved aside as something which is sure to come but not immediately. One reason for this, I believe, is that we have accepted a remoteness for the concept of state recognition which does not really exist. We have thought of it as we are likely to do about other questions—as a full, complete, and exclusive concept; we have certification or we don't have it; to get it would require a campaign of education to convince a state legislature of something about which we ourselves are not quite sure.

While some of these things may be required, it is possible to show that certification is not a remote thing or an absolute thing. Slight alterations in the definition I have given, reveal that there are many ways in which certification is approached and partially attained, without definite incorporation into law. There are several informal beginnings, or even equivalent practices, which make certification seem reasonably close at hand, and, indeed, attainable by a simple extension, on a safely evolutionary basis, of the efforts we have been making to extend the recognition of standards in social work.

In social work we are familiar with the idea that a voluntary and informal service experimentally developed by groups of interested persons is frequently taken over and made a governmental function. When certification comes, it will have gone through something of the same cycle. No doubt, several examples could be found. Leaving the government out for a moment, is it not true that many public and private social agencies have used the certificate of a school of social work as a basic definition of qualification and competence? A more complete analogy, and one with which I am more familiar, is the use of the membership standards of the American Association of Social Workers as a basis for certification. Many social agencies have reported regulations to the effect that applicants for staff positions must be members of the Association, or possess qualifications that would entitle them to become members, as the case may be. Sometimes this use of the standard of the Association is decreed by formal action of the agency board of directors. In any case, such use by an agency gives the standard of membership adopted by the American Association of Social Workers the same use which might be made of a standard set up by a non-compulsory certification law. The American Association of Social Workers is a non-legal, informal, voluntary certification board. Its membership card, or its letter attesting to eligibility of membership, is a certificate in every sense except that of its legal recognition and in every way except certain formalities of application.

Nor has the use of the Association membership standard been restricted to private agencies. The National Membership Committee of the Association was requested about two years ago to pass on the eligibility of a social worker who was applying for a position in a public agency. The position had just been created. The appointing officer wanted professional social work indorsement to help him define the type of person to be appointed. The Association membership served, in lieu of legal definition, as a certificate. A few years ago it was decreed by the state welfare board of a western state that every county institution for children must have "adequate social case work. . . . Decision as to adequacy in each institution will be made by the department. The qualifications of training and experience required by the American Association of Social Workers will in general be regarded as a satisfactory preparation for social workers to be employed by the institutions." These examples could be multiplied.

The principal elements of a certification system are operating in another way in several southern states, in which the state boards of public welfare are given authority by law to set minimum standards and qualifications under which counties may employ social workers.

It may be that neither of the formidable terms—"registration" or "certification"—of social workers was employed when Alabama recently amended "sections 104 and 115 of the Code of Alabama 1923 which relate to the powers and duties of the State Child Welfare Department." Nevertheless, by the amendment the following paragraph became law:

In order to unify and standardize probation work in the juvenile courts of this state, the State Child Welfare Commission is hereby empowered to prescribe reasonable standards of education, training and experience which must be attained by any applicant for the position of probation officer in any of the several juvenile courts of the state before he shall be employed.

This law is not of itself certification, but it authorized the Child Welfare Commission to certify the requirements for certain positions.

Let us follow the Alabama action a bit further and find its relation to certification. In 1927 the State Department of Education had been given similar certification authority as applied to attendance officers. By collaboration between the Departments of Child Welfare and Education the positions of attendance officer and probation officer have been merged into that of "county welfare superintendents" in those counties which have organized county boards under the law (all but three counties, I believe). The county welfare superintendent derives his powers and duties from those held by these parent-positions. Furthermore, the authority of the two state departments over standards of education, training, and experience for attendance and probation officers, is held, under the merger, for the county welfare superintendents.

The specific standards, therefore, are not in the law but are decreed by state departments, under authority, duly delegated as follows:

To be employed as a probation officer or attendance officer or county welfare superintendent, an applicant must show these qualifications: graduation from an accredited college or university; three years' experience in teaching or in social work under supervision within the last five years; an approved course of training in social service, equal to about 12 semester credits.

Armed with these qualifications, a social worker may secure a provisional certificate, which is good for three years and can be reinstated after that time for additional three-year periods, provided that additional courses yielding a minimum of twelve more semester credits shall be completed during the first three years. The certificate is made permanent when the social worker has secured a full Master's degree. Only those with Master's degrees are employed now, I believe, on the field staff of the state department.

The question is frequently raised in connection with certification plans as to whether it would not be necessary to give legal sanction to low personnel standards. Alabama's successful application of high standards reaches a comparatively few positions and, therefore, avoids some of the pressure which would be

put on general certification proposals in states with large numbers of assorted social workers in many fields of work. It is, nevertheless, a significant accomplishment, which must have required a straightforward effort to achieve a desirable goal. Might we not adopt the policy generally? Are we not inclined to be too tentative in asking for standards and going after them?

Mr. Raymond M. Gallagher in the *Social Service Review* of June, 1931, quotes a bulletin of the Pennsylvania Public Charities Association, an organization privately supported for the purpose of building up standards in social work in the state, as follows:

In the General Poor Relief Act of 1925, county directors of the poor are authorized to employ trained welfare workers and all other necessary employees and assistants. . . . The employment of trained welfare workers should not be made mandatory, since there are not enough professional social workers available at present and because it is better policy to wait until public opinion will fully support employing such workers.

Why should Alabama ask and get trained welfare workers, whereas Pennsylvania acquiesces in the employment of those without the qualifications which are known to be required for carrying out any welfare program on a satisfactory basis? It would be unfair to answer that question solely by inferring that the leadership was different in two states; that in one it went after a desirable goal in a straightforward way and achieved it, and that in another it was apologetic, tentative, self-conscious, and afraid, and so failed. I think there is another element—that of state-wide standards as exemplified by the idea of certification—which makes it possible for the counties to choose their own workers under the guidance and with the assistance of the state in setting standards.

These examples of present practices in which the idea of certification is approximated remove some of its formidable aspects. It does not appear to be a revolutionary step to extend this indorsement of standards by the state to the whole field of social work, public and private. It may be difficult but not revolutionary.

Before speaking of certain difficulties to be faced in working out a complete plan of certification as applied to social work, I wish to emphasize the fact that certification does not by itself restrict the practice of social work to those who hold certificates. In comments on the California proposal in the April 15, 1929, *Survey*, when the bill was still in the legislature with a chance for its passage, Mr. Frank J. Bruno discussed the lack of mandatory provisions. He said the mere fact of registration was like "separating ourselves into the sheep and the goats, each of whom, however, finds satisfactory and approximately similar pasturage."

I think it is safe to predict, however, that if a certification bill were passed in any state, many appointing boards and officers would welcome the definition of standard requirements with enthusiasm, and civil service commissions would specify that examinations were open to certified social workers. Now, although many times these commissions ask for qualifications similar to the membership requirements of the American Association of Social Workers, and though an eagerness is shown for a simple definition of the background and professional education of those to whom examinations are to be open, there is nothing at present available in the simple and usable form of a certificate covering those points, issued under the authority of the state. Recently our office had considerable correspondence with a local government board. The board wanted a definition of the type of person to employ in a social work position. Is it not likely that other boards, perhaps unaware of a National Association of Social Workers, do not write to anyone, and stifle their impulses to raise the requirements for their positions? It is reasonable to believe that appointing officers would use a high standard if they found it ready-made, rather than struggle with a definition of their own.

Because our efforts on personnel standards are sometimes frustrated, it should not make us lose sight of the fact that the federal government and many states, counties, and cities recognize and employ some of the best social workers in the country.

In other words, we do not have to begin at the beginning to secure recognition.

In Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, and probably other states, it is now customary to invite social workers to prepare and give examinations for social work positions. The Baltimore chapter of the American Association of Social Workers within the last few weeks has been asked to function in that way. Certification would be put a step farther. But state civil service commissions have jurisdictions over many positions of great variation—in Massachusetts, I understand, the number is about 46,000. A certification plan by which the original examination, or determination of professional qualifications as applied to social work, could be formally assigned to a board of persons of that profession would simplify the civil service procedure, as it would any other application of the merit system of personnel selection.

The Supreme Court of the United States, as quoted in a meeting of this section last year by Mrs. Mitchell,¹ has defined a profession as "a vocation involving relations to the affairs of others of such a nature as to require for its conduct an equipment of learning or skill or both, and to warrant the community in making restrictions in respect to its exercise." Social work would appear to fall precisely into this category; and although neither the social workers nor the states completely control practice, the schools, the American Association of Social Workers, the other specialized professional associations, and some laws and practices, do function for the community to restrict and influence standards of practice. As certification is, therefore, but an extension of the informal and incomplete restraints which we already have and approve, we might as well agree to go after it.

This agreement, however, is the easiest part of the enterprise. Now we must define particularly what we want and how we want to accomplish it. I list a few of the problems which we shall need to deal with:

¹ *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1931*, p. 563.

First, there is the question with which we have been working for a long time—what are the border lines of social work? That is, who should be certified?

Second, to the extent to which social work training is on an apprenticeship or experience basis, the problem of defining qualifications is complicated. Where professional schools and the profession itself have reached an agreement which is expressed in practice, to the effect that school training is necessary, as in the nursing, medical and other professions, the school certificate is the basic certificate. Where great numbers of agencies, with varying standards are responsible for training, a much more intricate system of credits, is required.

Third, how can we frame legislation which will elevate standards without crystallizing them at a level which will be difficult to change? How can we keep a solid bottom, and at the same time have room at the top? Would the Alabama plan work as well if transplanted to other states? If the authority to fix standards is delegated to a state commission, is it possible to expect that commission to resist whatever pressure there may be to slip constantly to lower levels? Or would it be better to employ another method and write into the law the detailed specifications of education, training and experience?

Fourth, how would each state delegate authority for standards and to what body?

Fifth, would it be necessary to have state organizations of the American Association of Social Workers, so that a strong, nationally endorsed professional group would be available to perform its important part in cooperation with the state to make the plan serve its purpose well?

Sixth, what device could be employed to certify valuable social workers, already in practice, without fixing the requirements at the lowest common denominator of their existing qualifications as measured in terms of education and experience standards?

Seventh, to what extent, and in what way could arrangements be made by which certificates of one state could be

honored by another, so that certified social workers of one state would not be excluded from positions in other states for which certification was required?

These questions involve state decisions, but they also include many points on which some national coordination is highly desirable. Miss Breckinridge, chairman of the Committee on Personnel Standards in Public Social Work, of the American Association of Social Workers, is to report for that Committee soon, when I believe some recommendations will be made concerning these national aspects. In the meantime the social workers of California are continuing to work on a state system of registration. The Chicago Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers has recently voted to take steps to secure a state certification law. Mrs. Edith J. Mitchell, chairman of the New York City Chapter Committee on Civil Service Standards, drafted a tentative bill last year especially adapted to New York State.

In the experience of other professions social work can find much that will help to answer the questions I have raised and other questions which will be encountered. In the cursory inquiry I have made into this experience I have found two general points of significance. First, from no quarter does there appear, in any certified or licensed profession, any suggestion that those measures should be rescinded. The other generalization is, that if professional schools, professional practitioners, and public administration approach each other in appreciation of skills and learning required to do the work of a profession, certification or licensing by the state will result.

UTILIZATION OF THE WICKERSHAM REPORTS ON LAW OBSERVANCE AND ENFORCEMENT

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IF ONE is going to discuss the utilization of a thing, first consideration should be given, I suppose, to what the thing is that is going to be utilized. How many of you have ever seen a set of the Wickersham reports? Here on the table are the immortal documents. Standing cover to cover, they make a row 10 inches long; the total number of pages is 3,762; a rough calculation places the number of words at 402,000—nearly half a million.

Here are the titles of these reports: the first is entitled "Criminal Statistics"; then there are reports on "Prosecution"; on the "Enforcement of the Deportation Laws of the United States"; on the "Child Offender in the Federal System of Justice"; on the "Study of the Federal Courts"; on "Criminal Procedure"; on "Penal Institutions, Probation and Parole"; on "Crime and the Foreign Born"; "Lawlessness in Law Enforcement"; on the "Cost of Crime"; two volumes on the "Causes of Crime"; and a report on "Police."

To what extent have these reports so far been used? That is the first question that confronts us. Letters from some members of the Wickersham Commission, in answer to my inquiry on this point, indicate that in their opinion the reports had been used hardly at all. This is a pessimistic and inaccurate view. The reports have been used more extensively than these answers would indicate. To begin with, there were the newspaper stories published when the various reports were released. I thought this publicity considerable. After the reports on prohibition were out, interest, both of editors and the public, in the Commission might well have diminished or ended. And yet as the other re-

ports appeared, newspapers almost universally carried stories on them. Very widely these made the front page. Not only that; but if the reports were released for morning papers, they were still carried by the afternoon papers—again sometimes on the front page; and if released for afternoon papers, they still appeared in the papers next morning. Those of you who are interested in educational publicity will realize that this is not always the fate of the stories you send out. I have had some association with newspapers, and I was surprised at the space these reports got.

Next, perhaps, should be mentioned articles or reviews of the reports in magazines, both lay and professional. No complete list of these is in my possession; and yet I know that reviews or articles were published in the *Michigan Law Review*, the *North American*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Current History*, the *Literary Digest*, the *Survey*, the *American City*, the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, the *Harvard Law Review*, the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, the *American Bar Association Journal*, *Mental Hygiene* (Canadian), the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, and the *West Virginia Law Quarterly*. In several of these, not one, but a number, of articles on the Commission's work were published.

It is still too early, one would think, to find references to the reports in other books; and yet materials from the reports are given in *Trends in Urban Growth*, a study prepared by Professor R. D. McKenzie, of the University of Michigan; in *Juvenile Delinquency*, by Walter C. Reckless, of Vanderbilt University; and in *The Problems of Crime*, a text by Professor Clayton J. Ettinger, of the Michigan State Teachers' College at Kalamazoo.

More than that, the report on "Police Lawlessness" formed the basis of an independently published book entitled *Our Lawless Police*, by Ernest J. Hopkins. The report on police is referred to in the recent Honolulu survey which attracted attention, and also in a study of the Cleveland police department.

Publications of the Cincinnati Criminal Justice Association

have several times utilized material from the Wickersham reports. Use has been made of the reports also before legislative hearings in Ohio and New Jersey. Hearings on the report on "Deportation Laws" have been held by the United States Chamber of Commerce, and announcement has been made that a committee of the American Bar Association will give attention to this report. The gist of this same report was presented in an address in Chicago before a joint meeting of the Bar Association and the Immigrants' Protective League, and also before the Central Conference on Immigration in New York.

A detailed study of the cost of criminal justice in West Virginia was based in part on the Commission's report on the "Cost of Crime" and on material gathered for the Commission but not published for lack of space. Material from this same report was used in an address before the National Conference on Government held in Buffalo in November, 1931.

Judge Rex, president of the Illinois Association of County Judges, has recommended the report on "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency," which is Volume II of the report on the "Causes of Crime," to the county judges of the state for reading; and Professor Phil Willy Gierlichs, of the University of Cologne, has written: "I have decided to use this material as the basis of my criminal sociological lectures in the coming semester."

It is already known that material from one or more of the reports is used in classroom work in the University of Chicago, University of Michigan, Swarthmore College, University of Pennsylvania, Rutgers University, Colgate University, University of Washington, Vanderbilt University, Oberlin College, Ohio Wesleyan University, New York University, and the University of Illinois. Unquestionably, this is only a partial list.

Two weeks ago the Religious Education Association held a three-day conference in New York City at which the reports of the Wickersham Commission were taken as a basis for the entire discussion. The program of this conference contains the following sentences:

The 1932 Convention program began in the suggestion of Dr. John H. Finley, that the real value of the data assembled by the Wickersham Commission would be lost to the country unless some organization gave extended study to it and revealed its real nature as the greatest body of data ever assembled on the causes and cure of crime. Accordingly, the Board voted on November 6, 1931, that the program for the 1932 Convention should center around the causes of crime and lawlessness in the administration of law as shown in the Wickersham report, together with their implications for religious and character education.

The Executive Committee of the Board proceeded to form a National Program Committee to study the Wickersham reports and other pertinent studies with a view of using the 1932 Convention to begin the clarifying of the issues involved for the character developing agencies—the home, the church, the school, and so forth.

Discussions in the manner of seminars were held, and a number of prominent people spoke.

Investigations of third degree practices were held in Washington, Cleveland, and other cities following the publication of the Commission's report on that subject, and in Washington indictments were returned against a number of policemen, some of them being convicted.

At least two bills have been drafted aiming to put into effect recommendations of the Wickersham Commission. One is entitled a bill "to provide for the transportation of certain juvenile offenders to states under the law of which they have committed offenses or are delinquent, and for other purposes." Its purpose is to meet the criticism in the report of Dr. Miriam Van Waters that the federal government does not properly handle child delinquents—a criticism to which additional reference will be made later on. This bill has been introduced into the United States Senate and has been referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The other bill aims to remedy evils in the present practices with regard to the deportation of aliens. Severe criticisms were made in one of the reports as to the procedure of the Department of Labor in this respect. This bill was drawn up by the Legislative Drafting Bureau of Duke University in cooperation with the Foreign Language Information Service of New York

City. It establishes a separate deportations board, in conformity with a recommendation of the Wickersham Commission, and aims to surround the deportation process with fairness and impartiality. This bill will not be introduced probably until the next session of Congress.

Meanwhile, I am informed that the Department of Labor has put an end to the sensational raids which it was staging in the cases of certain aliens, and that this is a direct result of the report on deportations of the Wickersham Commission. I am further informed that it has reversed itself on the cases of Serio and Hsuan, two men who were about to be deported to Italy and China, respectively, where they would almost certainly be put to death as communists. They have been permitted to go instead to Russia, which they were able and willing to do. In this case, therefore, it seems that a report of the Wickersham Commission may have saved two lives.

Incomplete and fugitive as these items of information are, they indicate that the Wickersham reports here and there are being studied and are stirring to action. There ought to have been more of an organized effort to promote their use. That phase of the matter we will discuss in a moment.

Now let us see what some of the values and recommendations in these reports are. Students of the subject were not surprised that the Commission had not much good to say about the condition of criminal statistics in this country. Its report is accompanied by two research studies—one a "Survey of Criminal Statistics in the United States," by Professor Sam B. Warner, of the Harvard Law School, and the other "A Critique of Federal Criminal Statistics," by Morris Ploscowe. Existing statistics on crime, criminals, and the administration of justice, says the Commission, are "unsystematic, often inaccurate and more often incomplete." The report emphasizes the importance of statistics in regard to the volume and character of offenses committed, the types of offenders, detection, prosecution, trial, conviction, and penal treatment. These data are needed, says the Commission, as a check upon the efficiency with which the

agencies of law enforcement are functioning and also as a basis for the guidance of administrative policy and legislative action. "Accurate data," it remarks, "are the beginning of wisdom in such a subject, and no such data can be had for the country as a whole."

Today nation-wide criminal statistics are compiled and published by three different bureaus of the federal government. The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor collects statistics on juvenile delinquency. The Census Bureau in the Department of Commerce collects statistics on penal institutions. The Bureau of Investigation in the Department of Justice collects statistics of offenses known to the police. Statistics of prosecutions and courts are not now nationally collected or published. The development and consolidation of all these groups of statistics in a single bureau would insure their comparability, says the Commission, improve the methods by which they are gathered, compiled, and interpreted, and promote economical collection. The eventual development of an adequate system depends upon the creation of state statistical bureaus which would collect criminal statistics on a state-wide basis and transmit them, in turn, to Washington. The need for such organizations is called to the attention of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. "As soon as proper state legislation has gone far enough to make a sound foundation," declares the Commission, "the gathering, compiling and publishing of nation-wide criminal statistics should be committed as a whole to the Bureau of the Census." Meanwhile present methods of collection should be continued, but care should be taken to avoid publishing conclusions and interpretations on partial and misleading data.

One feels at times that there is no more colorful person in American life than the public prosecutor. His table pounding has been heard in every courthouse in America. The Commission's report on "Prosecution" bears eloquent testimony to the crucial position he occupies in the administration of criminal justice. The report outlines the evolution of the prosecutor's

office in England and in the United States; describes the present systems of prosecution in federal and state governments; discusses the shortcomings of these systems and the difficulties which confront the prosecutor in his performance of his task; and considers the problems presented by the professional defender, the public defender, and the grand jury. This report is accompanied by an analysis of criminal justice surveys by Alfred Bettman. It is not through jury trials that felony cases are predominantly disposed of, and it is not through jury acquittals that persons accused of crime predominantly escape conviction. The majority of cases, it would appear, are disposed of by methods other than jury trial. A far greater number of leaks in the administration of justice occur in the office of the prosecutor. Indictments may be dismissed by *nolle prosequi*, cases may be dismissed on pleadings or for want of prosecution, or they may be settled without trial by the acceptance of a plea of guilty to a lesser offense than the one charged. These matters are largely within the discretion of the prosecutor. He can decide which offenses are to be prosecuted, which laws are to be enforced. This authority, says the Commission, gives him a greater power in the administration of the criminal law than that possessed by the judge or by any other official.

The Commission recommends that "there should be better provision for the selection and tenure of prosecutors in the states, and especially for the organization, personnel, tenure and compensation of the staff of the prosecutor's office." It concludes that there should be definite provision for the unification of the functions of enforcement and a concentration of responsibility in a central executive office which is beyond the reach of local politics. Specifically, it recommends, "A systematized control of prosecutions in each state under a director of public prosecutions or some equivalent official, with secure tenure and concentrated and defined responsibility."

There is no more interesting subject than the expulsion or deportation of aliens from the United States. During the past ten years over 90,000 aliens have been deported from this coun-

try under warrant proceedings; and, in addition, during the past six years for which records have been kept, over 95,000 aliens subject to deportation have been permitted to depart voluntarily without warrant proceedings having been consummated. Under our federal statutes, expulsion processes which involve varied and difficult functions are carried out by a single executive branch of the United States government, the Department of Labor. A report on the administration of the deportation laws of the United States was made to the Commission by Reuben Oppenheimer of the Baltimore bar, and the Commission concurred in Mr. Oppenheimer's conclusions and recommendations. Deportation laws themselves are, of course, necessary, says the Commission. No other penalty will protect the United States from being inundated by defective, diseased, delinquent, and incorrigible persons. It is unfortunate, however, says the Commission, that present practice makes an agent of the Bureau of Immigration of the Labor Department, detective, prosecutor, and judge—"three functions which we have found it safe, in no other phase of life, to intrust to any one individual." Grave abuses and unnecessary hardships result from this system, says Mr. Oppenheimer: first, the apprehension and examination of supposed aliens are often characterized by methods unconstitutional, tyrannic, and oppressive; second, there is strong reason to believe that in many cases persons are deported when further development of the facts or proper construction of the law would have shown their right to remain; third, many persons are permanently separated from their American families with results that violate the plainest dictates of humanity; fourth, the enforcement of the deportation laws is handicapped by overcentralization of the administrative machinery.

These defects and abuses are not primarily the fault of the agency in charge of deportation, declares Mr. Oppenheimer, but result from a number of causes. He proposes that the Department of Labor should be charged only with duties of investigation and prosecution, and that for the judicial function there should be established an independent board, with some such

name as the "board of alien appeals," to be appointed by the president. This board should be charged with the duty of issuing warrants of arrest, of conducting hearings on the warrants, and of deciding when warrants of deportation should be issued, and its findings should be published. We have already seen that a bill (in part to this effect at any rate) has been drafted. Other reforms are suggested, such as that aliens subject to deportation to a country where their lives may be in danger because of their political opinions should be allowed to depart at their own expense to any other foreign country willing to receive them.

Perhaps the most drastic single general statement in Miriam Van Waters's report on "The Child Offender in the Federal System of Justice" is that the federal government does not recognize the concept of juvenile delinquency. As the Commission puts it:

The creation and development of the juvenile court in the United States has been made possible by a line plainly drawn between child and adult in the State law. The child offender is generally dealt with on a noncriminal basis and has been protected from prosecution and conviction for crime. The State has come to regard him as its ward. It has assumed guardianship over him. It has undertaken to safeguard, train, and educate rather than to punish him. It has substituted social for penal methods; the concept of juvenile delinquency for that of crime. This clear distinction, however, has never been made in the federal law. The child approaches the courts of the United States on the same footing as the adult. The concept of juvenile delinquency is unknown to the federal penal code.

Without going into all of the findings of Dr. Van Waters's report, or the discussion which followed its publication, it is a matter of record, I believe, that the Department of Justice has recently taken steps to remedy the conditions disclosed by this report. As the Commission concludes:

It is desirable from every point of view that the federal government be empowered to withdraw from the prosecution of juveniles, where such withdrawal will be in the public interest, and to leave the treatment of their cases to the juvenile courts or other welfare agencies of their own States. The Commission recommends the passage of legislation which will have this effect.

Proposal that the federal government itself set up a system of juvenile courts was considered, but the plan was not recommended.

The Commission expresses its opinion of the prison system thus:

We conclude that the present prison system is antiquated and inefficient. It does not reform the criminal. It fails to protect society. There is reason to believe that it contributes to the increase of crime by hardening the prisoner. We are convinced that a new type of penal institution must be developed, one that is new in spirit, in method and in objective. We have outlined such a new prison system and recommend its adaptation to the varying needs of the different states.

I quote also from the report made to the Commission by the so called Advisory Committee on Penal Institutions, Probation, and Parole. This committee consisted of twenty-four well known students and administrators in the field of penology under the chairmanship of the late Dr. Hastings H. Hart. In a foreword, called "The Practical Approach to Penology," the Advisory Committee said:

Crime is human behavior; criminal acts are the acts of human beings. Crime and criminal acts, therefore, come within the scope of a scientific approach to conduct.

People leave prison as well as enter it. At any given moment the number of people coming out of prisons in the United States is substantially as great as the number entering them. . . . To put the matter bluntly, massive prison gates swing both ways. To put it dramatically, every time a judge says "I sentence you to prison," a prison gate opens somewhere and a man steps forth to freedom.

The implication of this for treatment is obvious. The benefit to society is little if the man comes out no better than when he went in. Society has shut him up, only to turn him loose for further depredations. It has gained a period of respite from the criminal acts of this particular individual; but others have been coming out meanwhile, and new criminals have been taking the places of those sent to jail. Mere incarceration, with release of the offender at the end of his sentence, is of small assistance to society in combating crime. . . .

The uninformed criticism of those who advocate reform in the treatment of criminals is that they are sentimentalists. Among sentimentalists are those who, because of attachment to outworn or existing procedures or plans, wish to keep such plans. The realist is the person who is willing to face the facts—not only some of the facts, but all of the facts. In our opinion existing methods of handling criminals are largely defective. We believe, therefore, that the sentimentalist in respect to matters of handling criminals is the person who insists on present methods, or making them even harsher, without being aware that these methods have failed, and that the realist is the person who is willing to approach the matter in a calm, unprejudiced, scientific manner, desirous to find out just how a tendency toward crime can be stopped or a criminal himself made a law-abiding member of society.

Both the Commission and the Advisory Committee recommend smaller prisons in which fortress-like construction of maximum security shall be used for only a portion of the population, in which there shall be individual treatment of inmates and in which all the resources of modern education and science shall be utilized to effect alterations in conduct. The Advisory Committee also makes this recommendation:

We believe that it is an eminently proper question for the American people to consider: Whether the specific imposition of sentence, as now practiced by courts in most jurisdictions, should not be taken away from judges and the sentencing power of judges restricted to "committing the offender to the custody of the State" or suitable governmental authority. We believe that many judges would be glad to be relieved of deciding, when an offender is found guilty, to what institution he shall go and how long he shall stay. Individual judges are on record as favoring this proposal. Such a plan would involve the thorough application of the indeterminate sentence. . . .

In its most complete form, the recommendation which we are making would be that the function of the court should stop entirely with the determination of guilt or innocence and that offenders should be turned over to another sentencing authority charged with the duty of diagnosis and treatment. This might be a board composed of educators, physicians, prison superintendents, psychiatrists, psychologists, lawyers and others.

The procedure would be, as we say, for the court to commit the offender to the custody either of the State or of such an authority, without control as to the institution in which he was to be held or the length of time he was to serve. The board, after studying and observing him, would prescribe such treatment as the State's institutional facilities afforded.

This board, or its properly designated representatives, would perhaps also determine the question when the prisoners should be released, releases being presumably upon parole. Suitable provision should be made for appropriate court review in case of abuse.

In respect to probation perhaps the most far-reaching suggestion of the Advisory Committee is that the state help to pay the expenses of local probation—that the state actually place its treasury at the service of local probation. Whether it would meet one-half, or one-third, of the cost of probation in counties is left to each state to decide for itself, but the argument is made that this form of assistance by a major political division to a minor political division is an accepted and sound practice in American governmental technique and that it would extend and improve probation service generally. In return, the state would

purchase the right to establish certain minimum standards for probation; and it is contended that this could be done without destroying the values of local initiative and interest. Both the Commission and the Advisory Committee heartily indorse probation but declare that it has not lived up to its promise in the United States.

A similar criticism is made of parole. Parole is defined as not shortening an offender's term, not clemency, not mercy, not making things easy for an offender, but as a period of adjustment, under supervision, from the extraordinary and artificial life of a penal institution to normal living in the community. In this sense it is a continuation of the process of treatment. The parole officer should be a case worker; and it is the function of the parole officer to substitute the discipline, education, and watchfulness available in community life for the discipline and treatment available in an institution. The qualifications for a parole officer are stated by the Advisory Committee to be either a high school education with at least three years' acceptable experience (full-time basis) in social case work with an agency of good standing or a college education with at least one year of satisfactory training either in a social case work agency or in a recognized school of social service.

How easy it is to sink into a morass when one starts to calculate the cost of crime is vividly indicated by the Commission's 657-page report on "Cost of Crime." The investigators for the Commission, Goldthwaite H. Door and Sidney P. Simpson, refuse to name any lump sum as the total ascertainable cost of crime in the United States. That is natural, since previous published attempts to name such a sum have ranged all the way from \$900,000,000 to \$18,000,000,000. They do approximate figures for certain items—and an enormous amount of work went into such approximations. They estimate that administration of the criminal law costs the federal government alone over \$52,000,000 annually; that state penal and correctional institutions and parole agencies involve an expenditure of \$51,000,000 each year; that criminal law enforcement in cities exceeding

25,000 in population costs very substantially in excess of \$247,000,000; that rural protection by state police forces in the eleven states having such forces costs somewhat more than \$2,500,000 annually. Aggregate losses to private individuals caused by criminal acts are of course impossible to determine, but the investigators estimate that insured losses due to burglary, robbery, larceny, and embezzlement exceed \$47,000,000 annually; that indirect economic injury due to the loss of productive labor of criminals and of law-enforcing officers ranges in the neighborhood of \$300,000,000 a year. In addition, there are large private expenditures for protection against crime. Some \$3,900,000, for example, is paid annually for armored car service for transporting money and valuables.

Probably the most forthright conclusion drawn from the Commission's study of crime and the foreign born is that reached by Alida C. Bowler, who was then research assistant of the University of Chicago and is now associated with the Federal Children's Bureau. In proportion to their respective numbers, says Miss Bowler, the foreign born commit considerably fewer crimes than the native born. This is bound to prove surprising to many people, though perhaps not to social workers in large cities. Miss Bowler adds the following conclusions: the foreign born approach the record of the native white most closely in the commission of crimes involving personal violence; in crimes for gain (including robbery, in which there is also personal violence or the threat of violence) the native white greatly exceed the foreign born; in the commission of certain types of offenses there is considerable variation among the different nationalities within the foreign born group, but the detailed data as yet available are insufficient to warrant final conclusions; also, there is insufficient information to warrant any deductions as to criminal activity among the native born of foreign parentage as compared with those of native parentage. Miss Bowler concludes that there would be great advantage in a continuing study of such subjects over a period of at least five years and on a national scale.

Dean Edith Abbott, of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, directed this study of the foreign born and contributes a critical and historical survey of public opinion on crime and the foreign born from colonial to modern times. There are also three studies of the incidence of crime among Mexicans in this country, from which it appears that Mexicans in Illinois and Texas do not run afoul of the law any oftener than anybody else, but that the record is not quite so favorable with respect to Mexicans in California.

What about the third degree? Is it practiced in the United States or isn't it? Do policemen, detectives, and others make use of violence to obtain their ends? The phrase "third degree," as employed in the report on "Lawlessness and Law Enforcement," is used to mean "the employment of methods which inflict suffering, physical or mental, upon a person, in order to obtain from that person information about a crime." And the statement is unreservedly made that the third degree is an illegal practice.

Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of Harvard University, and Walter H. Pollak and Carl S. Stern were the investigators who reported on this subject for the Commission. They made first-hand studies in a number of cities and gathered data from other sources. The Commission summarizes their conclusions as follows:

After reviewing the evidence obtainable the authors of the report reach the conclusion that the third degree—that is, the use of physical brutality, or other forms of cruelty, to obtain involuntary confessions or admissions—is widespread. Protracted questioning of prisoners is commonly employed. Threats and methods of intimidation, adjusted to the age or mentality of the victim, are frequently used, either by themselves or in combination with some of the other practices mentioned. Physical brutality, illegal detention, and refusal to allow access of counsel to the prisoner is common. . . . Brutality and violence in making an arrest also are employed at times, before the prisoner reaches the jail, in order to put him in a frame of mind which makes him more amenable to questioning afterwards. The report enumerates cities and districts visited by field investigators where third-degree practices, accompanied by varying degrees of physical brutality, were found to exist, and the evidence thus secured convinces the reporters that third-degree practices are not confined to urban communities. On the other hand, they found little

evidence of the practice among federal officials. They note a marked decrease in the practice in certain cities, and report that they know of no city or section in which there has been a definite increase, although they are without information to enable them to state whether the practice, taking the country as a whole, is increasing or decreasing. "When all allowances are made," they say, "it remains beyond doubt that the practice is shocking in its character and extent, violative of American traditions and institutions, and not to be tolerated."

Probably the best remedy for this evil, says the Commission would be the enforcement of the rule that every person arrested charged with crime should be forthwith taken before a magistrate, advised of the charge against him, given the right to have counsel, and then interrogated by the magistrate. His answers should be recorded and should be admissible in evidence against him in all subsequent proceedings. Other remedies lie in higher types of police officers and detectives and the pressure of public condemnation against the practice.

It is with trepidation, if not with awe and fear, that one approaches the two volumes on the "Causes of Crime." Volume I contains a critical examination of published literature on the causes of crime, by Morris Ploscowe. It contains also a section entitled "Work and Law Observance" prepared under the direction of Mary Van Kleeck, of the Russell Sage Foundation. This section is broken up into three parts: the first an examination of the histories of 300 Sing Sing inmates by Miss Van Kleeck herself; the second an investigation of the Negro's relation to law observance by Ira de A. Reid; the third an analysis of the "Relationships between Employment and Crime Fluctuations, as Shown by Massachusetts Statistics" over a period of years, by Dr. Emma A. Winslow. Volume II is a study of "Delinquent Behavior in Relation to the Social Situation" by Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay. Mr. Shaw is head of the Department of Research Sociology of the Institute for Juvenile Research, and the Behavior Research Foundation, in Chicago, and is known for his contributions to the study of juvenile delinquents and their community backgrounds, such as *The Jack-Roller* and *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career*.

It is fairly evident, I think, that no adequate reference to all this material can be attempted in a discussion of this sort. Mr. Ploscowe, after his exhaustive review of published literature, concludes that "the soundest data on crime causation seem to have been contributed by the literature which has studied the criminal in terms of the demoralizing social influences which have acted upon him." Miss Van Kleeck concludes, among other things, that "the ranks of the unemployed yield more material in proportion to their numbers for penal institutions than do the ranks of the employed" and that "unemployment is a circumstance present more frequently in crimes against property than in other crimes." Dr. Winslow, as a result of her Massachusetts inquiry, declares that "unemployment is revealed as an important causative factor in vagrancy and in crimes against property," but that its influence upon other offenses is comparatively slight. She concludes that "the assurance of economic security might be expected to bring with it an appreciable reduction in the volume of crime." Mr. Shaw and Mr. McKay conclude, among other things, that:

Juvenile delinquents are not distributed uniformly over the city of Chicago but tend to be concentrated in areas adjacent to the central business district and to heavy industrial areas.

The areas of high rates of delinquents in Chicago have been characterized by high rates for a long period of time.

Delinquency areas in Chicago are characterized by physical deterioration, decreasing population, high rates of dependency, high percentage of foreign and Negro population in the total population, and high rates of adult crime.

Juvenile delinquency is traditional behavior in the disorganized areas of the city.

The Community fails to function effectively as an agency of social control in these areas of high rates of delinquents.

Case studies suggest the need for greater emphasis upon the study of the subtler aspects of family situations in relation to delinquency."

From even so hasty a glance as this at some of the contents of the Wickersham reports it is evident that the reports are different in nature and that they lend themselves to different and varied uses. Some of them are mere compilations of information. Such is the report on the "Cost of Crime." Such, perhaps,

is the report on "Crime and the Foreign Born." Such, probably, is the report on the "Causes of Crime." Others not only add to existing information but present specific recommendations. In some, these recommendations refer to federal legislative or administrative action. Such are the reports on "Deportations," on the "Child Offender in the Federal System of Justice," and on "Criminal Statistics." Others contain either advice, recommendations, or statements of policy directed more particularly to the states. This is true of the reports on "Penal Institutions, Probation and Parole," on "Prosecution," and on "Criminal Procedure." Still others seem to be directed more particularly to local communities, such as the reports on "Police and on Lawlessness in Law Enforcement."

Through all of them run: first, facts; second, expressions of a point of view; third, suggestions for further research; fourth, concrete suggestions to administrators; fifth, broad statements of policy for the layman to consider; and sixth, definite recommendations in respect to legislation.

It is evident also, I think, that there ought to have been published a single volume, not too long, summarizing the important contents of these volumes—the most important facts and the conclusions and recommendations. Conceivably there might have been a considerable distribution of such a volume. From the point of view of educational publicity, I think that is one of the first omissions of the Wickersham Commission.

What else might have been done? Suppose that the Wickersham Commission, instead of suddenly ceasing to exist on the night of June 30, 1931, had left behind it a small organization, with an office in Washington and a staff perhaps of only two or three people, continuing for a year or two. The purpose of such a follow-up program and continuing organization would have been to see to it that the reports actually received intensive consideration by those specially interested and by larger groups of both professional people and laymen. The job of the office would have been to study the field and promote the use of the reports. The field for such use would have been state confer-

ences of social work, chambers of commerce, all the varied assortment of women's organizations, meetings of teachers, meetings of ministers, bar associations—one could enumerate a long list. Uses of the reports for educational purposes by colleges and schools could have been promoted. Direct contacts could have been made with groups and organizations affected by the recommendations of the Wickersham reports—police executives, officials of correctional and penal institutions, governors, legislators, prosecuting officials, and the like. Instead of leaving the matter almost wholly to chance, such a small continuing organization might actually have organized a somewhat intensive use of the reports.

Just such a thing has been done recently following the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. The matter was not allowed to rest with the publication of the reports. Those responsible for the White House Conference were determined that practical results should come from the expenditure of so much labor. Accordingly, official requests, sanctioned by President Hoover, were issued to all the governors to hold state conferences, for the purpose of applying to each state the conclusions and recommendations of the White House Conference. Twenty-five such state conferences have already been held. In some states the conference was a separate meeting; in others it was held as part of a state teachers' meeting or a conference of social workers. In this way the conclusions of the White House Conference received intensive local study and application. Not only that, but there has been a continuing organization in Washington to assist these state conferences; and each state conference itself is supposed to result in a continuing organization to make sure that the wisdom of the White House Conference is not lost.

If public funds could not have been made available for a purpose of this sort in the case of the Wickersham Commission, private funds might have been forthcoming.

Is it too late? What can be done now? Is there any organization that could logically promote follow-up work in respect to

the Wickersham Commission? Could the Department of Justice do it? Following the second White House Conference, in 1920, it was the Children's Bureau, I believe, that undertook to serve as some sort of continuing promoter of the suggestions of that Conference. The task does not seem to fall entirely outside the scope of a government department.

So much time has elapsed that it is difficult to see just how the situation can now be met. And yet the Wickersham reports will on the whole have value and usefulness for years. Would it be worth while for a small steering committee, consulting with Mr. Wickersham and the other members of the Commission, to approach private capital or private foundations (there are one or two private foundations specially interested in crime prevention) for the purpose of yet organizing a follow-up program for the Wickersham reports?

WHAT SHALL WE TELL THE PUBLIC? A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL WORK PUBLICITY

*Arch Mandel, Executive Secretary, Community Chest,
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WHETHER or not the corner is turned even the latter part of this year—and there are no signs to indicate that this will happen—1933 will be at least as strenuous for social work as were the past two years; and at least as much money as was required in 1932 will be needed by the social agencies in 1933. This money must be procured from people whose resources are diminishing at an accelerating rate and from people who, though relatively well off, are fearful of incurring obligations because of the uncertainty of the immediate future. To make the task more interesting, this money will have to be procured from communities which have been providing in an increasing degree through taxation for the care of the indigent.

Regardless of our efforts to proclaim the importance of a complete welfare program, the widespread distress is excluding from the people's thoughts everything "welfare" except the obvious necessity of keeping people alive. There are, in fact, growing signs of impatience on the part of the public when we talk about needs other than material ones. They will agree with what we say about preventive and constructive measures; but they say that when hunger is gnawing at the vitals and cold freezes the marrow, it is futile to talk of the higher life.

We cannot too easily dissent from this point of view. Even our most dyed-in-the-wool case worker takes for granted the necessity for sustaining life. Our difference of opinion with the public arises because we believe that the community should feed not only the body but the spirit and that it can afford to support an all-inclusive program.

Therefore our appeal for next year is obvious. We shall tell the public how many thousands of families we must continue to maintain; that the resources of more and more people are being wiped out entirely; and that it will require all the money available through both public and private sources to meet the demand. We shall, of course, point out that this dependency is overtaking our hospitals and clinics and that children from broken homes, formerly supported by their parents, are now a burden on the agencies. For this, large sums of money will be needed.

But we shall also point out that the problem involves more than provision of material help, and that, if we want to diminish as much as possible the whirlwind which we shall inevitably reap, we must apply our greatest skill in our relationship with the thousands of families who heretofore have been self-dependent and whose stepping over the line for the first time may do them irreparable injury. We shall tell them that protracted unemployment, with the breadwinner apparently unable to provide for his family, is upsetting heretofore satisfactory family relationships, the restoring of which requires painstaking, skilful work on the part of the trained social workers. And we shall go on and emphasize the need of agencies to counteract the deadly effects of the unoccupied time of the adults, and the need to offset the destructive influences of depressed and too often strained home atmosphere on the spirit and behavior of children. But we will have to be more specific in indicating, first, what is happening to children these days, and second, how the particular activities of the character building agencies are helping in these specific problems. For all of this, money beyond that provided for bread and coal and medicine will be required.

In addition to all of this we must not forget to impress on the public the fact that enough new problems are being created now to keep social workers busy for many years to come—that the wreckage in the form of dependency, delinquency, broken homes, etc., will probably not be cleared away before the next storm descends upon us.

There is nothing new in this appeal. It is the same we have

always used—in fact, in these days the situation speaks for itself. The constructive side, however, demands a greater emphasis. Community chests have been accused of raising money on the poverty emphasis; and since it has seemed to be necessary to do this in the past, it would seem to be all the more necessary to do it now. We have always stressed the fever to be allayed, and now at the point of delirium we can hardly commence to talk about the cause of the fever.

This is all I have to say about what we shall tell the public next year. At this moment, it seems to be a matter of expediency—recognition of the situation and of the public's temper.

But is our problem as simple as that? Are we not more concerned with what we shall tell the public next year and the next year and the next year? Should not our experience in raising money for 1932 cause us to pause and ask this question?

Last year at the meetings of the Association of Community Chests and Councils we discussed whether the saturation point in giving had been reached. This question was raised because of the apparently high point contributions had reached during the prosperous years. There was an implication in it that we had attained the limit. Yet for 1932, after two years of serious financial disturbance, more money was raised for social work than ever before—more than at the height of the greatest prosperity the world has known. We found more people willing to give increased amounts, and apologizing when they could not. The resistance was very much less than in 1928 and 1929, when every bootblack challenged King Midas. And the reason for this increased giving was, of course, the very evident need for taking care of the starving. The fact, however, that in face of the unusually large amounts of money raised for 1932 we had a struggle to convince the people that money appropriated to character building and other constructive work was just as necessary as that allocated to material relief, indicates that we had not made as much progress in educating the people in the broader objectives of social work as the increasing budgets during prior years would seem to prove.

And if this is true, how shall we interpret our work so that when and if brighter days appear we may be able to secure adequate support for increased programs from a public which will believe that the return of employment will have eliminated the major portion of our task?

Perhaps we might approach this question by reviewing briefly what we have told the public in the past. And for this purpose I must take my own city, Dayton, as an example. I do not mean to generalize from this one instance; but in so far as Dayton is typical, what I have to say may be of value; if it isn't typical then, of course, what I have to say will be worthless.

In reviewing our experience I find that in our appeal to the public we practically promised to correct every social ill in the community and, in addition, to build up a new generation that would be socially adequate. We seemed to be certain of it because we could give the public examples of successes achieved; and to these successful case stories we added massed figures to show how many people we had reached, the implication being that what we had achieved with the few was being achieved with the many. With this apparent success, when the people wondered why we needed increased instead of decreased amounts, we told them that the community was growing, etc. And during the year in between campaigns our interpretation of the program was a study in detail of the various phases of social work which were given in perspective during the fund raising campaign. The public naturally assumed that our programs were adequate and that the community was progressing socially as satisfactorily as our publicity implied, since they were meeting our budget requests. What we told them was the truth, but it was not the whole truth. We did not tell them what we could not do.

Telling them the same story over and over again, we had to test our ingenuity in methods of attracting attention; and so we spent an undue amount of our time and thought on ways and means of conveying our message, such as it was, instead of focusing our attention on having something to say—which

meant research, appraisal, and evaluation of methods and results in so far as possible.

This is not criticism; this is merely an observation of a situation that was inevitable. Community chests, especially, made a universal appeal—appealing to people who had never thought of social work but who understood material help. The chests took over going concerns which had to be continued at least on the basis upon which they found them; and they, the chests, used what seemed and proved to be the most compelling type of publicity. It is true we have been talking more and more about prevention and reconstruction, but on the whole the publicity has been analogous to the salesman's expense account which had an overcoat or suit of clothes hidden among the items of meals, lodging, transportation, etc. The budgets contained funds for constructive measures, but they were carried through by the material help that was emphasized. We cried "wolf" every year; but crying "wolf" in the future will not create any excitement because, now that a real wolf has appeared, the public knows our wolf of other years was only a cub. We have made progress; we have at least awakened the communities to the existence of social work and to the fact that there is an institution that is concerned with doing something for and with people. But we are at the point, it seems, where we should shift our emphasis and interpret social work so that the public will know, not only what we are trying to do and the scope of our job, but actually how much of the field we are covering, so that it may have an idea of how little or how much progress we are making. In brief, we must take the public over on to our side of the fence and let it view the scene from our vantage point. If we did this, should we not receive our support less grudgingly, more generously, and more spontaneously?

That we failed to do this is manifested by the frequently repeated charge that social workers are always turning up things to be done and that they apparently can continue to do this indefinitely; that we are ingenious in finding what appears to be "busy work" and for spending more and more money on it.

We have apparently failed to convey to our public that what we are doing is to uncover defective and pathological conditions which need correction and prevention; that social workers, sensitive to the operation of the social machine, discover more readily than the average citizen abnormal sounds and clickings, just as an experienced automobile mechanic quickly recognizes defects by the sound of the motor.

In trying to arrive more definitely at what should be told the public, it occurred to me I might find a clew in the answer to the following questions: First, what should we tell the public if we did not have to raise money, if, for example, our present budget were met by income from endowments? And secondly, I tried to imagine Dayton as a community in which employment is sufficiently continuous so that all but the very seriously mentally and physically handicapped can support themselves; a community in which old age pensions provide for the aged and in which other forms of social insurance provide unemployment benefits and for medical service. Under such circumstances, what should we tell the people of Dayton about social work?

Under these conditions, we should, in Dayton, bring the public to the realization that, while poverty may be at the bottom of many of the difficulties of those who come to the social agencies, the removal of this poverty will not necessarily remove the difficulties, because we find, among those who are self-supporting and even affluent, health problems and behavior problems, children who are improperly raised, delinquency and domestic discord with its attendant consequences upon the family.

In Dayton we should also try to have the public understand that during a year of normal employment our family agencies work, or did work, with 2,000 families; that these 2,000 come to us primarily for relief; that most of them are financially and socially bankrupt; that we spend our time and money on them and have perhaps helped some of them to stand on their own feet, but that yet, even after years and years of work, they are barely adequate, socially. And then we must let it be known that there are 38,000 other families in Dayton among whom

there also exist many of the social problems found in the 2,000, except dependency, and that these families should have the benefits of the facilities social work has developed to deal with such problems.

We should tell the public that in the children's field we take care of hundreds of children whose spiritual, mental, and physical life is watched over and guarded as it should be in this year 1932. But there are thousands of others in their own homes who need the same standards of care and who may suffer from low standards and even neglect because, for some reason, they do not come to the attention of a social agency. We should also tell them that our community centers, scouts, and Christian associations reach but a fraction of the boys and girls in the community and that, if the benefits of these agencies are what we claim, then every child in the community ought to have the advantage of them. But, of course, we should first be sure our claims hold water.

Social work has so far, of necessity, concerned itself largely with those who have been almost beyond helping. What has it to offer to the so called average or better family in the community, which may consider itself outside the jurisdiction of social work because of our emphasis to date on relief? In other words, can we or should we make social therapeutics available to everybody in the community; and if so, how? That is something for us to study, with the public being taken into our confidence. We should further tell the public that the largest social agency in the community and the one most potentially effective is the public school, because it comes in contact with all the children and has an opportunity to discover and correct difficulties in the incipient stages.

All of the foregoing was summed up by Herbert Spencer when he observed that in every society two antagonistic principles of social policy must be constantly maintained if the society is to survive and prosper. The first principle is that each individual must receive benefits in proportion to his incapacity; the second that he must be rewarded according to his capacity. This, it

seems to me, is the underlying truth we must try to have the public understand.

While social work cannot prevent any major cataclysms such as we are having now, and while we cannot prevent any problems due to such cataclysms, social work should point out to the public that the problems it deals with are symptoms of fundamental pathological conditions—should point out what these conditions are and stimulate their correction. I am not certain that social work must prescribe the cure. This may or possibly should be left to economists and statesmen. But I do believe that social work should put on its support program the promotion of cures the validity of which seems well founded. Further, I believe it is the function of social work to preach at all times and in all places that the point of orientation for all economic and political systems is the well-being of the human; that everything else is a means to this end.

All of this, it seems to me, we should tell the public, and we probably would if we did not have to raise the money or if the need for “doled” relief of all kinds were eliminated. I realize the practical difficulties involved—that we must keep the trains running while the bridge is being built. But we must build the bridge. And the more we can forget, particularly in our year-round educational programs, that we are trying to raise money, the more true, more real and more fundamental will, I believe, our educational material be.

We should tell the public that social agencies ought to be compelled to do constructive work, and it ought to be impressed with the fact that only to the extent that it is an educational process does it merit support; that its greatest usefulness is in whatever ability it has to prevent and to construct; that our emphasis, so far, has been on “benefits according to incapacity” rather than “rewards according to capacity.”

It would seem that the public ought at least to know and to accept our objectives. This assumes that we ourselves must first be clear about them. And I wonder whether we are? I

wonder whether the social agencies in the various fields of social work could, at any time they were asked, state their objectives so definitely and clearly that even the cultured could understand them?

We should tell the public that, while we do not have the ultimate formula in dealing with social problems, our methods are the best that experience, aided by some scientific study, has developed up to this time; that they are the best tools society has to work with at present. We should urge the need for experimentation, research, and continual appraisal. Such experimentation, research, and appraisal will furnish us with something to say. They will make us less dependent upon worn out shibboleths; and from them we may learn whether the specific things we are doing are contributing to the objectives we have set.

There is one impression we must not leave, and that is that we are as successful as we seem to be, if we are to judge by the picture we paint of social work, or that our programs are as adequate as they should be, if we are to judge by the amount of money we ask.

And above all, we should and we must convince the public that even the Golden Rule may be detrimental if it is not applied with intelligence, and that the matter of highly qualified personnel is of the utmost importance. Social work has become a complex, elaborate machine, bewildering not only to the public but to the social worker. A model university has been described as a log with Mark Hopkins on one end and a student on the other. Social work in its essence is the social worker and the client, the play of personality upon personality; and the success that may be attained with the client is in proportion to the ability the social worker has in gaining an insight into the personality of the client and the extent to which the social worker can unfold that personality and help it develop. For this reason it seems the public must be made to appreciate that personnel is the crux of the matter. Is there a danger that we, our-

selves, may become smothered by ritual, programs, institutions, etc.; that we may keep the wheels going merely for the sake of keeping them going?

And finally, the public should be told that our present system of private social agencies came into being to take care of certain unmet social needs in the community, and that gradually government has assumed many of these functions after the efficacy of their methods and programs have been established; that this transfer should continue until social work processes are integrated not only with government but with industry, the schools, the home, and the church; that these institutions should eventually do everything that is now being done by our privately organized social agencies. By this I mean that the profession of social work will be integrated with all the organized forces in the community. Until such time comes we shall, of course, need the form of organization we have now; but the evolution of our social work set-up should result in having in each community a strong central council with representatives from all the aforementioned community forces; and the function of this central council should be to plan and to coordinate, to do research, to evaluate, to carry on experiments, and to pioneer in such new fields as may reveal themselves.

CREATIVE WRITING FOR SOCIAL WORK

Viola Paradise, New York City

IT SHOULD be said at the outset that there is no intrinsic connection between creative writing and social work; any more than between creative writing and medicine or law or even bootlegging. Yet the desire to write or the desire to have their material honestly and vividly interpreted runs rampant among social workers. And with reason.

Dealing day by day with human beings in distress, beset by a cruel shortage of time and money to relieve this distress, they are convinced that if only the public knew how things stood something would be done. Their reports, of course, tell a limited number of individuals of their activities and needs. *The Survey* and several other professional magazines engage the attention of thousands more. But how to get the untouched neutral millions in gear? How can the great American public be fired with the need of this or that piece of legislation, with this or that claim for substantial backing? How, in short, can the social workers tell the world?

Creative writing, they believe, is one answer—the book or story or article which can re-create for the reader the lives of those with whom they work. See what Harriet Beecher Stowe did for slavery with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; what Upton Sinclair did for the stock yards with *The Jungle*; what Helen Hunt Jackson did for the Indian with *Ramona*. Think how Mary Antin's *The Promised Land* stirred sympathy and understanding for the immigrant. Remember the interest aroused by Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives*; by Spargo's *The Bitter Cry of the Children*; by Wyckoff's *The Workers*; by Kauffman's *The House of Bondage*; not to mention the classic contributions of Charles Dickens to the literature of human wrongs.

Social workers, however, have not the time to write a book—

not the time and not certain other requisites. And even if they could find an adequate author and persuade him to invest a year in the matter, how could they be sure of the result? The book might not be good enough. Or it might fail to get published. Or, if published, it might not sell. The chances are all against success.

They see, however, a swifter way. Every news stand blossoms with magazines, perhaps a dozen of which enjoy circulations of well over a million apiece—some of them over two millions. Multiply these circulation figures by the probable number of readers to each copy, and arithmetic becomes a pleasure—and a lure. What could be better than to blazon forth your cause in one of these?

Various paths have been taken toward this bonanza of magazine publicity. Secretly in the depths of night, or openly in the shallower hours, exhausted but enthusiastic social workers have labored forth stories and mailed them to exhausted but unenthusiastic editors. Once in a while one of these is good enough or timely enough to break through. Not often.

Another approach to magazine publicity is via a specially employed social worker who can write. Organizations which have tried this, even with publicity writers of unquestioned ability, are usually bewildered at the meager results.

A third way is to inveigle established writers with magazine connections to interpret your material. This, too, is fraught with difficulties. To begin with, such writers are hard to get, they have their own plots and preoccupations; and then, even if you do get them, the result is often something very different from what you wish. You may, in fact, discover your coveted public rushing eagerly to a brilliant and entertaining distortion of the facts. Sometimes, of course, you are luckier.

I might as well break the bad news to you at once. It is all but impossible to get social work material—as such—into the magazines. Not quite impossible, but almost. The usual attitude of editors is that of Moran and Mack and saxophone playing: "Even if it was good we wouldn't like it." A literary taxi-

driver, prizefighter, bootlegger, or convict would have an easier entrée to a table of contents than a literary social worker.

Though we have now more poverty and more different kinds of poverty than ever, there has probably never been a time when the poor and unfortunate were as unpopular with the magazines as the present. Some years ago they had a vogue. Writers discovered romance, courage, drama, in our slums. There was, of course, plenty of light chitchat about the poor, but often you would find really interpretative stories and articles.

Less frequently, nowadays. The editor of one of the more serious monthlies confessed, "When a manuscript arrives beginning 'Little Tony was walking down the street,' I stiffen with resistance. Little Tony has become Little Caesar. The so called lower classes are as out of style as knee length skirts." The editor of a national weekly said, "I'm interested myself in writing about the people and problems with which social workers traffic. So, too, are perhaps five or even fifty thousand of my readers. But this is a magazine for millions. We can't publish material which would have a reader-appeal of only fifty thousand. The millions don't want to read about the poor." "No one," said another editor, "is compelled to read our magazine. We have to entice readers. They want, especially in these bad times, the literature of escape—glamor, romance, excitement; heroes and heroines they can pretend, for the duration of the story, to be. In articles they want subjects which touch their own lives, which follow through some interest they already have, or which can be translated into action; or else entertainment—articles with the same kind of hold that a good fiction story would have."

In short, the desire of the day seems to be "a cheerful little earful." After talking to half a dozen editors, I almost decided to name this paper "You weep alone," so strong was the feeling of most of them against the material with which social workers deal.

Why should this be? Surely there is a hitch somewhere? So-

cial workers deal with *folks*, and everybody is interested in folks. They deal with struggles, with aspirations, with the clash and welding of personalities. All of these are common and moving themes in literature. Indeed, especially in these latter years when the psychologist and psychiatrist have been added to their ranks, social workers find and must cope with nearly every plot and passion known to literature.

Moreover, the social worker comes into the lives of people at a crisis. What can one find in literature more crucial and dramatic than that bankrupt moment when an individual or a family, unable to forge ahead on its own momentum, must call in outside aid? In that moment there are two wolves at the door, and one is as ready to devour the spirit as the other the flesh. Imagine the welter of emotions as the social worker enters for the first time a home which, until this moment, has been an independent functioning entity—fear, resentment, despair, suspicion; craftiness, perhaps; a collapse of morale; or else extrayagant hopes. All depending upon the individuals involved—not only the individuals in the family, but upon the character of the social worker. Think, too, of the effect of this selfsame moment upon the social worker herself. That in itself is material for a story. In fact, the initial interview between a new case and a social worker bristles with material for stories. Suppose we take, for instance, a single routine inquiry of a relief agency, the inquiry for the names and addresses of relatives. I think every relief worker has met that distressing moment when an applicant hesitates to give the name of, say, a well-to-do cousin. A hundred times, a thousand times, he has vowed he would rather starve to death than appeal to this cousin. But as starvation edged near, he discovered that he hadn't courage to starve to death, or the right to let his family starve to death. Even so, rather than call on this relative, he'll ask for charity. He postpones the appeal as long as possible, hoping something will turn up, exhausting his credit with landlord, grocer, friends. All the while he must argue with himself, to reenforce his courage for this application. It isn't his fault, is it, that he's out of work?

God knows he's willing to work. Willing? He's *crazy* to work. Thousands of people are taking charity. And maybe no one will find out. Maybe they'll get him a job. But even so, it is bitter and hard to take the plunge. There's just one bitterer thing—to let his hated cousin know how low he's sunk.

He takes the plunge. He is face to face with the social worker. The social worker has asked a number of kindly questions. But now she is asking the names and addresses of his relatives. He realizes that if he answers truthfully the relief agency will let his cousin know of his plight, learn (or think he had learned) that he wasn't man enough to support his own family, to hold a job. The social worker has asked a question. He must give—or withhold—the answer. He must decide whether to lie,—or whether to yield up what seems to him the last remnant of his pride—he must decide at once.

And the social worker—this is also for her a crucial moment. (Or rather, it should be. Let us assume she is an intelligent and sympathetic person and it is.) She can guess what is going on in the mind of the man before her. She knows, if she handles this moment clumsily, what a wreckage his breakdown of pride may precipitate. She has just met this man, does not know what he is really like. Yet she must decide, must decide at once, how to deal with him.

Her first impulse may be to accede to his wish for privacy. But she recalls one of her earliest cases when she did this—against all rules—only to learn later that that early applicant was a fraud, with a thousand dollars in the bank. This man, however, does seem honest. And yet, if he has a relative who can afford to help him, surely in times like this when there isn't money enough to go around, that relative ought to be asked to contribute. Besides, it has been her experience that people have survived such applications to their relatives before. Sometimes, even, a reconciliation of enemies has been brought about by them. And yet there is always the chance that the humiliation will do bad damage. But really, she has no choice. Years and years of experience with tens of thousands of "cases" have pro-

vided organized charity with a technique. This question is a part of it. She must get on with the interview. There are still several more calls to make before her day is ended.

Imagine what a story, what a wide choice of stories, indeed, this one moment would offer to a writer like Chekhov. I selected this routine face-card query for illustration because it is apparently so innocuous, and perhaps more often than not it could be answered without a qualm. I might have selected much more dramatic moments from some field of social work, where drama lies nearer the surface. For social work material, no matter what editors say, is the very stuff of life—raw, bleeding, brutal, or tender and glowing; bitter and ironic, or grotesque and humorous; it is spread out before the social worker.

Despite this, one editor spoke accurately when he said, "If a social worker chooses her work because she likes it and wants to do it, well and good. But if she goes into it for literary material, she couldn't have chosen a worse profession." He spoke, of course, not as a literary critic but as a magazine editor. He spoke with an eye to what his readers wanted. He spoke out of long experience with manuscripts of which the poor had been the subject matter.

When I started to write, I was bursting with causes, wraths, propaganda. I thought I would show up the hundreds of wrongs and oppressions I had seen in my own experience. I thought that if only enough could be written about child labor—if people could really visualize what was happening—they would rise up and abolish child labor. I happened to begin writing before such subjects became unpopular. The change came soon. It became evident that wide circulation popular magazines do not, as a rule, espouse causes for themselves, but that they will push a cause if there is already enough interest in it among their readers. They do not tilt at windmills. They flirt with circulation. They are businesses and frankly so. Not that they won't occasionally print a story for its literary merit alone. But their real business is entertainment. They give as good a show as their audience wants. If it's not good enough, or if,

however good, it's not the kind of entertainment their audience wants, down comes the circulation and advertising hardens in the arteries.

But how do they know what the public wants? For the most part they don't. For the most part they can only guess. But good editors are good guessers. They've got to be good.

Of course it is not all guesswork. Subjects of wide general interest have a magazine interest, too. But even here there's a gamble. Will a current interest continue to be general when the magazine comes out? For magazines must go to press well in advance of their publication date. The monthlies must, as a rule, have their material ready four months ahead. For instance, the material for the September numbers of nearly all of them is probably now (in May) in proof, or at least is being prepared for the printer. Some theme now in high favor may be stone cold to the fickle reader four months hence—or six or eight or twelve months hence. For magazines buy most of their material well in advance—at least they do so in normal times. At present they are more cautious. Many of them have in their bins manuscripts bought before the depression.

There is one subject upon which editors do not have to guess. About a dozen authors writing today are so eagerly devoured by readers that their names on the covers of magazines send the circulation leaping and bounding by the thousands. With some scores of others it is a question of weighing the intrinsic appeal of their manuscripts and the drawing power of their names. With all the rest, the editor must choose by his own taste and his guess as to public taste.

He has plenty to choose from! Even if you are not a social worker, even if you are a plain journeyman writer, your chances of publication are tenuous. Most magazines keep count and a record of every manuscript submitted. Here are a few statistics with which editors presented me, most of them rough approximations of actual counts, several of them estimates: The *Saturday Evening Post* gets 70,000 unsolicited manuscripts a year;

Collier's gets 50,000; the women's magazines from 10,000 to 40,000; *Harper's*, 25,000; *Scribner's*, 20,000.

Look into the table of contents of any of these, count the number of titles, and multiply this by the number of issues a year, and you can learn what a long bow the average writer must draw. *Harper's*, for example, publishes about 200 titles a year; the women's magazines about as many (omitting the special departments); the weeklies, between 1,000 and 1,500. This does not even mean that an unsolicited manuscript has a chance with *Harper's*, say, in the ratio of 200 to 25,000, or with *Collier's* of 1,000 to 50,000. For only an occasional manuscript gets purchased from the "cheese" or the "junk" or the "slush," as this mass of unsolicited material is sometimes privately called. From 50 to 75 per cent of the articles published are written by staff writers or by free lance writers after consultation with the editors. Much of the fiction selected has been bought through agents. Less than 1 per cent of the "cheese" is accepted. The odds are worse than one hundred to one against you. Writing is as gambling an occupation as playing the ponies or bucking the stock market.

These cruel statistics suggest the average writer's handicap. What, then, of the social worker writer with the added hurdle of the special distaste of editor and public? Is there no hope?

Yes, there is hope. Two sources of hope. One lies in the very fickleness of public taste. There are cycles of interest. Who knows? it may possibly be that we shall soon reach the saturation point on tales of gangdom and racketeers, flaming youth, and what in some editorial offices is called the "he and she stuff." It may possibly be that these hard years will have whirled us on to the beginning of another humanitarian cycle. "It is just possible," said one editor, "How I wish I knew! Maybe now is the time to buy slum stock for a long pull." The astute editor of the *Publisher's Weekly* thought that the time might well be ripe for a novel whose implications would be social. There is hope, too, in the fact that, despite the generally avowed prejudice against social work material, magazines do

occasionally print it. Sometimes a well known name has floated the accepted articles; sometimes it is so well and vividly written as to break down editorial resistance. The greatest hope, of course, lies in *good writing*. Even the most discouraging editors agreed that good enough writing should make a public read anything and like it. Who would have guessed, two years ago, that a book about Chinese coolies would have found readers by the hundreds of thousands?

I feel an urge here to digress from social work writing to social workers' reading. A survey of such reading would be illuminating. It would doubtless contain most recently published, well reviewed books dealing with social conditions. It would perhaps contain the best current fiction. I rather guess, though, that the bulk of it would be the very literature of escape which preempts the pages of the popular magazines.

Perhaps most social workers—I know it was true of me when I did social work—fail to realize that any good novel which interprets life is of value—yes, and of professional value to them. No one class of writers or other people has a monopoly of any problem, of any set of emotions. The greatest literature has a universal application. The passion of a *Madame Bovary* and the passion of one of your cases for a man not her husband are of the same stuff. The characters in Hemingway's frightening story, *The Killers*, might have begun as the delinquent boys with whom many of you are working today. (And apropos of Hemingway, perhaps no better example could be quoted of the power of vivid writing over subject matter, an editor, and an unlikely public, than the *Atlantic Monthly's* publication of his short story, *Fifty Grand*.)

You may say it is unfair to quote the success of a book of genius like *The Good Earth* as a model for social workers, and to expect them to perform the miracle of interpreting American poverty as movingly. Of course it is too much to expect, eagerly as one may wish for the miracle. One can, however, expect and demand a much better quality of writing than that which

reaches the desks of editors in the manuscripts about problems and about people with whom social workers deal.

"Is it worse than other writing?" I asked.

"Not much," replied one editor. "But it has to be much much better than other writing to get by."

"Yes," replied another. "It is worse. Most of it sounds like case records, or else is so sentimentalized as to make one squirm; unreal pictures of unreal poor being rescued by an unreal social worker. When it is fiction, it lacks the breath of life. When it's straight article stuff, it is usually long-winded, dull, under-dramatized, and overladen with propaganda. Often it is self-righteous besides. Social workers seem unable to tell their stories and then stop. They have to tack on a solution. Sometimes a fairly good story gets a grip on us, and then at the crucial moment a lady Santa Claus steps out of the machine and dishes up a happy ending."

This sad comment applied, of course, to the unsuccessful manuscripts. Some editors pointed with pride to an occasional exception which they had printed, and commented on the virtues of others which they would have printed if they had thought their readers wanted them.

Of course, many of the faults found in bad social work writing are just as flagrant in other bad writing. But in the former they are more conspicuous. A tacked-on happy ending is always bad art; but the public and the editor, eager for happy endings, can stand them a little forced when they grow out of the makings in the story. But social work material is often stark, and a realistic treatment is indicated; and the social worker is always a sort of accident in the lives of her cases. That is one reason why the material is so difficult to write—especially when the accident herself, the social worker, does the writing.

A social worker has one thing, of course, in common with the creative writer—an interest in people. But the nature of her work, and the very motive which may have led her into her profession, postulates a wish to change people or conditions under which they live and suffer. She cannot observe them de-

tachedly (and by "detachedly" I do not mean without feeling); she wants to lift them out of their poverty, their discomforts, their troubles; she wants to rehabilitate them; she has always the ulterior motive of helpfulness. This is dangerous to creative writing.

The creative writer must have a tremendous awareness of people and of situations. (In great writers this awareness is so intense that it is almost an inhabiting of the very bones of the characters, a taking over their states of mind.) And then, in addition, they need be seized with an urge, not, as in the case of social workers to do something about it, but to reproduce it in words, to write it. Not to write *about* it, but to write it. (That's the difference between creative writing and other writing. Creative writing doesn't write about things. Rather it creates a *new* thing—a story, for instance—out of the material of life or of imagination and the impact of the author's personality, his gift of expression, upon this material.)

A good social worker has, of course, imagination and awareness. If she wishes, in addition, to be a good writer, she must push aside, for the time of writing, her desire to help her cause. She must sacrifice propaganda. The picture of a situation as it is, not as she wishes it were, must possess her. The desire to change it is a separate matter, and has nothing to do with creative writing, even though the writer may have been motivated by this desire. It was not the author's desire to abolish slavery—strong as that was—which made people read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It was the author's power to make readers see and share emotionally in the lives of certain individual slaves. Of course this book is full of propaganda, besides. Which is one reason why from a literary standpoint it is not a great or even a very good book. It would have been far better, and I believe of even greater value to the cause, without the overt propaganda.

When I was asked to give this paper, the invitation included a request for advice to social work writers. Authorship is so individual a matter that advice here may be valueless or even misleading. Yet one seldom resists the temptation to give ad-

vice. And as it usually comes in sets of three, here are three rules for the handling of your material: *imagine* it well before you write it; tell it simply and briefly; stop the instant you are through.

Before beginning to write, mull and meditate and imagine your characters—whether for fiction or as illustrative cases for articles—until you know and feel them from the inside. Only so will they come to life; only so will you be able to make your reader feel them. A clear imagination smoothes out the major faults in the conceiving of a story. No one equipped with it will perpetrate the Elsie-book, sugar-coated, and grief-coated dummies which characters in social work stories all too often are.

Take time, too, before writing, to select the vantage point from which to tell the story, and then stick to that vantage point. Let it unfold as one person sees it, whether that person is one of the characters in the story or the social worker. If possible, choose the former; and, if possible, omit the social worker and the social work. Social workers are difficult characters to handle in fiction. Poor things, they have been so often slandered, sometimes by fatuous praise of authors who draw them as Lady-Bountifuls, sometimes by the caricature of authors who make them hatchet-hearted busybodies. But even intelligent writers have difficulty in portraying benevolence. An honest, sincere impulse to be of help may, when it is written down, sound goody-good. So, if possible, omit the social worker. Unless, of course, the story demands her. Or unless you are writing a story about a social worker.

Many a story about a social worker might be written. Though she seldom appears so in print, she is, of course, a person in herself, a human being with ambitions, doubts, questionings; with loyalties, jealousies, loves, and hates; sometimes even with humor; in short, a person with a whole private flesh and blood life of her own, not merely a mouthpiece for a cause.

Write your story or your article simply and briefly. You have undoubtedly gathered, from those statistics of the flow of manuscripts to editorial desks, that an editor is hard pressed for

time. It is important to catch his interest on the first page. "The leisurely once-upon-a-time style," said one editor, "is out." And he quoted that famous "'Hell,' said the Duchess, who until then had taken no part in the conversation" as a model beginning. You need not resort to such violent tactics, but you must be interesting from the first drop. If the first page doesn't interest him, why should an editor read further, with manuscripts pouring in at the rate of a thousand, or even several hundred, a week?

Don't expect your first or even your second draft to move at the maximum speed you can achieve. Write these first drafts at any length you like. Then condense. You will be surprised how much you can pare away. This is only the first step toward a swiftly moving style. It is, I believe, the only one safe to prescribe. At any rate, it is the only one I know how to describe. Experience in writing teaches further shortcuts. One learns to make a sentence—sometimes even a single word—convey the feeling which earlier would have required a paragraph. One learns how to amputate whole pages of introduction and to begin at what, in the first draft, would have seemed the middle. The thought of a busy editor will goad you toward brevity. Just as the thought of the impatience of readers receiving letters of appeal has goaded writers of such letters toward brevity. And by the way, some of the best creative writing in the social work field goes into letters of appeal. Their authors have learned that to draw money from readers, they must make them realize, must make them feel, the cause for which they clamor.

Of course one must know, too, when to stop cutting. Perhaps you all have heard the classic three-sentence short story: "Benjy met a bear. The bear was bulgy. The bulge was Benjy." Without going to that extreme of compactness, you'll be surprised how much can be omitted without loss. And, by the way, the condensing habit will be of value in your private reports, as well as in writing for the public. Don't think for a moment that condensation will make your writing sound hurried. On the

contrary, the omission of useless words and details need have no such effect.

When you have finished your article or your story, stop. Then take a few steps backward, and see if you could not have stopped sooner. Be sure you have not added a moral. If you have written with feeling and sincerity your material will speak for itself. Many an article has been rejected because the author felt she must append a solution, if not, indeed, a promise of the millennium.

Perhaps you think a social worker has an obligation to show how to cure the abuses she describes. I rather agree that she has. But not in magazines. Editors may accept accounts of your work, of the realities with which you deal. Your opinions and solutions, however, will be much more difficult to place.

It is strange that the quality of social work writing should have lagged so far behind the quality of social work itself. Social workers must, in the very nature of their work, deal with reality. Why, then, do they not write more often with reality. Sometimes, of course, they do. Eleanor Wembridge is one of the delightful exceptions.

Social work calls for intelligence, personality, and a technique. So does writing. But the need for technique is less often recognized here. Partly because words belong to everybody, and partly because the best writing is the simplest and conceals its technique.

But, as I have intimated, if an idea seizes you, and if your feeling and imagination are strong and sincere, many of the difficulties of the actual writing smooth themselves away. Don't refrain from writing for lack of a technique, if "passion spins the plot."

THE CONTENT OF A SOCIAL WORK EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

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IN THE book *My First Two Thousand Years*, by George Sylvester Viereck and Paul Eldredge,¹ Cartophilus, possessed of immortality, encountering a host of defending Chinamen after he had just entered through a gate of the Great Wall, performed the apparent miracle of levitation upon his servant Kotikotura.

"The crowd worshiped and then dispersed at command."

"One elderly man, only, remained. He was dressed in a many-colored silk robe. He smiled and his eyes shone with intelligence. I bowed to him. He returned the greeting. I spoke to him in several of the European languages. He shook his head. I asked him if he knew Sanskrit. He was delighted. He had learnt the language in his youth when he studied philosophy and the wisdom of Guitame the Buddha."

"My esteemed friend," he said, smiling, "The levitation was beautifully done. I have read about this strange phenomenon, but I have never had the pleasure of witnessing it."

"I am happy to meet so wise a man."

"Wisdom is a rare flower. It is sufficient for a man to just breathe a little of its exquisite perfume."

"I have read the works of Kong-Fu-tze, the greatest of philosophers. Anxious to meet the people whom he taught so wisely, I risked my life and the life of my faithful servant."

He smiled. "You have noticed, my learned master, that the people are not apt scholars. I suspect that wisdom is rare among the people everywhere."

"You are right, excellent friend."

"There are, however, in each generation, and in every locality, a handful of men who love truth."

"I shall esteem it a favor beyond recompense, if I am allowed to speak with that handful of men who live in this city."

The Chinaman's lips curled into a smile. "Accept the hospitality of my humble roof."

I bowed and thanked him profusely. "I am most anxious to be converted to the teachings of Kong-Fu-tze."

"Kong-Fu-tze desires no converts. It suffices to quaff his wisdom."

¹ New York: Macaulay Co., 1929. Pp. 124, 125.

Here is a parable. The many are moved by the spectacular—"The crowd worshipped, and then dispersed at command." The depth of emotion failed to indicate corresponding penetration of understanding, "The people are not apt scholars. . . . Wisdom is rare among the people everywhere."

There always are, on the other hand, some who intrude the disconcerting question mark with crystalline sincerity—"There are however, in each generation, and in every locality, a handful of men who love truth." Usually, and fortunately, they are visualized and vocalized by a leader—"An elderly man, only, remained. He was dressed in a many-colored silk robe. He smiled and his eyes shone with intelligence."

Progressively, the story seems to indicate a sublime dependence upon the renovating power of truth, coupled with a superior unconcern about its application to any particular situation—"I am most anxious to be converted to the teachings of Kong-Fu-tze." "Kong-Fu-tze desires no converts. It suffices to quaff his wisdom."

I ask your indulgence for straining the story to illustrate the three points I wish to make, for I confess at once I have not drawn my points from the denominated parable.

There inhere in a community educational program, in my judgment: First, the need to talk of the accomplishments of community agencies. The apparent miracle of levitation has its place. Second, the need to define the nexus between the quantitative acts of service and the conceived programs of the respective agencies. An undetermined few or many will seek and grasp the why and how. Third, the recognition of the value of spreading truth, with heroic unconcern about its effect upon the respective agencies. It is my understanding that our discussion should be centered upon social work publicity from the broad, community point of view.

Services rendered.—"What does your agency do?" That certainly is a proper question. The answer constitutes publicity. Three factors seem to influence the answer.

The presence of vestigial remnants in the social work organ-

ism is the first factor. A satisfactory definition of social work, as of any other complex concept, is difficult. There will probably be general acceptance of the statement that modern social work takes its roots in "charity," by which is here meant acts of kindness performed by the fortunate for the benefit of the less fortunate, and that "charity" originally had a deep religious motivation. Brochures and folders of social work agencies frequently convey boxed lines like these: "It is more blessed to give than to receive;" "Faith, Hope, Charity, these three; but the greatest of these is Charity;" "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me"; "Cast thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days"; "The Lord loveth a cheerful giver."

The recital of accomplishments performed is often tinged with the doctrine of heavenly reward for earthly deeds. Publicity finds satisfaction in recounting services that are intended to, and often do, stir religious emotion. The social work of the Salvation Army is incidental to its main purpose, which is the preaching of the gospel of Jesus (as interpreted by the Army) and the saving of souls. Community chests habitually appeal, at campaign time, to all religious denominations to present the support of social work as a practical expression of devotional religion. A Catholic clergyman was recently quoted as saying: "Show me the man or woman filled with real charity and I don't care what sins he has committed, he will be enthroned in the heart of the Lord."² I am taking no issue with the Salvation Army, community chests, or the clergyman. I am suggesting that the prevalence of this idea appears to account, in part, for the emphasis upon recounted items of service, as publicity material is presented for popular consumption.

Another persistent idea is that the lugubrious and the doleful are indispensable adjuncts to any bid for moral and financial support. The efflorescence of this idea appeared in the publicity of the President's Organization for Unemployment Relief in the

² Rev. Henry F. Hammer in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, April 24, 1932. From *New York Times*, April 25, 1932.

second half of the year 1931. Recognition should be given, however, to the labored efforts of the national social work agencies to proportion such publicity with the sanity of educational and cultural considerations. Further recognition must be given to the tendency, noticeable during the past five years or so, to stress the hopeful, cheerful side of social work service in the necessary appeal to human emotions. Observation of social work publicity, however, compels the statement that there is yet much exaggeration in presentations to the overtaxed imagination of a blasé public, of emaciated babies, starving families, and horrible environmental conditions. Much of such truth may need to be stated now in this distressing industrial situation; and some it may be justified in what we like to refer to as "normal" times. My point is that there has been a mistaken dependence upon the publicity values of obviously needed services to the suffering, with a lack of emphasis upon the values of stimulating services to human lives already exhibiting plus factors, and that such publicity procedure is a "hang-over" from the times when social work was largely "charity."

The second factor that influences publicity along the line of service rendered is the need of money. The publicity of the campaign committee to raise money for an extension of a Catholic hospital carried figures showing that 60 per cent of the patients were Protestant. That hospital was deservedly popular in the community. It needed and received non-Catholic support. The publicity of a Young Men's Christian Association showed a large percentage of Catholic youth served. It wanted Catholic support. Ideally, human beings are served for their intrinsic value and not because they are Catholic or Protestant.

Some community chests have compiled lists of names of employes of large corporations as registered in the central index. The chests have sought corporation subscriptions on the basis of service rendered. Such procedure ignores or minimizes the potential educability of corporation management, makes the community chest a counter over which passes service in return for dollars, and loses sight of the responsibility of the corpora-

tion, in common with that of other business and of citizens generally, to support a community welfare program on its intrinsic, universal merit.

Quantitative service appeals, no doubt. A national agency has elaborate mechanisms for recording the number of contacts made by its locals over all the country. The tabulated figures are challenging. They constitute basic publicity material. They tell nothing of service values, however. It is quite natural and proper to furnish items of service in terms of interest of potential supporters, provided no principles of sound social work are violated, expressly or by implication, in their use.

The third factor influencing the rehearsal of items of service rendered is the difficulty of telling the truth. A story of a family nicely orientated to life, rebuilt like a used car offered for sale, or adjusted as perfectly as a Singer sewing machine, may be literally true and reveal a very neat piece of case work. If the implication is left that this accomplishment is the usual outcome of contact with family maladjustment, it may be tantamount to deception. A local Boy Scout council showed by a spot map that a negligible percentage of juvenile court cases came from sections where scout troops were located. The map did not show that the sections with large percentage of juvenile delinquency and no scout troops were industrial or commercial, or the habitat of chronic dependency or of vicious recreational institutions. A community chest presented a statement of the number of families given relief in a designated period. The statement was based on agencies' reports. ("Families helped" had four different interpretations by as many agencies.) The straightforward, easy style in which much publicity narrative is skilfully written, often assists the publicist in unwittingly leading us astray. I recall the words of Virginia Woolf in her imaginative, fanciful biography, *Orlando*: "Only the most profound masters of style can tell the truth, and when one meets a simple, one-syllabled writer, one may conclude, without any doubt at all, that the poor man is lying."

There is certainly a need to tell the public about service

rendered. The Chinese at the Great Wall were impressed by the miracle of levitation. That apparent miracle was a deception. The public today is impressed by a recital of services rendered. Those services must be true in essence and implication. They may bid for money with tales in the left hand but with sound principles in the right, and in this case be sure to let the left hand know what the right hand doeth. They should appraise the traditional urge to give for the sake of self rather than for the benefit of the recipient, and to appeal for support solely on the basis of the crass and the ugly.

Interpretation of agencies' basic programs.—It is encouraging to sense the inevitable presence of at least a few who want to get behind the scenes and understand the miracle—"There are in each generation, and in every locality, a handful of men who love the truth."

I feel safe in saying that observation of the factory run of social work publicity reveals a plethora of what in the previous section we called "services rendered." This is natural, of course. It is easy to do. People grasp the concrete. There is a challenge in big numbers. The human heart warms in the presence of an individual conquest. That is why we use the term "human interest." It is no mistake to be interesting in our publicity; rather, it is fatal to be dull. Our social work publicity, it is my claim, must learn how to do more interpretation. Such interpretation belongs in the content of an educational program.

Community chests have sinned in this respect. They have done some splendid interpretation. Their confession should read: "We have failed to do the things we ought to have done." Incident to their behavior, because of quantitative publicity, is a growing appreciation of the defect. Do not suppose, however, that community chests are the only sinners. A few years ago, a zealous human interest writer for the National Child Labor Committee seized upon a mythical boy, who, in topping beets, was severely maimed. The report of the investigation of the beet fields was a valuable document. By traveling the supposedly easy road to the heart of its public it greatly slowed up,

and possibly wrecked fatally, action that an accurate understanding of the situation would have aroused. The committee's vital program was sacrificed upon the altar at the temple of human interest.

Francis H. McLean, in the *Charity Organization Bulletin* for October, 1914, writes very helpful words that are applicable to this discussion. According to Mr. McLean, what is right publicity in charity organization work is capable of two interpretations: what is right from the point of view of ethics; and what is right from the point of view of probable success. He continues:

Nothing comes home so quickly to roost as an ethical error in publicity we can not subsist on one day sensations. . . . The temptation to over-draw, to infuse too much local color, is a trap for our unwary feet. [He insists upon] the principle of absolute sincerity. But in being sincere one need not be stupid.

There is a fine illustration in that same *Bulletin* of "financial appeals that undermine." An appeal letter was submitted to the editor for criticism. It was a sob presentation, with an opportunistic apologia for case work. It contained the sentences: "Feed the hungry and then talk Up-lift"; "Too much Social Service and not enough human service." The editor said, among other things: "It appears to me that a society which sends out such a letter cuts from beneath it the very limb on which it sits." In my judgment, Mr. McLean and the editor were right then, and their precepts are right now. Any publicity that by positive statement or by innuendo apologizes for the validity of the essence of its own program is vicious publicity. If the fundamental program is not sound, why publicize at all?

With the risk of being declared inconsistent, I venture the suggestion that there is danger in that sort of publicity which champions an agency program as a *raison d'être*. It is not difficult to overdo a good work, and to confuse the reach of a program, its intimate, peculiar ideals, with the selfish considerations of agency or personnel continuity or perpetuity. This is inevitable in all social organization. For example, it has been

discussed in ecclesiastical circles, the question taking this form: Which is the greater concept, the Kingdom of God or the Church? It appears also in activities incident to the operation of the State; and so our word "politics" becomes laden with insinuations, whereas it should comprehend governmental services permeated with sincere desire for great communal good. In our own field of social work publicity, too much program publicity is exposed to the charge of "propaganda"—another handsome word that, like the word "politics," has lost its luster by association with bad company.

It has been said that "Nature and Letters seem to have a natural antipathy; bring them together and they tear each other to pieces." Social work programs and publicity, while not inimical, do experience mutually a bit of that contempt which is proverbially associated with familiarity. It is very essential, nevertheless, that any important social agency learn how to advertise (using the word in its root meaning) its objectives and methods. What lack of public confidence there is in our social work agencies finds counterpart today in lack of confidence in banks, in political subdivisions, and in our educational institutions.

Often the charge is made that a weakness of the community chest movement lies in the creation of barriers to the full expression of an agency's ideals through proper publicity, leading to curtailment of that sort of program publicity which is here advocated. This may come about through an agency's fancied security as a chest member, with resulting inactivity by the agency in its absorption with daily work; or through the naïve assumption, by the chest, of all the publicity problems of its affiliated agencies. "If 'twere so, 'twere a grievous fault." I do not doubt that it is so in some cases.

The unwisdom of such a course need not be argued. There is, however, it seems to me, a valid side to the program of cooperative publicity where many individual agencies are concerned, because it tends to restrain agencies from exhibition of too much enthusiasm in self-advocacy. We must needs boost our own

wares, of course. The program of social work, the cultural values of a community center, the positive worth of annual medical examinations, the group techniques of a girl development program—these are of more account than the agencies sponsoring them. Though it seems elemental to say we must have the agencies in order to have the programs, it is not out of place to say that a community approach to the problem of interpreting health and welfare agencies' programs must cause us to weigh platform against party.

The varying emphases upon social problems and salutary programs will attract now one and now another. The inherent rectitude of an agency with a sound program, if that agency preaches its gospel with ingenuity, discretion, and persistence, may be expected to win a handful of men who in each generation and in every locality love the truth. Such a practice gets behind the services rendered to the purpose and program of the agency rendering them.

The underlying philosophy of social work.—Behind the services rendered and the program of the agency rendering them, is a sense of common values in the broad sweep of social work.

Dr. Walter Clarke, of the American Social Hygiene Association, recently displayed a poster before a public audience. He read: "Tuberculosis causes tuberculosis. Every case comes from another." Said Dr. Clarke: "Substitute 'syphilis' for 'tuberculosis' and the poster is equally true and equally good." The coincidence is not always so apparent; yet there are common health values upon which health agencies can, and often do, unite in their educational publicity.

The correlation between health and summer camps is not strained, and the correlation between the works of many types of summer camps is close. The relation between the activities of such camps and the constructive use of leisure time is apparent, as is the relation between agencies promoting education and the development of character, and agencies engaged in family adjustment. The line between child welfare and family welfare stretches very thin at times. Material relief is conceded

to be a means to those ends recognized by social work as highly desirable. As the vicious economic circle proscribes many clients of social work agencies, so the beneficent and comprehensive circle of service brings agencies face to face in both their services and their purposes.

In Cleveland some years ago, the National Conference of Social Work, through a committee of which Owen R. Lovejoy was chairman, presented a report setting forth certain minimum requirements in social relationships. All the factors involved in housing, industry, recreation, and so forth affected then, and have great significance today for, all social work agencies. If we can learn how to spread, upon our publicity page, the justice and necessity of democratic opportunity and reasonable attainments for all, and keep our support and our pace, we are participating in a community educational program. Such would vitalize our services and afford a needed culture for our programs.

Can social work agencies participate in publicity that bores into the inequities and inequalities (so conceived by it) of our educational system, our industrial system, our ecclesiastical system, our political system? Or, is it so dependent upon money from tax and voluntary sources with vested rights in those systems that it must only give time and attention to recounting items of service rendered and to elucidating programs with individual agency characteristics?

It is my observation that the publicity of social work, at least that kind of social work finding expression in numerous local, affiliated bodies over a wide area, contains very little declamation against social injustice. It is my belief that social work is settling down (generally speaking—there are exceptions) to a program of remedial and constructive service that is not acutely penetrating the causes of social maladjustment. The ease of rationalization in explaining the situation is insufficient warning against the attempt to do so.

Social work is a reflex of life itself. It embodies so many agencies, so many attitudes, so many philosophies, that it is difficult to detect or to define that underlying philosophy which we are

trying to claim should be exploited for the common good. Because of its extent and complexity, it tends to take the color of its own day and age. In this respect, it is like our churches and our schools. It is an unled army. Social work agencies look to boards of directors to define policies. Its executives have attended our churches and have been graduated from our schools. While trying to shape society, it is continuously being shaped by the very society of which it is an integral part.

Social work wavers in the midst of divergent analyses of, and prescribed remedies for, our social ills. On a state highway of West Virginia at five o'clock in the evening, I saw a family "thumbing" a ride. The man had on his shoulders a pack that evidently contained all his material possessions. The woman carried an infant. Three little children toddled along. The sight would melt the heart of a stone. It is a long, long search to satisfy the question mark engulfing that particular family. I visited a family in a coal mining camp. The man was crippled. The mother of five children, one in her arms, radiated joy over the present of a wash tub and a wash board given to her by a social worker. She had always wanted a wash board, and this was the first she had ever had. What is the answer? Unionization? Government control or regulation? Shorter hours? Higher wages? Socialization of natural resources? Communism? Some believe in the judicious dissemination of birth control information; others believe the word "judicious" has no place therein. Some believe in the minimum wage theory; others reject it. Some economists decry the evils of technological unemployment; others say its evils can be overcome; others say there is no such thing. What is the way out of the awful suffering in our country today? Some are sure of one answer; some of another. Social work does not know the answer.

Social work needs money. Is it venal? Yes. Just as venal as the press, the church, the school. The *Survey Graphic* for May, 1932, contains an interesting article by Robert W. Kelso. The theme is that control goes with the purse strings. Mr. Kelso discusses in fearless fashion the highly important issue whether the

raising of money is the crucial task or whether it is overshadowed by the purpose of building a welfare program and operating it effectively. There always has been, is now, and always will be (though let us hope in modified degree) a clash between money control and service values. Tucked away in the concluding third of the fearless article is a bit of wisdom in the best style of the author. Mr. Kelso says:

As the basic trouble is a deficiency of common understanding of the real problem, tribulation will finally bring the minds of the control group and the professional together . . . the banker himself is far from hopeless. He is a money-getter by profession, but in his ranks are some of the best thinkers in the nation. . . . Whatever the quarrels of the moment may be between these points of view, they must resolve themselves in the end in favor of common understanding.

A distinction exists between social work and reform. I am thinking of the "reformer" not as a crank but in the very best sense of what is innately a beautiful and significant word. A reformer is a man far ahead of the rank and file. He is not concerned with rendering a host of services day by day as based upon a functioning program currently acceptable. He is envisioning the future and painting an unfinished picture. Social work is abdicating in favor of the reformer. Social work is encumbered with "much serving."

The four comments just made, namely, that social work is a reflex of contemporary life, is uncertain of remedies, needs money, and hopes for much from reform, indicate the difficulty of utilizing that kind of publicity which is streaked all over with a broad sensing of social injustice and of common values in its variegated programs. The history of social work in this country shows many accomplishments to its credit. The difficulties of present day social work, though slowing up the publicity hinted at in this bracket, need not negative (though they will probably influence greatly) our publicity behavior.

Social workers will keep informed of outstanding developments. They will stimulate thinking. They will essay public utterance now and then. They can contribute, within their limitations, to a better understanding of what social justice means.

F. W. Simmonds in the *American Bankers' Association Journal* of March, 1932, in an article entitled, "How To Organize a Clearing House," suggests a task that can well be applied to social work:

In general, study and deal with all pertinent inter-bank problems and questions of public relations on banking problems with a view to developing a better understanding on the part of the public as to what constitutes sound constructive banking service. This is the imperative task—the commendable goal of regional and city clearing house associations everywhere.

Summary and conclusion.—Social work agencies in their publicity need to tell about their services rendered. Most people will be interested, and they can understand the language. The underlying purpose and program of the individual agency, with selfishness held in leash, should be elaborated in the hope to win a discerning, if not large, group of disciples. Though conscious of disconcerting limitations, social work should make a contribution of sound social justice.

THE GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

*Charles F. Rhoads, Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington*

THE Committee on the American Indian of the National Conference of Social Work has come to occupy a significant place in furnishing a yearly opportunity for discussing developments in the Indian work with leaders of social thought and social action. Reviewing the three previous meetings of this committee, one finds a carefully selected group of significant papers which give a running critique of what is going on in Indian affairs. For various reasons, the organized social work movement has had little opportunity to play a part in the government's service to Indians; but this committee, I feel, is doing much to awaken the interest of social workers in the special problems of the Indian. It is worth noting that now special groups in the Conference are giving attention to the Indian.

As the administrative officer in charge of the Office of Indian Affairs, I can only welcome the realistic discussion of fundamental problems which takes place in this section. It affords us an opportunity to present some of our problems and needs and to get from you aid and suggestions in the work. Three years ago, at San Francisco, there was held the first meeting of this committee. At that time, I was a layman living in Philadelphia and serving on the board of a private organization which has had a long history of participation in Indian matters. In the brief period which has intervened, I have been thrust from the tranquillity and peace of a critical outsider to the hurly-burly and realism of the actual job of administering the vast services which make up the work of the Office of Indian Affairs. If you will permit me, I should like to review some of the things which have been done during that brief period, some of the complexi-

ties which have become clear to me, and to indicate many of the unfinished tasks which remain before us. Before I took this job, many general policies seemed clear to me; the cold plunge into the reality of the day-by-day pressure of individual action on the thousands of things which must be passed on by a Commissioner of Indian Affairs leads to some confusion and certainly some realistic modification of what now appear to be oversimplified ideas which I then held; but these early ideas, tested by the welter of hard experience, bring some fundamental convictions.

Our society is sick at the present time, and especially is the outlook for rural America cloudy and confused. We must see the Indian situation against this chaotic background, and not expect that the Indian will do better economically and socially than his white brother. In fact, it is difficult to see how the Indian can have much respect for white civilization these days, and it sobers our judgment when we realize this.

I should like to list some of the categories in which we feel that a forward step has been taken. It is impossible to discuss these in detail, so I ask your indulgence in a rather cryptic listing of some of these points.

First, we have had the generous support of the Congress and the administration in securing increased appropriations to finance an adequate program. The total annual appropriations, including deficiency appropriations, tribal funds, and Alaska, but excluding any special awards in fulfilment of claims, have been as follows: 1930, \$24,356,471.68; 1931, \$26,436,639.42; 1932, \$29,605,460.71; 1933, \$23,231,119.33. Of course, the 1933 bill, which goes into effect July 1, marks a setback in this progress. The aggregate amount is decidedly lower because no new construction is included in the appropriation. Two essential services—health and education—have suffered little in funds for operation and even improved services. There are some serious cuts in funds for administration of local agencies, which incidentally affect to some degree the agricultural program and the relief needs for the coming year.

Second, we feel there has been a decided step forward in all

branches of the work in recruiting better people, and in releasing the energies of those already on the job through better supervision and less detailed officialdom. One thing on which we are all agreed is that we must get the best possible people to be in contact with the Indian. I wish to say, in passing, that few people realize the immensity of the job of merely keeping a field personnel of 6,000 people functioning. It is a social task in itself. We have every variety of human behavior; we have all the complexities which arise from people living in remote areas with too much isolation; and we have the constant process of adjustment among people and between these people and their superiors which is inevitable in such a far-flung service. We have by no means completed the personnel job.

Third, the addition to our field force of twenty agricultural extension agents and eight home demonstration agents, plus many better trained farm agents, has shown concrete results in terms of many hundreds of gardens which Indians have provided for themselves and in improvement of living conditions. Thanks to this extension movement, trained men are available who not only know the best agricultural methods but who also know how to deal with human beings. These men are not trying to evangelize the Indian into a paradise of commercially successful farming; they are starting on the simpler and more essential task of enabling the Indian to make the best use of his land if it only means subsistence farming.

Fourth, the February issue of the *Progressive Education Magazine* presents in some detail some of the ideals achieved in the changed emphasis in our school program. Our elementary education is being based upon the culture of the Indian children by use of the best of modern education; some of our larger schools are becoming specialized trade schools in fact and not in theory; we have discarded in the curriculum much traditional formula which was not adapted to the needs of the Indian child. We are daily giving greater emphasis to more education in the Indian's own community through greater attendance in public schools and the substitution of day schools for boarding schools. The

boarding schools are being abandoned as rapidly as we can provide local facilities to substitute for them; and those which are being maintained are being limited to children of the junior and senior high school level, with as adequate a program as we can provide.

Fifth, a little over a year ago the educational and health work for the natives of Alaska was transferred to the Indian Bureau. This work is a natural part of the Indian program. Our start there has been to secure a trained man from the United States Public Health Service to direct the health activities, and to enlist a qualified educator with broad anthropological training to direct the school work.

Sixth, with the cooperation of the Surgeon General, we are adding ten new public health officials to our medical service. In addition, funds have been made available for essential clinical surveys in cooperation with state and county health officers in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Montana, and California. Some results are beginning to show: Five years ago, at Fort Totten, Father Ambrose showed the Institute for Government Research representative his carefully kept records which indicated a death rate twice the birth rate on that reservation. Last November, he told us that for the first time births were now exceeding deaths and that infant mortality had greatly decreased. Among the Jicarilla Apaches, where fifteen years ago actually 100 per cent of the children were tubercular, today, due to the work of Dr. Cornell and the economic program inaugurated by Mr. Faris, then superintendent, the spread of tuberculosis has been checked and the majority of the new generation of children are healthy.

Seventh, experimentation is showing us the lines along which the program of finding employment for Indians should be directed. We are hoping, as the result of an examination just held by the Civil Service Commission, to secure a highly qualified man to carry out this program. Our experience shows that the Indian Service must call on all of you in public and private agencies to play a part in this program for adjusting Indians to

industrial conditions off the reservations. While we do not expect to find many jobs at the present time, we are in a position to set up an organization to function adequately when times are better.

Eighth, our reorganized irrigation service is critically analyzing every irrigation project; and if a bill now pending is made law, we will be able to write off many of the obnoxious reimbursable debts.

Ninth, we have made a start in improving the information available to the public on current activities and current projects in Indian affairs. We have found the public eager for factual information; and as we are able to turn out worth while pamphlets, we find that we cannot keep up with the demand. In 1930, speaking before this committee, the late Julia Lathrop said, "The Office of Indian Affairs needs public interest and public understanding. It will be strengthened immeasurably if the public understands it."

Tenth, we are adding trained social workers to our force. This will be discussed at more length by Mr. Lansdale, who will follow me.

Eleventh, thanks to the generosity of the Spelman Fund and through the guidance of Lewis Meriam of the Institute for Government Research, the following projects have been carried on which will result in constructive work in the future: a law-and-order survey in the Northwest, with recommendations for new legislation; a law-and-order survey among the Pueblos; a study of boys' work in the schools and on the reservations; a study of higher education opportunities for Indians, made by Henry Roe Cloud, on leave from the Indian Service.

I am perhaps more keenly aware of the things which still need to be done than I am of the things which have been accomplished. I would like to indicate these in a rather sketchy way.

First, we need a codification of the two thousand or more laws affecting Indians.

Second, although we have made a start in attacking some of

the fundamental property problems, there is urgent need of pressing forward on this subject.

Third, we need a functional budget.

Fourth, we are only just learning the best methods of bringing the Indians into participation in questions affecting their own welfare. It is our conviction that each group of Indians must progressively learn what self-government means and the responsibilities involved, but that this can be done best by the type of organization and procedure which fits the state of development or disorganization of a particular tribe, and we feel that it is more a matter of administrative practice and emphasis than universally applicable legislation. We still do not have a functional definition of what an Indian *is* based upon the best social needs of the group. This problem is closely involved with our relationship with the states, particularly in the Northwest territory; and we hope that the principles of the so called Swing-Johnson bill will be approved by the Congress, so that we can proceed on cooperative arrangements which would make less necessary the determination of the individual status of every Indian but would, rather, emphasize the needs of the group as a whole.

Fifth, I feel that we have only begun to study some of the fundamental administrative problems of the Indian Service. One of these is the relationship of the headquarters staff and the Washington office to the individual field unit. We have tried to cut down on the number of matters which the superintendent must refer to Washington, but the necessary speed of reorganization has in some instances tended to promote centralization rather than decentralization. Throughout the Indian Service, both in Washington and the field, our officers are prevented from giving a full measure of their efforts to constructive work because of the volume of detail which is thrust upon them. For example, there is a daily pressure of correspondence to the Washington office averaging 1,300 letters a day, not counting communications addressed to individuals, plus the countless

calls of individuals and groups. The actual physical and mental energies expended in keeping up with this load so exhausts us that we have little time for the reflection necessary for planning for the future. It becomes more evident to me daily why the Institute for Government Research recommended a planning and development division.

I welcome this opportunity to discuss our problems before this group, because many of you are experts in the field of human relationships. We strive to be alert to public opinion on the Indian question, but public opinion has often lacked any real expertness. A vacationer, for example, sometimes spends a few days on a reservation and immediately becomes qualified to discuss the complex social, educational, agricultural, medical, engineering, or legal policies of the Indian Service.

The time has come, I believe, when the public and the federal government must discriminate; when you and I have a right to expect both expert leadership in the Indian Service and some degree of competence from the commentators on Indian affairs. The Institute for Government Research, through the method and content of its survey, set the pace for this type of leadership.

We look to the organized social agencies for sound criticism of our policies and programs in the fields of social adjustment. That is why it is so helpful to have this Committee on the American Indian of the National Conference of Social Work.

THE PLACE OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN THE INDIAN SERVICE PROGRAM

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THE term "social worker" is still one of vague connotation both within the ranks of the Indian Service and among many of its interested friends and critics. This fact is significant. It is evidence that Indian work has not kept up with modern developments in dealing with social adjustments and human problems. It also indicates that social work as a movement has not penetrated the areas in which Indians live. It suggests, too, that social work, again conceived as a movement, has been little interested or has had limited opportunity to demonstrate its usefulness in the Indian field.

The Office of Indian Affairs is engaged primarily in a social enterprise, broadly speaking. No other organization in this country, governmental or private, embraces in its program so manifold a group of activities affecting the welfare of human beings. To the ordinary functions of a city or county government, supplemented by the activities of private agencies, are added in Indian administration a responsibility for the individual and tribal assets, funds, and property of the ward Indians. Yet, if we examine the administrative structure of the Indian Bureau historically and today, we find a strange omission. There are divisions of activity under the headings of "Education," "Health," "Agricultural Extension," and "Employment" on the human side, plus "Forestry," "Irrigation," "Land," and "Law" on the property side. Nowhere can you find a welfare division, though no self-respecting municipality, county, or state today is without a department of public welfare, even though it carries this function under some archaic nomenclature.

Putting aside whatever fascination the Indian problem may hold for you and me, in the area which I may roughly describe as the Northwest, we have a stubborn and tragic social problem which will only yield, if at all, to the combined efforts of all social agencies—federal, state, local, public, and private. To avoid misunderstanding, I am going to concentrate upon an area which includes most of the reservations in the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington. Please note that the Southwest, notably Arizona and New Mexico, are not included—the Indian question there is one of distinct and, I would add, more encouraging aspects. The conditioning factors in terms of environment and results of the processes through which Indians in the Northwest have passed may be summarized in a series of statements—granting the danger of oversimplification and too easy generalization.

First, the Indian people have lost or been deprived of a way of life, with only a superficial assimilation of another way. They have lost a complete set of incentives and have found no new ones. They have lost a system of natural controls and are far from grasping the (to them) artificial code which has been foisted upon them.

Second, they have either been deprived of a native method of gaining a livelihood or they have been placed in an area where any real economic livelihood is an impossibility for them or for anyone.

Third, they have been demoralized by a system of property administration so insidious and powerful that no developmental program can succeed against it. Forty thousand checks a year, many of them for amounts less than a dollar, represent the income from leasing allotments and shares in leased and heirship land for the 1,137 Winnebagos. The major activity for these people is the pilgrimage to the agency for this ready money, regardless of the amount. An Indian leader of another western reservation protested against an agricultural program, pointing out that his people had become adjusted to living on their lease

money, which incidentally amounts on the average to not more than \$200 a year for each family.

Fourth, many of them have been exposed to a system of education, basically unsound from any sociological standpoint, which has traded individual social maladjustment and destruction of family life for some formalistic training.

Fifth, the ration system, originally established as a means of preserving peace, has generated an attitude of dependence which affects not just a portion of a tribe but usually the entire group. Social workers are accustomed to dealing with individuals who have been pauperized like an old acquaintance of mine on the West Side of New York who, at the death of her husband, announced to the assembled neighborhood, "I don't know which of them damn charities is going to take care of me, but one of them's got to." But we are not often faced by an entire community, from the articulate leaders down, demanding relief as a right. There is no question, either, of "*which* of them damn charities"; it is Washington they look to. A delegate from one of the western tribes visited New York City this winter and on his return pointed to the Bowery bread line as a fine example of the way people should be cared for. These people only had to stand in line to receive a meal all prepared; the niggardly Indian Service was actually trying to make his people work in exchange for a grocery order or an issue of staples.

Sixth, ever-recurring claims, just and imaginary, keep many tribes in a state of waiting for the easy money which is to come. We all know the effect of the hope for a share in the rich uncle's estate upon the individual family. Entire Indian tribes frequently live in hopes year after year for a rich reward from this claim or that. I have recently reviewed in detail the activity of a small tribe for the last ten years and have found that the major topic engrossing the attention of this group and its leaders has been a series of claims only one of which has been settled to their favor, and that netting a few hundred dollars per capita.

Seventh, the majority of the Indians are living in areas where the total population is decreasing, where the local governmental

services are either meager or nonexistent, where much of the life among whites is vicious, and where few of the whites have any interest in their general welfare or any conception of what would be for their best good.

Eighth, governmental services have been withdrawn from many of these groups when they needed it most; that is, after they had passed through certain mechanical stages in regard to their property.

Ninth, they have been torn, wrenched, and shoved about by changing governmental policies, by local and national political considerations, and by the conflicts which have been waged among those who wish them well.

I see no hope for solving this appalling social situation by legislation. I have little faith in legislation—at least to do more than arrange the setting for the human performance. It is true that we can only correct some of the basic factors mentioned above by legislation; but it will have to come through patient work along very broad lines, and the human beings caught up in the scheme must be helped in the meantime. I am also convinced that some of the legislative and administrative factors are so deeply entrenched and so ineradicably ensnarled that only a benevolent dictator could ever straighten them out.

I also have little faith in our making any large accomplishments in this area through mass programs. I think that has been one of our troubles—the Indian business has been subjected to too many schemes for universal salvation. We are not going to make all Indians farmers. We are not going to get all of them into wage-earning jobs in cities. We are not going to make all of them stalwart citizens through a system of education. We are going to accomplish nothing spectacular or on a grand scale in Indian work in the Northwest.

It seems to me that we must focus our attention on two things: the individual (and I mean the individual in his total relationships) and the method or process of dealing with individuals. It is too late on most of the reservations in the territory to which I am referring to devise any schemes which will

improve the destiny of large groups of Indians; if we continue to use mass methods, we will lose everything. But I am just as equally convinced that we can help individuals to attain a greater realization of their own potentialities. The attention to individuals must begin through the family group on the reservation, extend through the period of formal education to the adjustment to a way of earning a living and the assumption of family responsibilities. It means a process to which every phase of the Indian Service program must be geared. The individual cannot be split into a series of categories, as he so often is now, so that his pre-school, school, and after-school periods become a series of unrelated, unharmonious, and confusing experiences. The center of his program must come from the reservation. The function of the government becomes that of assisting the individual to adjust to his community and its various relationships. His schooling, his family life, his recreation, the administration of his property, the care of his health, must be a part of a single program.

This is the method of social work, and I think social workers must help us with the techniques of achieving it. I do not mean that every Indian Service employe must be a social worker. But I do mean that every employe who has contact with the individual must know the social work method and must know where he contributes to the total program of the individual. It means that our every effort on the reservation must be integrated in terms of the welfare of each individual or as many individuals as we are equipped to deal with intelligently.

If I have made myself clear, I have pointed out the essential function of the social worker in the Indian Service, to wit: as the interpreter and coordinator of the various services as they touch the individual family. Many of our superintendents and other employes are performing this difficult task now to the best of their abilities. But most of them are too swamped with the every day pressing administrative duties to do the job thoroughly. The social worker must come in to take this responsibility for the superintendent. To put this in the traditional

terms of social work, she will cover that wide field of activities usually assigned to the rural social worker: family case work, child welfare, medical social work, probation work with the courts, visiting teacher work, and other kindred services.

We don't know yet how many social workers a given Indian population needs. We do not know even now whether the idea itself can be carried out, but we are ready to make demonstrations. We are starting this summer in Minnesota, where we have been granted funds by Congress to have two social workers on the Consolidated Chippewa reservation and one on the Red Lake reservation. We are indebted to Mrs. Blanche La Du and the State Board of Control of Minnesota for the stimulation of this development and to the superintendents of these reservations, Mark L. Burns and Jesse C. Cavill, who first requested this help. The education division has had one school social worker on the Lac du Flambeau reservation since last summer and is just now adding nine more at other points. The Lac du Flambeau experience suggests that those visiting teachers who are assigned to reservations will find their job is as much one of general case work as of specific work with the school.

A valid question may be raised whether a constructive social work program can be carried on by the Indian Office. It is fair to assume that adequate support could be secured in normal times for a carefully planned program if our initial experiments show that social work has a fundamental part in our field activities. On the other hand, the political and sensational ramifications of Indian administration are so far-reaching that there is reasonable room for doubt whether the long-time individual planning of the case worker could ever be made effective. This winter we have had widespread relief operations carried on in an admittedly wholesale fashion with little social work leadership. This relief program, however, has been conducted on no worse lines than most of the large-scale relief plans of the current season and, if anything, on a better basis because our field forces have at least had a long-time acquaintance with the families

they were helping, which is more than can be said of many of the emergency local committees. But this is the kind of thing which happens:

A complaint reaches Washington that certain Indians are not getting enough food. The district farmer is immediately disqualified as a source of information on the cases. The superintendent's report on the matter is given little credence. A special agent makes a report, and it is called a "whitewash." So still another special agent is sent out to investigate.

An Indian child is reported in the newspapers to have starved to death. The Congressmen and Senators from the state naturally call on the Indian Office for a report, and the Indian Office has already started an investigation. Again a special representative must be sent in. He finds that the child died three months before and from a specific disease. There is indication that a local politician gave out a distorted story to the papers to further his cause in a state political scrap.

A well known writer visits a reservation for the first time and is shocked by the living conditions which she finds, and tells the world that the Indian Bureau is allowing its wards to starve. The superintendent, who knows and loves these Indians, who recognizes their needs, who knows what the wholesale ration system did to them, and who, with the help of a trained agricultural extension agent, is trying to build up at least a basis of self-subsistence for them, is completely discredited by this single irresponsible individual.

The social workers' relationship with her families is a delicate planning partnership established through the confidence which the families have come to have in her through her patient and understanding approach. This tenuous human relationship cannot hold up under the crude attacks of partisan machination or self-glorifying sensationalism.

There is the possibility that the conduct of a social work program by a recognized state department, liberally augmented by federal funds under the principles of the Swing-Johnson bill, would have greater possibilities for doing a better human job. The professional reputation of the state department would be established, and its policies would go more unquestioned. It would be free from much of the administrative and political turmoil of a distant federal bureau. It would be closer to the actual life into which the Indian community is merging.

There is also a place here for private effort to lead the way for us. We need more people to show us how to do the job rather

than to tell us how. As a newcomer, I am amazed at how little demonstration work has been done. The boarding schools seem to have had the major attention of the progressive religious and social organizations; and that is the easiest place for all of us to put our efforts, but I am not sure that it is the most productive. I feel that our only hope of any accomplishment will be in placing our most skilled and socially trained people in direct contact with the Indian homes and communities. It is here that we need most the help and stimulation of state social work agencies and private or sectarian groups which can furnish trained leadership.

THE NEEDS IN HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

Mary Louise Mark, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University, Columbus

MY SUBJECT today should be discussed by an Indian, not a white person. When I first got this assignment, I thought of my friend Jason and wished you might all have heard his story and his brief analysis of the Indian problem, ending with a challenge to his white friends. But Jason talked steadily for five hours, and I have thirty minutes.

Jason was taken by force from his widowed mother at the age of five and exposed to the old fashioned rigidity of Indian education in a far-away boarding school, a sacrifice of his tribe to insistent government officials. As he grew to young manhood, he became ambitious to make life an achievement in the white man's world, but he found it only a terrible struggle for self-support. Under our industrial system he knew long-continued unemployment, then a job at an unusually good wage (I should have guessed there was a hitch somewhere," he said), then the intense suffering of lead poisoning, finally relieved by an operation, and at last the reservation again, where he was received with suspicion even by relatives who should naturally have been his intimates. He will always be a human being in mental distress, a split personality, an individual partaking of two social cultures yet belonging to neither. He is essentially a man without a race. Yet he has the welfare of his people at heart. "You are wise," he challenged us. "You can tell us what we should do."

This man states the whole Indian problem in two short questions: "In the first place why didn't you leave us alone with our work and our religion? We were happy then. In the second place we are in now too deep to get out, and what are you going to do about it?" In these two questions is involved the whole of my topic—the needs in human relationships.

"Why didn't you leave us alone with our work?" We all know the answer. We whites were numerous, acquisitive, racially egocentric. We regarded, not only the world of plants and animals, but of indigenous peoples too, as created by Providence for our own good uses. We were, however, not quite without conscience. We did not take, as a rule, without giving; but usually we decided both what we should take and what we should give. The resulting exchange was seldom profitable to the Indians. We have impinged upon Indian life until today not a tribe has a really good work environment.

We have not simply preempted their physical basis of self-support. Our chief sin against them lies in the restitution we have chosen to make. In return for their economic resources we have given them formal official protection and have doled out fixed kinds and amounts of sustenance, always reserving to ourselves the privilege of deciding what is or is not good for them. In denying them freedom of choice, we have taken from them one of the universally cherished human prerogatives. We have treated them as less than humans. No wonder they are unhappy.

Nor are we ourselves happy. We like to see results; and we cannot blink the fact that our well intentioned, though feeble, efforts have been for the most part fruitless. We see the Indians unambitious, even listless. If we look a little more closely, however, we find that a few desert tribes are energetic and that these tribes and these only are in large measure self-directing. These Indians have successfully resisted any fatal degree of interference. They are still purposeful; they meet the hard conditions of life with ingenuity; and, though they too suffer from the impact of our civilization, they still hope and work for better things. Comparing them with the other Indians, I believe we find the clue to our failure. In denying the Indians a chance to decide their own affairs, haven't we denied them a chance to develop? Haven't we cheated them out of their normal growth? Is not their unhappiness the pale emotion of the dwarfed and stunted? We blame them for lacking ambition; yet we insist on

planning their lives. It is sheer foolishness for us to expect to find economic incentive under such circumstances.

We still owe the Indians exactly what we took away from them. Nothing else will ever pay the debt. We robbed them of the opportunity to support themselves in independence. If we would be just, we must create for them, in this modern world that we dominate, the opportunity to support themselves like other citizens without bureau supervision—exactly that; nothing less. It is a much more difficult task than paternal control; it involves a much more complicated type of human relationship with them; but we cannot otherwise meet Jason's challenge and give them back their work.

"Why didn't you leave us alone with our religion?" asked Jason. We did not tell him, but we knew it was because we had the cocksureness of the ignorant and the lack of sympathy of the egoistic. We whites assumed that of course our religion, like the rest of our social institutions, was superior to all others and therefore should be imposed as rapidly as possible upon the darker race. If the Indians failed to appreciate what we pressed upon them, we lamented their inferiority. It did not occur to us that their social institutions, evolved through long ages, might more nearly meet their needs than would ours; nor did we realize that to destroy their institutions might be to destroy the people too.

Some tribes have almost completely lost their religion and their other social and economic institutions, so that today they are without anything that can properly be called group life. In one such tribe we recently found that thirteen out of every one hundred enrolled Indians had been arraigned in the state or federal courts within a year; in another we found nine of every hundred, though officials admittedly were avoiding arrests whenever possible. These Indian offenses are characteristically of the sordid variety, largely drinking scrapes and sexual irregularities—the kinds of misconduct that flourish in vacant lives. In tribes like these the damage is probably irreparable. On many other reservations the visitor feels "a makeshift social life that

might collapse into real disorderliness of existence." What is the matter with these Indians?

The root difficulty is that we whites as a race have never sufficiently respected them as human beings to try to understand them. We cannot respect a people without having some fundamental regard for their institutions; and we cannot have a fundamental regard for what never comes within the focus of our attention. We have never tried to see them in their wholeness as human beings in their original social setting but have evaluated them in the light of their superficial differences from ourselves. Take as an illustration their religion. We have failed to take into account the simple fact that any anthropologist or ethnologist could tell us: that in primitive society all functions of life are highly integrated so that religion is not a thing apart; rather it is intrinsic in every phase of life. When we loftily forbid a religious dance, telling the Indians that it is wicked and indecent, we are not only insulting them but are destroying their social fabric by weakening essential threads that hold it together.

I do not forget that the Indians have always had the respectful consideration of some intelligent white friends both official and unofficial, nor that today there is a new spirit in the Indian Service. Neither am I forgetting the vast amount of intellectual effort represented by the accumulation of anthropological and ethnological data in our libraries and museums. The fact remains that to the Indians as a race we whites as a race are still patronizing aggressors, or at the best only blundering benefactors. The Indians realize that as yet we have not found them worth knowing.

You have only to visit an Indian reservation to realize that no human beings can be happy or successful without some sort of social organization of their own. If their native organization still functions, it should be cherished and should be modified only from within as the Indians adapt it to changing needs. If it has perished at our hands, then these people suffer like any other human beings from violence to their social nature. What

they need today is to feel the stimulating effect of socially created values; a social scale in which individuals can find an honored place. Scientifically correct menus of work, play, and education served cold are as indigestible as they are unappetizing. The spice, the flavor, the appeal, the value, comes to an Indian as it does to us in realizing a heightened sense of existence, an enhancement of life attained only through the voiced appreciation of a society of fellow humans. The blow that destroyed the economic life of the Indians destroyed also the steps by which a man aspired to a position of preeminence. Pride and ambition have been enervated by disuse; no special ladders are left to climb. This is more than a figure; it is a lamentable fact. The detribalized Indian must therefore have a place in the surrounding community, a place toward which he can strive with some hope of attaining honor and prestige among those from whom honor is valued—from his friends. His circle of friends, if he is to live with vitality, must include the community at large.

In our treatment of the Indians we have overestimated the values of economic independence and physical comfort as incentives. We so wanted their lands that we fought them; wearied by fighting, we fed them; and now, embarrassed by their presence at our table, we focus our every effort upon their economic progress and the multiplication of outside work opportunities, neglecting those human forces resident within the Indians themselves which, in a social environment, supply economic motivation, and forgetting that without the play of powerful social forces economic activities are merely unintelligible and pointless busyness.

Socially, the Indians wander in the wilderness. They are lost, and lost forever, unless they have guides. Consciously or unconsciously their greatest need is for wise, understanding white friends. Jason gave voice to this need when he said that we in our wisdom could tell them their way out of their difficulties. The Indians need white friends to perform two functions: first, to interpret our economic and social life to them; and second, to

interpret them as social beings to the whites, thus enabling them to win for themselves a place in the life of the community, a status that will bring to them a satisfying sense of worthwhileness, the respect and approbation of other citizens, and opportunities for further attainment in the common life. The task involves social education of whites as well as Indians, for in many remote rural communities white residents are little better off and are in no way better citizens than many of the Indians. State and federal workers in some sections could well unite on community programs for everyone regardless of race. Such an arrangement would be a reasonable step toward the transfer of the Indians to the jurisdiction of their states while still under the protection of their official friends.

The official friends of the Indians—teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, industrial leaders, agricultural agents—must be competent social engineers. Since interracial interpretation is basic to the constructive task of community organization, they must be skilled at this delicate business and hence must be able to meet the Indians as well as all kinds of whites on their diverse social levels. May I give two examples of the kind of friends I mean, young women who are making the right approaches to the task?

One day as I entered a day school I heard the rhythm of a drum, and slipping inside the primary room I saw an old Indian man with long white hair teaching the tiny children the buffalo dance. They would dance for awhile, then sit around him in a circle while he taught them the peculiar inflection of the voice in Indian song. The children and the old man worked hard while the teacher stood by. When the practicing was over, he called the teacher and made an appointment for the next rehearsal, telling her that next time she was to practice too, because he wanted her to dance with them as she had a few weeks before. This old Indian, a man of standing in Pueblo society, was an important person in that schoolroom, and he knew it. This same teacher was organizing the women of the pueblo into clubs, encouraging the revival of embroidery and of ancient pueblo

pottery, and beginning to teach them some of the fundamental principles of our merchandizing. This teacher sees her Indians whole. She sees each child as a member of a family, each family as a part of the community, and the community in its relation to the larger world. She is humble enough to care to understand the Indians for their own sakes. She is able to communicate to the casual white visitor her sense of their capacity and worthwhileness. Give her time and support her efforts, and the Indian Bureau could some day point to a real achievement.

My second example is that of a nurse interested enough in her Indians to have learned something of their traditions and to know that the persons who officiate at a birth have mystic functions to perform that to the Indians are much more important than the medical. She accordingly works with them, not interfering in any way with their rites, but assisting them by furnishing aseptic materials and very gradually modifying their techniques. The babies thus cared for have some of the benefits of applied bacteriology without losing their standing with the powers of the unseen world. This nurse has begun to teach some of the medicine women scientific procedures and hopes that before long they may be made responsible for putting drops in the babies' eyes. This nurse does not blunder, for she builds her program slowly as she acquires the basic knowledge. She is a social link with the great outside world.

You might expect workers like these to get prompt recognition in the Service. They are capable of doing the real job. But the organization is so large and responsibility is so remote and diffused that they will either grow tired of their professional isolation and move on or they will be flattened out into correct copies of government employes far from headquarters. It is the curse of the Indian Service that the United States government inclines to assume its employes in the field potential rogues fully capable of robbing the United States treasury to buy gasoline. The bureau traditionally acts on the policy of guaranteeing a minimum performance rather than stimulating its employes to do their best. This attitude may be necessary; but if it is, the

Indian Bureau may as well close its doors, for it will never achieve its declared purpose. The only people who can perform the functions of interracial interpretation and community organization are themselves sensitive in their human relations. They do not thrive on repression and criticism untempered by appreciation. They must be trusted and their achievements recognized. They must be treated as honorable by their own organization if they are to have sufficient prestige in the white communities to help the Indians to an adjustment.

No other federal bureau holds the welfare of a whole people in the hollow of its hand as does the Indian Bureau. Can it be that the federal government has missed its one great opportunity for a demonstration of its capacity for human engineering? Is it incapable of successfully performing the social welfare function? For a century it has had at its disposal an almost perfect opportunity for a laboratory experiment which might have illuminated some of the world's most pressing problems. The everyday interchanges between races, the reactions of submerged racial groups in contact with white civilization, the dynamics of primitive society, and the basis for continuity of culture—these are fundamental problems in racial governmental relations everywhere. The laboratory experiment from which the whole world might have learned has not been made. The problems have not been solved. The century old task of helping the Indians to prepare themselves for independent citizenship still remains to be done, and each year it grows more difficult.

Jason did not blame the Indian Bureau for the present plight of the Indians. Neither shall I. Still less do I blame the present administration. The blame rests with you and me, citizens who for generations have supported our government's work for the Indians as mere taxpayers, whereas we owed the Indians the support of interested fellow citizens. Any irresponsible organization with no check on the wisdom of its policies or the efficiency of its administration would do as the Indian Bureau has done. Any great institution cherishes its prerogatives. It lives

by its precedents. It moves along in an initial direction with ever increasing momentum, not stopping to ask whither or why. The Indian Bureau today is a huge, top-heavy organization, ill suited to its task. The present administration has made some notable improvements in personnel and some realistic changes in program, but it has given little effective recognition to the fundamental truth that the greatest need of the Indians is official friends and that under the weight of a century's inept accretions simple official friendship is almost impossible.

What are we going to do about it? We must get away from the modern superstition that nothing can be effective unless highly organized. Mr. Lewis Meriam tells a story to the point here:

A social philosopher was walking along the street in company with the Devil, when he saw a man across the way reach up and grasp a small bit of the eternal truth. Whereupon the social philosopher said to the Devil: "Did you see that? Well, what are you going to do about it?" "I should worry," replied Satan. "I'll tempt him to organize it."

Organization may be as fatal to personnel relationships as to ideas. In fact, I have seen many an instance where it seemed to me that the Indian Office was sending out good people and then ingeniously but wastefully circumventing itself by putting obstacles in the way of their effectiveness.

Once in a hundred years any bureau would do well to take stock of itself. It should question its reason for being; it should define its ends; it should examine critically its means for meeting those ends; then, if necessary, it should overhaul its organization. Such a proceeding would be peculiarly appropriate now in the interests of economy, and by economy I mean the relation of what is accomplished to what is spent. Such a stock-taking at the Indian Bureau should result in decentralization of authority, employes, and records. After a hundred years of waiting for the mountain to come to Mohammed, Mohammed might at last go to the mountain. The task is educational; it can be done only through face-to-face contacts; it is therefore a task

not for people sitting around tables in Washington but for the people in the field. Even the programs, if they are realistic and practicable, must be made mostly out in the Indian country, where the Indians and their communities are. The office at Washington is the adjunct. It is its business to find competent friends for the Indians and then to support them while they do the only real work that justifies the existence of a bureau.

NEEDS IN ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN PROPERTY

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I ASSUME, in this gathering at the National Conference of Social Work, that there are several types of interest in our subject—the American Indian.

There is the detached sociological interest. The Indians for four hundred years have been made the subjects of a huge experiment in racial adjustment. This experiment has had for its material a population of Indians always exceeding 10,000,000. There are today more than 25,000,000 Indians in North and South America. It has had for its material hundreds of civilizations of Indians—social systems and cultural systems not amorphous but structural, and very ancient—civilizations which were, in some cases, adapted with an unsurpassed, possibly unequaled, practical efficiency, joined with a richness of achieved human values, to an environment which was half the world. That environment was, for these millions of Indians, suddenly shattered or torn from them by unforeseeable causes which swept down as if from another star.

The sociologist finds not a record of destruction alone—past and present destruction. There have been efforts, noble and far-visioning, with and for the Indians. There even was achieved in one place a golden age, which lasted more than a century and whose inhabitants were 200,000 of pure-blood Indians and fewer than 100 Jesuit priests—the Jesuit utopia of Paraguay. There was statesmanship in the laws of the Indies under Spain. There is, today, experimentation boldly and profoundly imagined, and prosecuted with adequate techniques and records, among the Indians of Mexico. And in Canada there can be seen an economical, successful administration, which more than a genera-

tion ago anticipated many of the values of that system called "indirect administration," best known in British East Africa since the establishment of the colonial mandates. In brief, the sociologist must find interest in the Indian question.

The humanitarian finds an interest which may, for some, deepen to a torment as the facts become better known.

The worker in problems of government in the United States finds an interest. Indian administration is bureaucracy supreme—bureaucracy willing to undertake everything, and limited by no self-limiting principle, and in most matters, and in the long run, to date a bureaucracy which is extra-judicial in its status and which itself makes the laws by which it governs.

And last, there are our own psychical wants. The Indian is not only a symbol of desires conscious and unconscious, deep in our own race, though he is such a symbol, too. He is more—he is the protagonist of that in us which has mystic power. It is not merely that many of us have projected onto the Indian somewhat of our primitive longings, and our yearnings for Arcady, our yearnings for a recovery of oneness with nature, our forbidden romance. We do, indeed, project these longings, these prophecies, these dreams. But *they are true* of the Indians—of many groups of surviving Indians, and of none, perhaps, so wholly, so significantly, as of certain groups near at hand in our own country—Navajos, Pueblos—on whom the devastation of our system of Indian management has not yet fallen with its entire and its killing weight. Our blight—the blight of our Indian system—has not yet blighted them; and to our imaginations they are as precious as the Grecian temple, or the music of Bach, or the poetry of Blake or of Wordsworth, or the hints of new powers of the psychic life which some moments of group history in our Aryan experience have furnished us.

Now to our subject of this half hour. Indian property is administered by Congress through the Interior Department and Bureau of Indian Affairs, under a voluminous body of special Indian law, much of it conflicting or inconclusively construed. There are mandatory features of law which across fifty years

have wrought an ever increasing havoc and destruction upon the Indian properties. There likewise are traditional practices, matters of concert between Congress and the executive, which add to the havoc. In other branches of Indian property management, acts of Congress and the courts through construction and the executive through usurpation have extended the administrative discretion to lengths unknown outside of Indian affairs.

This threefold system—of mandatory statutes driving the administration to work destruction upon Indian property; of Congressional tradition, concurred in by the executive, by which the government itself devours millions of dollars of Indian funds year by year; and of an unbridled administrative discretion within a system of government controlled both ultimately and immediately by politics—this threefold system derives from ancient opinions of the Supreme Court which define the government's authority over the Indians as being a plenary, or unlimited and unreviewable, authority, and from the settled principle of law that the sovereign cannot be made a party to litigations without his own consent.

The Indian property under federal guardianship totals possibly three-quarters of a billion dollars. Its shrinkage in fifty years has been enormous—50 per cent at a minimum. A 65 per cent shrinkage could be argued. This property is tribal and individual. Both classes of property have melted away—are melting away—through actions primarily of the government itself—actions not of the Indians, nor controlled by them. The poverty of the great majority of the Indians is well known. That their poverty is becoming more intense, and that in current years it has engulfed added thousands of the Indian wards, is less well known.

If what I have just said is true, and if it is known to the Indians, there follows a serious consequence with respect to the human and social side of Indian administration. If the property administration is failing, and with devastating results, cataclysmic in terms of a hundred tribes and minute and continuous

in terms of the individual Indians, then the human administration must likewise fail, must continue largely to fail. The Indians are wards both in person and in property. The same Congress, the same Indian Bureau, and on most reservations the same local functionaries, are charged with the human task and the property task.

Some of the facts about Indian property management which the Indians know—in some cases statistically, but universally through an experience direct, continuous, fraught with humiliation, torment, and doom—are the following:

Through action by the government, under existing law, about 100,000 Indians have been, from 1890 to date, stripped of their property.

More than another hundred thousand—the allotted Indians whose allotments are held under government trust—know that with every year their lands, in the amount of millions of acres, are passing into the heirship class, to be sold by the government under a practically mandatory act of Congress and under conditions which insure, almost universally, that the land shall pass to white appropriators.

The tribes possessing timber, minerals, collectible claims against the government, and other assets convertible into cash, witness this conversion of their assets into tribal funds—funds which the government since 1900 has used in an amount exceeding \$100,000,000 for administrative maintenance, whereas the balance has been paid in per capita payments to Indians whose status (I refer here chiefly to the Oklahoma Indians, who receive the bulk of the per capita payments) has been, and is, in practical reality, that of prisoners, of enslaved appendages to their incomes, doubly victimized through a collaboration between an accommodating federal guardianship and a practically compulsory, and voracious, local guardianship.

The allotted Indians know that they received their allotments under guaranties by Congress that their lands should not be burdened with liens or mortgages during the trust period and should be discharged free from lien or encumbrance when the

trust period ended. They know that their trust patents, as solemnly attested by the executive, reiterated this guaranty of immunity from debt. And they know that, ignoring the guaranties, the government has placed on their lands a crushing debt, protected by a mortgage on the land and by an unlimited personal liability clamped by law upon the individual Indian and upon all that he has or may procure of money from sales, rentals, inheritances, or otherwise. The Indian reimbursable debt, in large part presumptively illegal, and admittedly arbitrary and faithless, exceeds \$30,000,000. It represents money poured out by the government for tourist bridges and through highways and for systems of irrigation built chiefly for white farmers. In addition to charging against the Indians more than \$30,000,000 for these "pork-barrel" uses, tribal funds exceeding \$10,000,000 have been misappropriated for identical "pork-barrel" uses.

These same Indians know that under existing law even their last wills and testaments are nothing but the expressions of hopes, to be translated into force and effect by the Secretary of the Interior if he so desires, and in his discretion to be nullified by him even after they are validated, without the requirement of any cause to be assigned by the arbitrary authority and without review by the courts.

These same Indians know that their white neighbors have access to financial credit; that financial credit is deemed to be essential in farming and industry and is provided for all elements of the population except themselves. They know that as wards they are forbidden to contract for private debts or to offer security for loans, and that the government refuses to extend them that financial credit in the absence of which, as Indian Commissioner Abbott proclaimed in 1913 and as Secretary Hubert Work again proclaimed in 1927, their failure as farmers is foredoomed.

I conclude this summary of what the Indians know, by mentioning that they know that every effort which they, as Indians, may make to organize, to become articulate as communities

or as tribes, can be carried forward only through the very uncertain tolerance of the omnipotent official guardian; and that even their attorneys, in those few cases where as Indians they can get into court at all, must be chosen subject to the approval of the official guardian against whom, in the majority of the cases that arise, their attempted litigations are necessarily directed.

Such is the state of mind and such are the objective facts. Human administration cannot be made successful until the facts are changed and the state of mind is reassured.

Now I shall try to make clear some of the controlling mechanisms of Indian property management, in order to suggest their possible modification.

Time does not permit any convincing description of that natural system of Indian property administration which some other countries have conserved and improved while we have destroyed it. The Indian group, as existing in the United States a hundred years and even fifty years ago, was in effect a body corporate, identified with an area of land communally owned but in most cases partitioned among the individuals. Of these groups, who numbered half a thousand tribes and bands at the very fewest, the ones least stable and complex were nevertheless more stable and complex than we usually imagine, while the groups with richer development had, within the Stone Age, attained to a stability and a complexity which baffle the efforts at description.

Under white influence, or as a result of interactions with the white world, various of the Indian groups pushed out their social organizations toward European patterns, with the result, for example, that in 1820 the Cherokees of North Georgia were dwelling in a modern state with a tolerably rich set of political institutions, with written language and schools, with civic status of the kind that we know, and generally with a public life of what we may call the "Anglo-Saxon order."

The development continued in Indian territory, and in-

creased, in spite of violent upheavals and destructions through faithless acts by the United States government.

Would there were time to display, contrastingly, the Indian territory of 1885 and the Oklahoma of 1915. A ruin—a dissolution—penetrating every life tissue of 75,000 Indians had been accomplished in these thirty years. The ruin was foreseen; some whites, and all the Indians, foresaw it; the Indians collectively struggled to defeat or delay the official policies which they knew were their doom. But “individualization” so-called and mis-called, and applied to culture and land alike, and with the whole legal and physical might of the United States behind it, triumphed as it was bound to do. The tragedy begun in Oklahoma was carried out to the Indians of the whole country. Its blight fell soonest and deepest on the tribes allotted under the new land policy commenced in 1887; the Navajos and Pueblos have measurably escaped until now.

Our policy today carries forward that changed policy toward Indian group life and Indian land, whose most massive historical result was the total ruin of the Oklahoma tribes between 1885 and 1915. We may describe it with euphemisms—we do so describe it—but the structural facts pay no attention to our euphemisms. The secretary of a well known Indian rights association voiced the naked truth when he was testifying in 1908 before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and his words continue to be an accurate description of the intent and effect of our Indian law and Indian administration in their controlling theory and orientation and their ultimate decisive operations: “In other words,” he stated, “the theory of our Association is in reality to exterminate the Indian as an Indian.” He added: “And to merge him.” To merge—what?

By our treatment of the Indians’ group and communal and tribal organizations, we crippled Indian industry. We foresaw this consequence of our policy; and in that anticipation we devised, in 1887, the allotment policy. Our allotment law, as I have explained, did not create the practice of allotting lands to

individual Indians; that practice had been customary with most of the Indian tribes through all time, and systems of allotment which are entirely benign, and which are free from the artificial defects of our official allotment system, have long been practiced by Canada and are now practiced in Mexico, and are still maintained, by tribal action, in the pueblos of New Mexico. These primordial systems of allotment, and the modern Canadian and Mexican systems, furnish a security of individual tenure, an individual ownership of improvements, the right to transmit land and improvements to heirs, and generally an adequate personal motivation, while avoiding the creation in the individual of an unalterable vested right and while insuring that the allotted land shall not be lost to the community and shall not lie unused. Our own allotment system, by contrast, forces on each Indian man, woman, and child, regardless of circumstances, an equal amount of partitioned land. A vested right is created. The community or tribe, and even the family, are sharply and absolutely detached from connection with the allotment or its use. Even groups or associations of Indians may not pool their allotment, save through contracts which are extra-legal and invalid. Our allotment law, enacted in 1887, was later amended to require that after the allottee's death his land, under practically all conditions which might arise, should be placed at auction and sold by the government. No credit system was provided by the government, and the non-competent Indian was excluded from private credit; hence it was practically impossible for Indian purchasers to acquire the auctioned land. Even the children of the dead allottee, if they occupied the parental homestead, must occupy it as tenants, paying rent to the government until the homestead was sold, and thereafter as tenants of the white owner.

Already I have mentioned the next step which was taken, following after the heirship amendments of 1910. That next step was to burden the allotted lands with a mortgage, which amounted to \$3,000,000 in 1914 and which today exceeds \$30,000,000. And I have explained that this mortgage was further

protected by a personal liability subjecting the individual Indian to seizure of any liquid capital or income for the satisfaction of the debt. How much actually has been collected from the Indians on these debts is not publicly known, though it ought to be known. Prior to 1920, \$8,000,000 had been collected.

Use your scientific imaginations, and it will be clear to you that the allotment system must, with mathematical certainty and an automatic sequence, disinherit the whole race of allotted Indians within one more generation. The bulk of the Indian country is allotted and by far the greater value of the surface area of the Indian country is allotted. Two-thirds of the Indians are allotted.

My time is used up, and I can scarcely go beyond a mention of the remedies, but you will be able to supply them by your own thinking. Most of them are incorporated in bills now pending before Congress.

The basic remedy would be a change of orientation, registered in statute law, to permit and help the Indians as tribes or groups to form themselves into bodies corporate—corporations functioning under a flexible arrangement of federal guardianship, but endowed with rights and duties under statute laws whose interpretation and enforcement would rest with the federal courts. Incidental to this changed orientation would be the endowment of the personal Indian with full civil rights and the concentration of trusteeship attention (not exclusively but progressively) upon Indian corporate business.

These bodies corporate, under a guardianship restricted to the matters of property and designed to become progressively minimal, would administer their corporate properties much as the Canadian tribes have done for the past generation. In some cases, they would have the powers of municipal corporations; in other cases, not. They would reacquire such part of the allotted areas as they might have use for, paying for them in cash from tribal funds or government loans, or in shares of stock, and operating them as common properties or reallocoting them to meet new exigencies from time to time.

The control of tribal assets—timber, minerals, grazing range, funds—would be vested in the corporation, subject in the larger matters to a veto power, provisional but not absolute, vested in the supervising governmental agency. It is worth mentioning that in Canada, where the tribes control their incomes from tribal resources and where tribal capital is expended only with tribal consent, the capital and its income increase with each year, in contrast to the situation in the United States where tribal resources, including the tribal funds, vanish with each flying year. It is the United States government, not the Indian, who is a wastrel. The facts are incontestable, although an opposite superstition prevails.

As rapidly as the modern business advantages were made attainable for the Indians, the government could face each individual ward Indian with the mandatory choice: "Either enter into the modern arrangement—the corporate arrangement—or, as your alternative, take by fee patent your allotted land, and forswear all immunities from taxation and from the operation of the general laws. Your wardship, in the event of the second choice, will be forever ended." Most of the Indians, for reasons affirmative as well as negative, would make the first, not the second choice.

Many coordinate reforms are indicated, and some of them are already formulated into bills which are reasonably perfected in their form. Among others, I mention the Frazier-Howard bill chartering tribal councils, the Frazier-Howard bill granting to Indians a recall power over objectionable government employees on their reservations, the Frazier-Howard bill seeking to repeal a mass of espionage and gag laws, inherited from Indian war days, still on our books and available to prohibit investigators from going among the Indians and to prevent Indians from organizing or from speaking out. I mention likewise the King bill, bringing all expenditures by the Indian Bureau under Congressional control, and requiring that Indian Service moneys be budgeted by reservations and by functions, and the Swing-Johnson bill enabling states and counties to join effectively in

welfare work for their Indians. A credit system for Indians is one of the extreme urgencies. This system has not even, as yet, been officially recommended. Tribal incorporation is provided by the McNary-Butler bill.

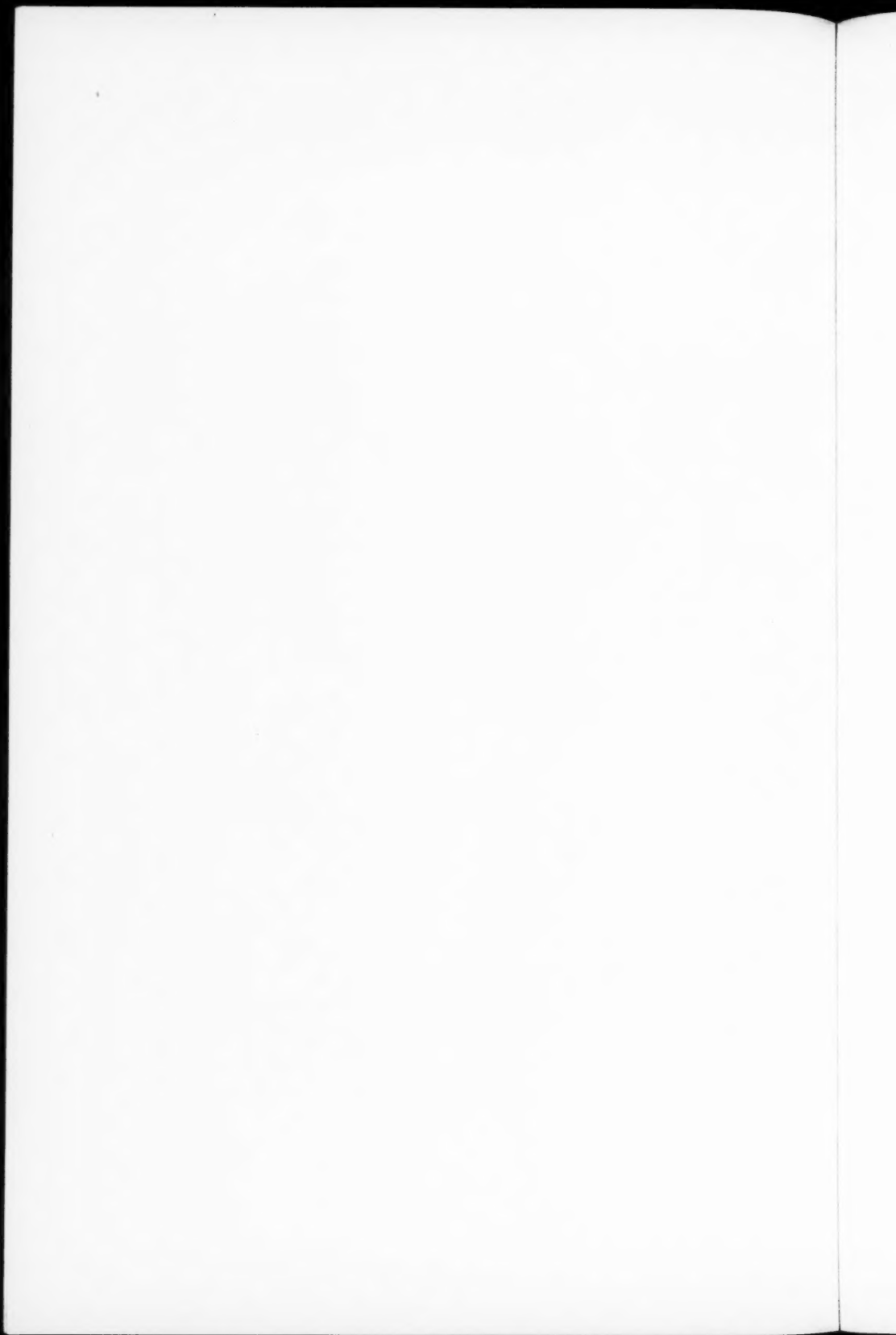
Will these changes require an impracticable increase of government expenditure? They will not. Let the necessity of handling the literally million-fold minutiae of the allotment operations and the control of individual moneys be ended, and a permanent saving of not less than \$1,000,000 a year of administrative costs will be possible. It is an agreed-on fact that the boarding schools, costing more than \$10,000,000 a year, could be replaced by community day school opportunities, with food and clothing for the children added, and a modern home service provided, at a net saving of not less than \$3,000,000 a year. Such substitution is practicable to a 75 per cent total at least. The saving by the school reforms alone would provide the funds needed for an Indian credit system, including the funds required to set on their feet the Indian corporations and to finance, through loans to these corporations, the repurchase of allotted lands. There exist other possibilities of savings of present costs—they total much above an additional \$1,000,000—which a reorganized Indian system would make practicable and indeed inevitable; there is no time to specify them here. The aggregate savings, incidental to the indicated changes of system, would (as I should gladly undertake to demonstrate if time permitted) abundantly finance the transition stage from a hopeless to a hopeful era—from an era of imprisoned energies and embittered, frustrated, and frustrating mental and human complexes, to the era of released and canalized energies and of the direction of Indian and Indian Service attention toward goals which would not be the phantoms of the fictions of a dead time but roads to the living world. Oh, the opportunity for social creation, in this situation of Indian Affairs!

I am not here in order to voice criticism. Yet it would not be honest or fair to this division of the Conference, or fair to the Indians, if I should withhold the facts as I know them. The

undertakings concerning the group status of Indians and concerning Indian property, made by the executive in 1929, have in part been abandoned or reversed; and in part they have been prosecuted with less than a faintness of heart and at a speed predicated on a time-scale of generations, not of years. In certain crucial matters, the whole power of the executive has been cast into a battle against elementary Indian rights, especially in the field of property. I refer to the Flathead power case of 1930 and to the Pueblo case, at this moment a battleground, as examples—crucial examples indeed; but they do not stand alone. The system of local guardianship in Oklahoma, monstrous and indefensible as it is, has been left unchallenged, in control of the field. The tribal incorporation plan has been blocked through delays which have culminated in specific opposition by the Secretary of the Interior. The reorganization of the Indian Bureau's Reclamation Service, including its integration with the General Reclamation Service, proclaimed as an immediate official program in 1929, has been abandoned. The forestry division has been left unregenerate while its arbitrary powers have been increased. The statutes vesting in Indian tribes the control of the leasing of their tribal ranges have been nullified through an extralegal or illegal system of permits issued to white men and corporations by the Secretary of the Interior. The solicitation by the Interior Department from Congress of Indian tribal capital, to be spent in Indian Bureau maintenance, including many millions for bureau salaries, has been continued in the face of the imminent exhaustion of most of the tribal funds—yes, to the point of the complete exhaustion of many of the funds. The Indian trust money spent for Indian Service maintenance in the fiscal years 1930-32 totaled \$12,767,000, of which a full \$8,000,000 represented tribal capital misconstrued as current revenue and devoted to current administration. Such procedure is contrary to every principle of trusteeship. No single measure, designed to widen the civil liberties of Indians, has received indorsement. The reimbursable debts, acknowledged by all to be extortionate and in large part violative of law, have

been remitted in an amount equaling one-twenty-fifth, approximately, of the total debt; but in these same fiscal years, 1930-32, the new indebtedness imposed for irrigation works alone has exceeded by threefold the total of remitted debt. Congress has followed every specific recommendation for debt remission which the executive has made to Congress; and the increases of debt have in every case been recommended by the executive; so the responsibility is plain. Finally, the allotment law and system have been left unchallenged, though they admittedly are fatal to that majority of all the Indians who are the victims of allotment.

Confronting these facts, which are known to the Indians, those workers who include the entire Indian Office from the Commissioner down, who truly and earnestly are seeking the betterment of the human side of Indian administration, are baffled. They are more baffled in subjective fact than they, even to themselves, dare to acknowledge, because one must continue to have faith.



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PROGRAM

GENERAL SESSIONS

Sunday, May 15—President's Address: The Social Consequences and Treatment of Unemployment. C. M. Bookman, Executive Director, Community Chest, Cincinnati. Page 3.

The Opportunity of Social Work, in View of the Trend from Private to Public Relief. Hon. Gifford Pinchot, Governor of Pennsylvania. Page 90.

Monday, May 16—Children in National Emergencies. Hon. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, Washington. Page 25.

Tuesday, May 17—The Crisis in Social Work. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Cleveland. Page 53.

Wednesday, May 18—Conference Dinner. Celebrating the Twentieth Anniversary of the Federal Children's Bureau. Lillian Wald, Henry Street Settlement, New York City; J. Prentice Murphy, General Secretary, Children's Bureau, Philadelphia; Grace Abbott, Chief, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington. Page 33.

Friday, May 20—The Partnership of Public and Private Service. C. A. Dykstra, City Manager, Cincinnati. Page 65.

England's Experience with Unemployment Insurance and the Dole. R. C. Davison, School of Economics, University of London. Page 82.

Saturday, May 21—Social Workers Face a New World. Owen R. Lovejoy, Executive Secretary, Children's Aid Society, New York. Page 97.

DIVISION MEETINGS

DIVISION I. CHILDREN

I. The Functions in a Community Child Welfare Program:

Private Child-caring Institutions and Agencies. Edwin D. Solenberger, General Secretary, Children's Aid Society, Philadelphia. Page 111.

Public Child-caring Agencies. Henry W. Thurston, New York School of Social Work, New York.

II. (Joint Session with Division III—Health)

Demonstration of a Complete Medical Service for Children. Joseph A. Muenzer, M.D., St. Anthony's Hospital, Toledo.

Discussants: From the Standpoint of Physical Health, John Stokes, Jr., M.D., Pediatrician, Children's Hospital, Philadelphia; From the Standpoint of Mental Health, Frederick H. Allen, M.D., Director, Child Guidance Clinic, Philadelphia.

III. Group Discussion 1 (Joint Session with National Federation of Day Nurseries).

Use of Foster Homes for Day Care. Discussion Leader: Helen Hart, Headworker, Kingsley House, Pittsburgh.

Group Discussion 2. Integration of Various Phases of Institutional Care. Discussion Leader: Elsa Ueland, Carson College for Girls, Flourtown, Pennsylvania. Page 122.

Group Discussion 3 (Joint Session with National Probation Association). Juvenile

Court Detention (Report of Study of Detention Homes Made by National Probation Association). Discussion Leader: Harrison A. Dobbs, University of Chicago.

Group Discussion 4. Attitudes Influencing the Children's Field. Discussion Leader: Irene Liggett, Assistant General Secretary, Children's Aid Society, Philadelphia.

Group Discussion 5. Problems of a State Children's Bureau. Discussion Leader: Mary Labaree, Director, Bureau of Children, State Department of Welfare, Harrisburg.

IV. (Joint Session with Mothers' Aid Group)

The Effects of the Economic Crisis upon Children: Douglas P. Falconer, Temporary Emergency Relief Association, New York City; Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, University of Chicago. Page 126.

DIVISION II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

I. (Joint Session with International Association of Policewomen)

Reports of the National Commission of Law Observance and Enforcement. George W. Wickersham, Chairman of the Commission, New York City.

II. Group Discussion 1 (Joint Session with Girls' Protective Council and International Association of Policewomen). Preventive Work in Police Departments. Discussion Leader: Henrietta Additon, Police Commissioner, Crime Prevention Bureau, New York City.

Group Discussion 2 (Joint Session with American Social Hygiene Association). Sex Education for Case Workers with Delinquents. Discussion Leaders: Valeria H. Parker, M.D., Director, Community Organization, American Social Hygiene Association, New York City; Alida Bowler, Children's Bureau, Washington; Emily F. Morrison, Superintendent, Sleighton Farm School for Girls, Darling, Pennsylvania.

Group Discussion 3. Trained Personnel for Reformatory Institutions.

Group Discussion 4. County Jails. Discussion Leader: Nina Kinsella, Executive Assistant to Director of Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, Washington. Page 136.

III. (Joint Session with International Association of Policewomen and National Probation Association)

The Juvenile Court on Trial.

IV. (Joint Session with Division I—Children, Division IV—The Family, and Girls' Protective Council)

Cooperation of Case Working Agencies in Problems of Delinquency and Crime: Case Work in Family Welfare Agencies.

Case Work in Protective-Preventive Agencies. Clifford R. Shaw, Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago.

V. (Joint Session with International Association of Policewomen)

Scientific Treatment versus Effectively Administered Punishment:

Effectively Administered Punishment. James M. Hepbrun, Criminal Justice Commission and Director, Community Chest Fund, Baltimore.

Scientific Treatment. George W. Kirchwey, Professor of Criminology, New York School of Social Work, New York.

DIVISION III. HEALTH

- I. Group Discussion. The Public Health Nurse and the Social Worker; Common Problems and Common Goals. Discussion Leader: Margaret F. Byington, New York School of Social Work, New York.
- II. The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection:
Using the Reports and Recommendations of the Conference as a Measuring Rod for Local Problems. Katharine F. Lenroot, Assistant to Chief, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington.
How Have the Recommendations Served to Stimulate Local Programs? Mary R. Lakeman, M.D., Massachusetts Committee for White House Conference, Boston.
- III. (Joint Session with Division V—Industrial and Economic Problems and American Social Hygiene Association)
Industrial Health:
A Plan for Establishing Health Departments in Smaller Industries. Harvey Dee Brown, Director, Health Council and Tuberculosis Association, Philadelphia. Page 145.
Hidden Problems of Hard Times. Valeria H. Parker, M.D., Director, Community Organization, American Social Hygiene Association, New York City. Page 156.
Discussants: Mrs. Violet Hodgson, Assistant Director, National Organization of Public Health Nursing, New York City; G. L. L. McGinley, General Manager, Ketterlinus Lithographing Company, Philadelphia; Paul Benjamin, Executive Secretary, Social Hygiene Society, Washington.
- IV. (Joint Session with Home Economists in Social Work)
Child Health and Unemployment:
Plans for Alleviating the Bad Effects of Unemployment upon Children. Five-minute reports from various cities.
During a Depression to What Shall We Hold Fast in Nutrition? Adelaide Spohn, Nutritionist, Unemployment Relief Committee, Chicago. Page 167.
Discussion Leader: Mrs. Anna D. Bowes, Child Health Association, Philadelphia.
- V. (Joint Session with Division IV—The Family, Division VIII—Organization of Social Forces, and Social Service Exchange Committee of Association of Community Chests and Councils, and American Association of Hospital Social Workers)
Community Relationships Involved in 100 per Cent Registration in Social Service Exchange by All Agencies:
From the Standpoint of Hospital Social Service: Ida M. Cannon, Chief of Social Service, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, Page 180; Mrs. Charles Webb, University Hospitals, Cleveland, Page 186.
From the Standpoint of the Nursing Organization. Katherine Tucker, Director, National Organization of Public Health Nursing, New York City. Page 193.
From the Standpoint of the Family Welfare Organization. Helen Wallerstein, Case Supervisor, Jewish Welfare Society, Philadelphia. Page 198.
From the Standpoint of the Whole Community. Margaret F. Byington, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY

- I. The Case Worker's Rôle in Treatment: Marjorie Boggs, Field Instructor, Associated Charities, Cleveland; Laura Merrill, District Secretary, Family Society, Philadelphia; Eleanor Neustaedter, Director of Social Work Training, State Psychiatric Institute and Hospital, New York City. Page 204.
- II. The Contribution to Psychological Factors in Anti-social Behavior: Franz Alexander, M.D., Judge Baker Foundation, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Page 215; Grace Marcus, Case Work Consultant, Charity Organization Society, New York City, Page 226; George J. Mohr, M.D., Child Guidance Clinic, Pittsburgh.
- III. Standards—Content and Techniques of Field Training
 - Group Discussion 1. Training in Public Welfare. Discussion Leader: Florence W. Hutsinpillar, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington.
 - Group Discussion 2. Training in Emergency Work in Large Cities. Discussion Leader: Mary L. Gibbons, Catholic Charities, New York City.
 - Group Discussion 3. Training in Emergency Work in Small Cities. Discussion Leader: Ruth Hill, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City.
 - Group Discussion 4 (Joint Session with Home Economists in Social Work). Training of Emergency Workers from Home Economics Point of View. Discussion Leader: Florence Nesbitt, Assistant General Superintendent, United Charities, Chicago.
 - Group Discussion 5. Training for Emergency Work from Point of View of Schools of Social Work. Discussion Leader: Frank J. Bruno, Director, Department of Sociology, Washington University, St. Louis.
- IV. (Joint Session with Division VI—Neighborhood and Community Life)
 - The Unknown Future: Walter Lippmann, *The Herald-Tribune*, New York City, Page 234; M. Antoinette Cannon, New York School of Social Work, New York City, Page 239; Joseph H. Willits, Industrial Research Department, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Page 246.
- V. (Joint Session with Family Welfare Association of America)
 - Developments in the Public Welfare Program. Harry L. Lurie, Director, Bureau of Jewish Social Research, New York City. Page 253.
 - A Pathfinding Study in Governmental Relief Methods. Rose Porter, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City.
 - A Cooperative Experiment between Public and Private Agencies. Elizabeth M. McCord, Community Council, Philadelphia. Page 266.

DIVISION V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

- I. (Joint Sessions with Division IV—The Family)
 - (Duplicating the Program of the International Conference of Social Work, to be held at Frankfurt, the group discussions led by the American Chairmen of the Frankfurt Sections)
 - Group Discussion 1. Health and the Family. Discussion Leader: William F. Snow, M.D., Director, American Social Hygiene Association, New York City.
 - Group Discussion 2. Social Case Work and the Family. Discussion Leader: Linton B. Swift, Executive Secretary, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City.

Group Discussion 3. Remedial Agencies and the Family. Discussion Leader: Joanna C. Colcord, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

Group Discussion 4. Economic Protection and the Family. Discussion Leader: Mollie Ray Carroll, Headworker, University of Chicago Settlement, Chicago.

Group Discussion 5. Social Work for Alien Families. Discussion Leader: Edith Abbott, Dean, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.

Group Discussion 6. Education of Youth for Family Life. Discussion Leader: Eduard C. Lindeman, Professor of Social Philosophy, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

II. (Joint Session with American Association for Labor Legislation)

Unemployment Insurance:

Wisconsin's Unemployment Compensation Act. Paul A. Raushenbush, Consultant on Unemployment Compensation to Wisconsin Industrial Commission; Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Page 275.

Ohio Takes Stock. Elizabeth S. Magee, Executive Secretary, Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance, Columbus. Page 285.

Discussion Leaders: John B. Andrews, Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation, New York City; Edwin Clague, Director of Research, Community Council of Philadelphia; C. A. Kulp, Professor of Social Insurance, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

III. (Joint Session with Division VII—Mental Hygiene)

Mental Hygiene and Hard Times:

What Psychiatric Social Workers Have To Share with the Rest of Us. Eleanor Clifton, District Secretary, Charity Organization Society, New York City.

What the Hard Times Have To Teach Mental Hygienists: Out from Confusion. Frankwood E. Williams, M.D., New York City. Page 338.

Occupational Problems and Mental Health. Dorothea de Schweinitz, Assistant Director, State Employment Commission, Philadelphia.

Discussion Leaders: Leifur Magnusson, Director, Washington Branch, International Labor Organization, Washington; Dorothy C. Kahn, Executive Director, Jewish Welfare Society, Philadelphia; Charlotte E. Carr, Deputy Secretary, Department of Labor and Industry, Harrisburg; C. M. Hincks, M.D., General Director, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City; Mrs. W. F. Dummer, Chicago; Helen Mayers, Social Work Project, New York City.

IV. (Joint Session with American Association for Labor Legislation)

Social Planning and Social Work. Mary Van Kleeck, Director, Division of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 294.

Specific Issues Involved in Economic Planning. Professor J. M. Clark, Columbia University, New York City.

When the Union Aims at Economic Planning. John Edelman, Director of Research, American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, Philadelphia.

Discussion Leaders: John A. Fitch, New York School of Social Work, New York City; W. N. Loucks, Department of Economics, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; H. S. Person, Managing Director, Taylor Society, New York City; Clair Wilcox, Department of Economics, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore.

DIVISION VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

- I. New Trends in Community Control. E. C. Lindeman, Professor of Social Philosophy, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 301.
- II. (Joint Session with Division VIII—Organization of Social Forces)
Leisure:
The Age-Old Struggle for Leisure. George B. Cutten, President, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York.
Training for Leisure. Eugene T. Lies, Special Representative, National Recreation Association, New York City.
When Leisure Palls. Helen Hall, Head Resident, University House, Philadelphia. Page 309.
How Philadelphia Dealt with the Leisure of Unemployed Men. Charles H. English, Secretary, Playgrounds Association, Philadelphia.
- III. Enriching Community Life through Music. Augustus D. Zanzig, Director, Bureau of Music, National Recreation Association, New York City.
Discussants: Mrs. Clara Barnes Abbott, Former Director, City Bureau of Music, Philadelphia; Mrs. Frances McFarland, Director, Division of Music, National Federation of Settlements, New York City; John Grolle, Director, Settlement Music School, Philadelphia.
- IV. Group Discussion 1. Disintegrating Influences in Neighborhood, Small Town, and Rural Family Life. Discussion Leader: Walter W. Pettit, Assistant Director, New York School of Social Work, New York City.
Discussants: Willie Green Day, Executive Secretary, Social Service League, Montgomery County, Rockville, Maryland; Clarence King, Professor, New York School of Social Work, New York City; Leah K. Dickinson, Head Resident, Kingsley Association, Pittsburgh.
Group Discussion 2 (Joint Session with Church Conference on Social Work). What Can the Church Do To Further Neighborhood and Community Betterment? Discussion Leader: Lea D. Taylor, Head Resident, Chicago Commons, Chicago.
Discussants: Rev. Worth M. Tippy, Executive Secretary, Commission on the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of Churches, New York City; Rabbi Louis Wolsey, Congregation Rodeph Shalom, Philadelphia; Rev. Edward Roberts Moore, Director, Division of Social Action, Catholic Charities of New York, New York City.
Group Discussion 3. Contributions of Negroes to American Culture. Discussion Leader: Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary, National Urban League, New York City.
Discussants: Sterling A. Brown, English Department, Howard University, Washington; Alain Locke, Professor of Philosophy, Howard University, Washington, Page 315; Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, New York City.
Group Discussion 4 (Joint Session with Division X—The Immigrant). How the Foreign-born Become American. Discussion Leader: Thomas L. Cotton, Foreign Language Information Service, New York City.
Discussants: Lola de Grill, Hungarian Secretary, International Institute, Bridgeport; Peter Jurchak, Attorney, Slovak Organizations, Wilkes-Barre; Achilles Catsonis, Supreme Secretary, Order of Ahepa, Washington.
Group Discussion 5. Conserving Human Values in Suburban Planning. Discussion Leader: Clarence A. Perry, Recreation Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

- V. Enriching Community Life through Art. Erwin C. Christensen, Education Director, American Federation of Arts, Washington. Page 325.
Discussant: Rossiter Howard, Chief, Division of Education, Pennsylvania Museum of Art, Philadelphia.

DIVISION VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

- I. (Joint Session with American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers and American Association of Visiting Teachers)
Direct Treatment Work with Children. H. S. Lippmann, M.D., Director, Child Guidance Clinic, St. Paul. Page 353.
Discussants: Sydney G. Biddle, M.D., Psychiatrist, Philadelphia; Margaret A. Rogers, Visiting Teacher, Board of Education, Department of Child Guidance, Newark; Lillian Malcove, M.D., Psychiatrist, Institute for Child Guidance, New York City.
- II. (Joint Session with Division IX—Public Officials and Administration)
Parole of Patients from Mental Hospitals:
From the Hospital Standpoint. A. G. Lane, M.D., Clinical Director, New Jersey State Hospital, Greystone Park.
From the Community Standpoint. Florence Fitzherbert, District Secretary, Charity Organization Society, New York City.
Integration of the Hospital and the Community in Parole. Mary Killam, Head Social Worker, Metropolitan Hospital, Waltham, Massachusetts.
Discussants: George H. Preston, M.D., State Commissioner of Mental Hygiene, Baltimore; Hester B. Crutcher, Supervisor of Social Work, State Department of Mental Hygiene, Albany; George M. Kline, M.D., Commissioner, State Department of Mental Diseases, Boston.
- III. Mental Hygiene Literature: Reader's Friend or Foe. Ralph P. Bridgeman, Director, National Council of Parent Education, New York City.
Discussants: Gerald H. J. Pearson, Psychiatrist, Child Guidance Clinic, Philadelphia; Cecile Pilpel, Director, Study Groups, Child Study Association of America, New York City; Benjamin C. Gruenberg, Educational Editor, Viking Press, New York City; Christine C. Robb, Chief of Social Service, Institute for Child Guidance, New York City.
- IV. Group Discussions. What Happens to the Mental Health of Individuals during Hard Times? (Five sessions.) Discussion Leaders: Lawson G. Lowrey, M.D., Director, Institute for Child Guidance, New York City; Dorothy G. Burpee, District Secretary, Family Welfare Society, Boston; Mrs. Helen C. White, District Secretary, Charity Organization Society, New York City; Betsey Libbey, General Secretary, Family Society, Philadelphia; Elizabeth M. McCord, Community Council, Philadelphia.
- V. The Time Element in Therapy. Jessie Taft, Foster Home Department, Children's Aid Society, Philadelphia. Page 368.
Discussants: Bertha Reynolds, Research Assistant, Institute for Child Guidance, New York City; Lois Meredith, Visiting Teacher, New Jersey State Normal School, Newark; Harvie de J. Coghill, M.D., Director, Children's Memorial Clinic, Richmond.

DIVISION VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

- I. The Responsibility of Community Chests toward the Community Welfare Problem of 1933. Allen T. Burns, Executive Director, Association of Community Chests and Councils, New York City.
- II. How Can We Find a Sounder Statistical Basis To Interpret the Rôle Played in the Community's Welfare Program by Social Settlements, Recreation, and Character-Building Agencies? Louise Clevenger, Associate Secretary, Community Chest, St. Paul. Page 382.
- III. Principles Underlying Program Modifications of Non-Relief Agencies Due to Probable Intensity of Relief Situation in 1933. Howard S. Braucher, Director, National Recreation Association, New York City. Page 395.
Application of These Principles in the Local Community. Elwood Street, Director, Community Chest, Washington.
- IV. Has Depression Bred Autocracy in Chest and Council Procedure?
Yes. Rev. Frederick N. Eliot, Minister, Unity Church, St. Paul.
No. Homer Borst, Associate Director, Association of Community Chests and Council, New York City.
Discussion Leader: E. C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work.
- V. The Council of Social Agencies and Community Planning. A. W. McMillen, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Social Work Administration, University of Chicago. Page 402.

DIVISION IX. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

- I. (Joint Session with Division V—Industrial and Economic Problems and American Association of Public Welfare Officials)
Leadership in Public Relief in the Unemployment Emergency:
Lessons from the Winter's Experience of State Departments of Welfare in Meeting Unemployment Distress. Frank Banc, Director, American Association of Public Welfare Officials, Chicago.
Coordinating Private and Public Relief Work in Our Cities. Arthur Dunham, Director, Department of Special Studies, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City. Page 459.
National Front on Unemployment Relief. William Hodson, Executive Director, Welfare Council of New York City.
Discussion Leader: Jacob Billikopf, Executive Director, Jewish Charities of Philadelphia.
- II. (Joint Sessions with American Association of Public Welfare Officials)
Group Discussion 1. Opportunities for Social Research in the Public Welfare Field.
Discussion Leader: Emil Frankel, Director of Research, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton. Penological Research in A State Welfare Department. Thorsten Sellin, M.D., Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Page 469.
Group Discussion 2. The Preparation and Training of Public Child and Family Welfare Workers. Discussion Leader: Kenneth L. M. Pray, Director, Pennsylvania School of Social and Health Work, Philadelphia.
Group Discussion 3. Training for Institutional Inspection Services. Discussion Leader: A. L. Bowen, Superintendent of Charities, State Department of Welfare, Springfield, Illinois.

Group Discussion 4. Administration Problems and Policies Connected with Old Age Relief. Discussion Leader: Richard W. Wallace, Assistant Commissioner, Division of Old Age Security, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany.

III. (Joint Session with Division XI—Professional Standards and Education, and American Association of Public Welfare Officials)

The Need of Trained Personnel in Public Welfare Services:

Defining Public Welfare Work in Professional Terms. Herman M. Adler, M.D., Professor of Psychiatry, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley.

Working toward One Professional Standard, Public and Private. Stanley P. Davies, Assistant Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York City. Page 427.

Discussion Leader: Margaret Reeves, Director, State Bureau of Child Welfare, Santa Fe.

IV. (Joint Session with Division XI—Professional Standards and Education, and American Association of Public Welfare Officials)

The County as a Public Welfare Unit:

The Significance of the Movement toward the County as a Welfare Unit. Mrs. Blanche L. LaDu, Chairman, State Board of Control, Department of Public Institutions, St. Paul.

Coordination and Development of Welfare Services in the County. Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Director of Medicine, New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton. Page 450.

State and County Organization Proposed by the Recent Code Commissions. Mary Ruth Colby, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington. Page 439.

Discussion Leader: Richard C. Conant, State Commissioner of Public Welfare, Boston.

V. (Joint Session with American Association of Public Welfare Officials)

The Growing Importance of State Welfare Work:

In Leadership. Charles H. Johnson, Commissioner of Social Welfare, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany.

In Financial Support for Local Welfare Services. Mrs. I. Albert Liveright, Secretary of Welfare, State Department of Welfare, Harrisburg. Page 416.

Discussion Leader: Fred K. Hochler, Director, City Department of Public Welfare, Cincinnati.

DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

I. (Joint Session with National Conference of International Institutes)

Present Status of Immigration and Naturalization Legislation. Read Lewis, Director, Foreign Language Information Service, New York City. Page 475.

International and Interstate Aspects of Desertion and Non-Support Legislation. Mrs. Adena Miller Rich, Director, Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago. Page 482.

International Aspects of Divorce. Charles Zunser, Secretary, National Desertion Bureau, New York City. Page 497.

II. Group Discussion. Urgent Needs Today in the Field of Migration and Foreign Communities Work. Discussion Leader: Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer, Department of Immigration and Foreign Communities, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.

III. (Joint Session with Division II—Delinquents and Correction, and International Association of Policewomen)

The Police and the Immigrant. Ernest Jerome Hopkins. Page 509.

The Federal Deportation Administration. Rueben Oppenheimer. Discussant: Jane Perry Clark, Instructor in Government, Barnard College, New York City.

DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

I. (Joint Session with American Association of Social Workers, and American Association of Schools of Professional Social Work)

Social Work and the Depression:

Importance of Federal Aid. Senator Edward J. Costigan, Washington.

Discussion Leaders: J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Samuel A. Goldsmith, Chicago; Lea Taylor, Chicago; Linton B. Swift, New York City; Joel D. Hunter, Chicago.

Effect of the Depression on Professional Standards. William Hodson, Executive Director, Welfare Council, New York City. Page 533.

Discussion Leaders: Harry L. Lurie, New York; Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans; Walter West, New York City.

II. (Joint Session with American Association of Social Workers)

Protecting the Public Social Services:

Registration of Social Workers. Walter West, Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City. Page 537.

Civil Service and Public Social Work. Lewis Meriam, Institute of Government Research, Washington.

III. Retirement Allowances for Social Workers. Lawson Purdy, Charity Organization Society, New York City.

Discussant: I. M. Rubinow, Secretary, B'nai B'rith, Cincinnati.

Social Work against a Background of Other Professions. Esther L. Brown, Department of Statistics, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 520.

IV. (Joint Session with American Association of Social Workers. Attendance limited to officially appointed Chapter delegates)

Association Membership in Relation to New Personnel in Social Work. Presiding: Frances Taussig, President, American Association of Social Workers, New York City.

DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

I. (Joint Session with Division VIII—Organization of Social Forces)

Interpreting Social Work in 1932-33: What Shall We Tell the Public Next Year? In Our Own Communities. Arch Mandel, Executive Secretary, Community Chest, Dayton, Ohio. Page 565.

The National Implications. Ralph Blanchard, Association of Community Chests and Councils, New York City.

II. (Joint Session with Division II—Delinquents and Correction)

Utilizing More Effectively the Wickersham Report: Educational Implications. Winthrop D. Lane, Director, Division of Parole, State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey. Page 546.

III. Creative Writing for Social Work. Viola Paradise, New York City. Page 575.

- IV. The Content of a Community Educational Program. Charles C. Stillman, School of Social Work Administration, Ohio State University, Columbus. Page 589.

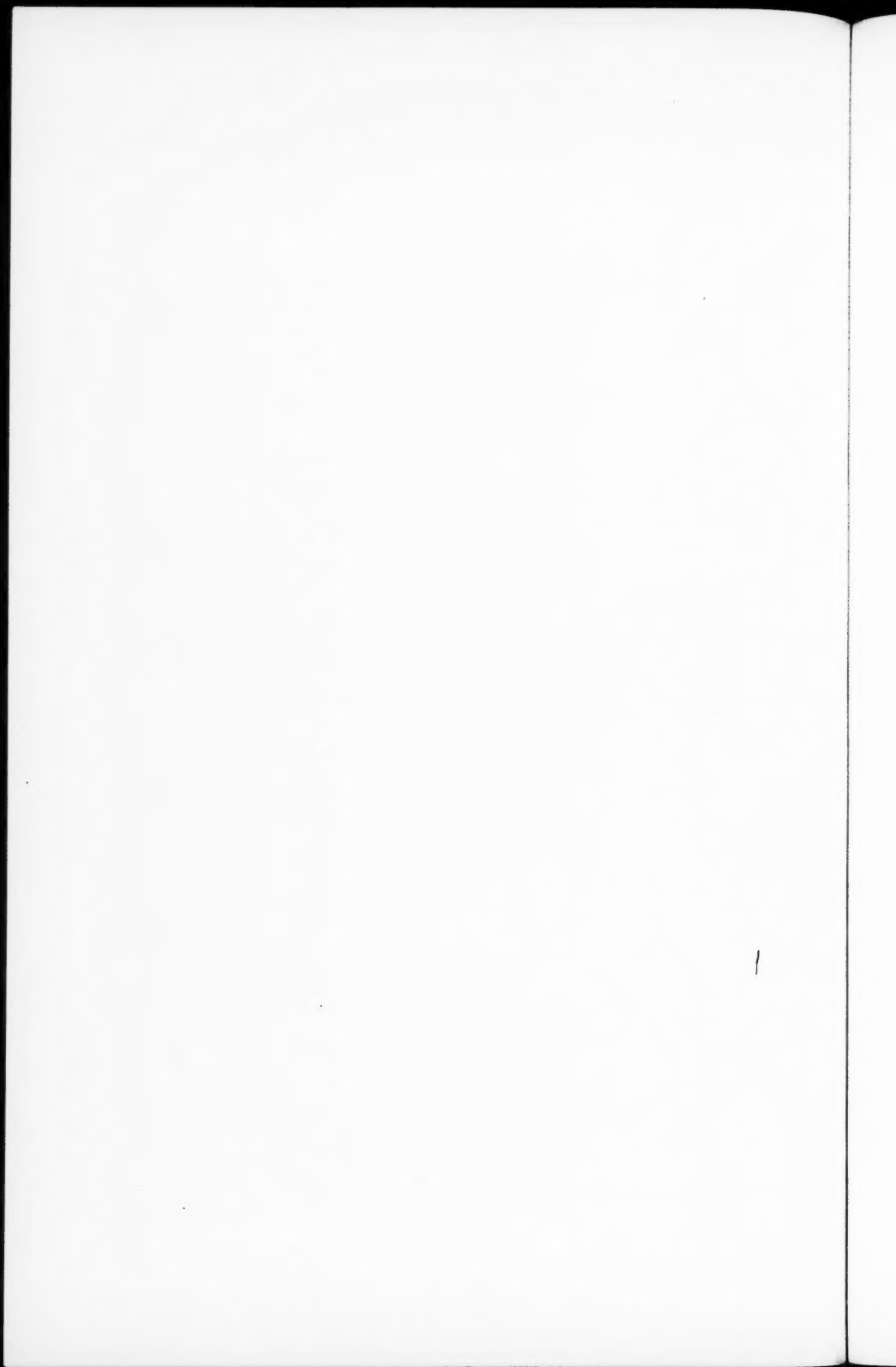
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I. The Work of the Indian Office:

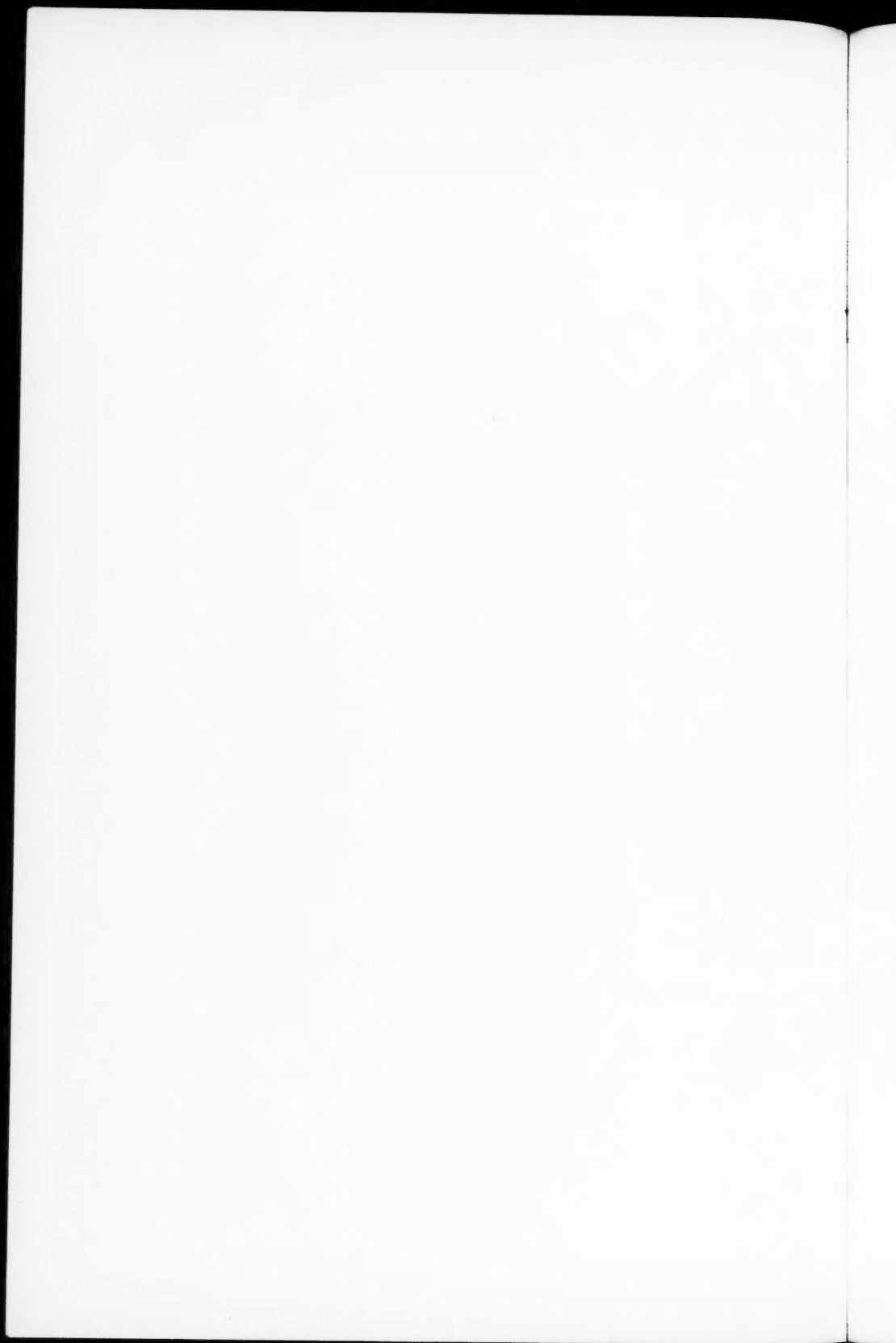
The General Administration of Indian Affairs. Charles J. Rhoads, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington. Page 602.
Social Aspects of Indian Work. Robert T. Lansdale, Office of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Washington. Page 609.

II. The Great Unfinished Task Remaining before Us:

Needs in Human Relationships. Mary Louise Mark, Professor of Sociology, Ohio State University, Columbus. Page 617.
Needs in Administration of Indian Property. John Collier, Secretary, American Indian Defense Association, Washington. Page 627.



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DIVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

DIVISION I. CHILDREN

Chairman: Jacob Kepecs, Chicago
Vice-Chairman: Paul T. Beisser, Baltimore
Secretary: Frances Knight, Detroit

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

C. W. Areson.....	Cleveland	Herman Newman.....	Topeka
Lawrence C. Cole.....	Cleveland	Forrester B. Washington.....	Atlanta
Mary Frances Godley.....	Bayside, N.Y.	Elizabeth Yerxa.....	Madison
Luba A. Joffe.....	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Matty L. Beattie.....	Providence	L. H. Millikan.....	Indianapolis
Harrison A. Dobbs.....	Chicago	James S. Plant, M.D.....	Newark, N.J.
Jacob Kepecs.....	Chicago	Margaret Reeves.....	Santa Fe
Bryan J. McEntegart.....	New York City		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Elizabeth E. Bissell.....	Boston	Charles F. Hall.....	St. Paul
Louise Cottrell.....	Portland, Ore.	William C. Headrick.....	Nashville
Loula Dunn.....	Montgomery	Leonard W. Mayo.....	Dobbs Ferry
Leon W. Frost.....	Detroit		

DIVISION II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

Chairman: Jane M. Hoey, New York City
Vice-Chairman: Herbert G. Cochran, Norfolk
Secretary: Edna Mahan, Clinton, N.J.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

Alfred Bettman Cincinnati	A. Warren Stearns, M.D. Boston
George W. Kirchwey New York City	George W. Wickersham New York City
Herbert C. Parsons Boston	

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Edward R. Cass New York City	Eleonore L. Hutzell Detroit
Harrison A. Dobbs Chicago	Edwin H. Sutherland Chicago
Jane M. Hoey New York City	Miriam Van Waters Framingham

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Grace Abbott Washington	Edith N. Burleigh Los Angeles
Sanford Bates Washington	William J. Ellis Trenton
Arthur L. Beeley Salt Lake City	George M. Read Detroit
Jessie F. Binford Chicago	

DIVISION III. HEALTH

Chairman: Albert H. Jewell, Kansas City
Vice-Chairman: Virginia R. Wing, Cleveland
Secretary: Alice M. Hill, New York City

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

George H. Bigelow, M.D. Boston	Ira V. Hiscock, M.D. New Haven
Anna M. Drake Cincinnati	Horace Morison Boston
Ray H. Everett New York City	Sophie C. Nelson Boston
George Hamilton Honolulu	W. P. Shepard, M.D. San Francisco
Alice M. Hill New York City	Virginia R. Wing Cleveland

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Paul L. Benjamin Washington	Kathryne Radebaugh Minneapolis
Robert H. Horan Louisville	Ira DeA. Reid New York City
Eleanor E. Kelly Boston	Mary Ross New York City
Robert W. Kelso Clayton, Mo.	Evart G. Routzahn New York City
S. C. Kingsley Philadelphia	

TERM EXPIRES 1935

T. J. Edmonds Des Moines	Elba L. Morse Marquette, Mich.
Howard W. Green Cleveland	John Sundwall Ann Arbor
Bleecker Marquette Cincinnati	Katherine Tucker New York City

DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY

Chairman: Anna Kempshall, New York City

Vice-Chairman: Betsey Libbey, Philadelphia

Secretary: Francis H. McLean, New York City

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

Mrs. Leona M. Evans.	St. Louis	Mary McPhedran.	Vancouver
Virginia C. Frank.	Chicago	Roberta Morgan.	Birmingham
Helen Hackett.	Los Angeles	E. Frances O'Neill.	New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

W. S. Bixby.	Nashville	Dorothy E. Kellogg.	Niagara Falls
Sara Alice Brown.	New York City	Rose J. McHugh.	New York City
A. A. Heckman.	St. Paul		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Rev. Thomas L. Brennock, New York City	Florence Hutsinpillar.	Washington
Susan D. Copland.	Evelyn P. Johnson.	Milwaukee
Frederick Daniels.	Florence Nesbitt.	Chicago
Leah Feder.	Esther Twente.	Kansas City, Kan.
J. Blaine Gwin.	Helen Wallerstein.	Philadelphia

DIVISION V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman: Leifur Magnusson, Washington

Vice-Chairman: Mary Anderson, Washington

Secretary: Elizabeth Magee, Cleveland

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

Linna E. Bresette.	Washington	Elizabeth S. Magee.	Cleveland
Mrs. R. P. Halleck.	Louisville	James Mullenbach.	Chicago
John A. Lapp.	Milwaukee	I. M. Rubinow.	Cincinnati
George W. Lawson.	St. Paul	Jesse O. Thomas.	Atlanta

TERM EXPIRES 1934

John B. Andrews.	New York City	Rev. Raymond P. Sanford.	Chicago
John A. Fitch.	New York City	Rev. Frederic Siedenburg.	Detroit
Paul U. Kellogg.	New York City	William H. Stead.	Minneapolis

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Sophonisba P. Breckinridge.	Chicago	Dorothea de Schweinitz.	Philadelphia
Lucy P. Carner.	New York City	Paul H. Douglas.	Chicago
Elisabeth Christman.	Washington	Helen Hall.	Philadelphia
Miss Tracy Copp.	Washington		

DIVISION VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman: W. I. Newstetter, Cleveland*Vice-Chairman:* J. H. Montgomery, Richmond*Secretary:* Mrs. Nelle W. Gosnell, Detroit

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

W. Gertrude Brown.....	Minneapolis	Mrs. Eva Whiting White.....	Boston
Edward L. Burchard.....	Chicago	Mrs. Robert A. Woods.....	Los Angeles
Sidney A. Teller.....	Pittsburgh		

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Robbins Gilman.....	Minneapolis	Robert W. Kelso.....	Clayton, Mo.
Ray Johns.....	Detroit	Walter W. Pettit.....	New York City
Clara A. Kaiser.....	Cleveland		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Helen Hall.....	Philadelphia	Eugene T. Lies.....	New York City
Eugene Kinckle Jones...	New York City	Eduard C. Lindeman...	New York City
Paul U. Kellogg.....	New York City	Lea D. Taylor.....	Chicago

DIVISION VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman: Stanley P. Davies, New York City*Vice-Chairman:* George S. Stevenson, M.D., New York City*Secretary:* J. C. Thurrott, M.D., Flint, Michigan

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

Henry B. Elkind, M.D.....	Boston	Ruth Lloyd.....	Denver
Elizabeth Healy.....	Philadelphia	George J. Mohr, M.D.....	Pittsburgh
Mrs. Kathleen Ormsby Larkin	New York City	Charlotte Towle.....	New York City
		Anna Belle Tracy.....	Cleveland

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Frederick H. Allen, M.D...	Philadelphia	Mrs. Margaret Moffit Platner...	Chicago
Dr. Asher T. Childers, M.D..	Cincinnati	Christine C. Robb.....	New York City
Elizabeth H. Dexter.....	Newark	George S. Stevenson, M.D.	New York City
E. Van Norman Emery, M.D.	New Haven	J. C. Thurrott, M.D.....	Flint, Mich.

TERM EXPIRES 1935

H. E. Chamberlain, M.D.....	Chicago	Esther Heath.....	Pasadena
Mrs. W. F. Dummer.....	Chicago	Sarah Ivins.....	New York City
Sarah C. Hartman.....	Richmond	Harry M. Tiebout.....	New York City

DIVISION VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman: John B. Dawson, New Haven*Vice-Chairman:* Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago*Secretary:* Arthur A. Guild, Richmond

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

Allen T. Burns.....	New York City	Arthur A. Guild.....	Richmond
Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad.....	Syracuse	David H. Holbrook.....	New York City
John B. Dawson.....	New Haven		

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Pierce Atwater.....	St. Paul	John F. Hall.....	Seattle
Otto F. Bradley.....	Minneapolis	Carter Taylor.....	Harrisburg
Raymond Clapp.....	Cleveland		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Charles J. Birt.....	Madison	E. J. Larrick.....	Akron
Roy M. Cushman.....	Boston	Wilfred S. Reynolds.....	Chicago
Percival Dodge.....	Detroit		

DIVISION IX. ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC SOCIAL WORK

Chairman: A. L. Bowen, Springfield, Illinois*Vice-Chairman:* Margaret Reeves, Santa Fe*Secretary:* Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

Herman Adler, M.D.....	Berkeley	Emil Frankel.....	Trenton
Frank Bane.....	Chicago	Leroy A. Halbert.....	Washington
Grube B. Cornish.....	Augusta, Me.	William C. Headrick.....	Nashville
Louise Cottrell.....	Portland, Ore.	Ellen C. Potter, M.D.....	Trenton
H. Ida Curry.....	New York City	Louis H. Putnam.....	Stapleton, N.Y.

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Mary Irene Atkinson.....	Columbus, Ohio	John L. Gillin.....	Madison
Sanford Bates.....	Washington	Charles H. Johnson.....	Albany
W. S. Bixby.....	Nashville	Walter V. McCarthy.....	Boston
Jeffrey R. Brackett.....	Boston	Mrs. A. M. Tunstall.....	Montgomery
J. A. Brown.....	Indianapolis	Mabel Weed.....	Redwood City

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Grace Abbott.....	Washington	Mrs. Blanche L. LaDu.....	St. Paul
Mrs. W. T. Bost.....	Raleigh	A. W. Laver.....	Toronto
Amos W. Butler.....	Indianapolis	Gay B. Shepperson.....	Atlanta
Calvert H. Estill.....	Charleston	Marietta Stevenson.....	Chicago
Arthur W. James.....	Richmond	George S. Wilson.....	Washington

DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman: George L. Warren, New York City*Vice-Chairman:* Aghavnie Yeghenian, New York City*Secretary:* Harriette F. Ryan, St. Louis

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

James H. Batten.....	Claremont, Calif.	Mary E. McDowell.....	Chicago
Emory S. Bogardus.....	Los Angeles	Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell	Pittsburgh
B. F. Coen.....	Fort Collins, Colo.	Rev. W. F. Mullally.....	St. Louis
Ida L. Hull.....	Boston	Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich.....	Chicago
Leifur Magnusson.....	Washington	Aghavnie Yeghenian....	New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Edith Abbott.....	Chicago	Mary E. Hurlbutt.....	New York City
Mrs. Cecilia Razovsky-Davidson	New York City	Katherine M. Kohler.....	Minneapolis
E. S. Howard.....	Cincinnati	Bruce M. Mohler.....	Washington
		Marian Schibsky.....	New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Jame Addams.....	Chicago	Max J. Kohler.....	New York City
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge....	Chicago	Ruth Larned.....	New York City
Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer	New York City	Florina Lasker.....	New York City
Jane Perry Clark.....	New York City	Read Lewis.....	New York City
Allen Eaton.....	New York City	Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer.....	Boston

DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

Chairman: Harry L. Lurie, New York City*Vice-Chairman:* Agnes Van Driel, Chicago*Secretary:* Walter West, New York City

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

Frank J. Bruno.....	St. Louis	Rose J. McHugh.....	New York City
C. C. Carstens.....	New York City	Gertrude Vaile.....	Minneapolis
Almena Dawley.....	Philadelphia		

TERM EXPIRES 1934

Mrs. Edith M. H. Baylor.....	Boston	Forrester B. Washington.....	Atlanta
Philip Klein.....	New York City	Helen Leland Witmer.....	Northampton
Ellery F. Reed.....	Cincinnati		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

R. E. Arne.....	Berkeley	Eva Smill.....	New Orleans
Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad...	Syracuse	Mrs. A. M. Tunstall.....	Montgomery
Dorothy C. Kahn.....	Philadelphia		

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

Chairman: Philip L. Ketchum, Omaha*Vice-Chairman:* Bart Address, New York City*Secretary:* Paul O. Komora, New York City

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1933

Paul S. Bliss	St. Louis	Mrs. Mary Swain Routzahn	
Philip L. Ketchum	Omaha		New York City
Charles I. Madison	Des Moines	Mrs. Gertrude H. Springer	
			New York City

TERM EXPIRES 1934

D. M. LeBourdais	Toronto	Elmer Scott	Dallas, Tex.
A. Wayne McMillen	Chicago	Leon Whipple	New York City
Kenneth L. Messenger			
	Wethersfield, Conn.		

TERM EXPIRES 1935

Louise M. Clevenger	St. Paul	Albert H. Jewell	Kansas City
Arthur A. Guild	Richmond	Mary S. Sims	New York City
Olga Edith Gunkle	Denver	Anne Sprague	Detroit

PART III

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

Sunday, May 15, 1932, 8:30 P.M.

The Secretary announced the following committees appointed by the President: Committee on Elections: Robert W. Kelso, Missouri, Chairman; Karl de Schweinitz, Pennsylvania; H. J. Early, Alabama; Marjorie Earp, Missouri; Alice Hill, New York; Sabina Marshall, Ohio; Joseph Moss, Illinois; W. I. Newstetter, Ohio; Ellery Reid, Ohio; and David Terry, Pennsylvania.

Committee on Tellers: Dwight Weist, Pennsylvania, Chairman; Maude Bryan Foote, New Jersey; A. J. Kurtz, New York; Elizabeth Long, Ohio; and Kenneth L. Pray, Pennsylvania.

In each case the committee has power to add to its number if needed.

Official notice was given that the polls would be open for election at the registration desk at Conference headquarters on Wednesday, May 18, from 1:00 P.M. until 5:00 P.M. and on Thursday, May 19, from 8:00 A.M. until 5:00 P.M.

Tuesday, May 17, 1932, 8:00 P.M.

Mr. Shelby M. Harrison, Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, reported as follows:

Under the Constitutional amendment adopted last year whereby the Conference adopted a "Vote by mail system" your Nominating Committee is charged with the responsibility of nominating two sets of officers, one for election at Philadelphia, one for election under the new "Vote by mail method" at Detroit in 1933. Your Committee reports as follows:

For election in 1932 at Philadelphia: For President: Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; First Vice-President: Percival Dodge, Detroit; Second Vice-President: Eugene K. Jones, New York City; Third Vice-President: Dorothy C. Kahn, Philadelphia. For members of the Executive Committee for terms of three years each, five to be elected: Pierce Atwater, St. Paul; Frank Bane, Chicago; Paul T. Beisser, Baltimore; Jessie F. Binford, Chicago; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; John F. Hall, Seattle; Rhoda Kaufman, Atlanta; Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, New York City; Mrs. Eleanor Wembridge, Cleveland; Charlotte Whitton, Ottawa.

For election in 1933: For President: William Hodson, New York City; First Vice-President: J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Second Vice-President: Mary L. Gibbons, New York City; Third Vice-President: Joel D. Hunter, Chicago. For members of the Executive Committee for terms of three years each, five to be elected: Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; W. J. Ellis, Trenton; William Hodson, New York City; Katharine Lenroot, Washington; Harry L. Lurie, New York City; Arch Mandel, Dayton; Florence Mason, Cleveland; Margaret Reeves, Santa Fe; Emil Steger, St. Louis; Rev. George H. B. Wright, Berkeley.

Wednesday, May 18, 1932, 11:00 A.M. Annual Business Session

President C. M. Bookman called the meeting to order. About one thousand members of the Conference were present. Mr. C. C. Stillman, Treasurer, gave an informal report. A complete financial statement was printed in the February, 1932, *Bulletin*. This included the financial report for the preceding seven months' period and the budget for the fiscal year 1932. Owing to the change in the fiscal period, a deficit of \$6,900 has been carried over and is in the budget of 1932. From present indications it is estimated that a possible deficit of \$1,600 may exist at the end of the fiscal year. He reported that the Executive Committee has appointed a special Finance Committee to go over the budget with a view to eliminating this deficit through reduced expenses. Every effort will be made by the officers of the Conference to balance the budget at the close of the current fiscal year. The complete financial report for the fiscal year, together with the budget for 1933, will be published in the January, 1933, issue of the Conference *Bulletin*. After some discussion from the floor and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to approve the financial report of the Treasurer.

The Secretary read the nominations from the twelve Divisions of the Conference for officers and committee members for the ensuing year.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to elect the nominations as made by the Divisions of the Conference. (A complete list of these elections is found in the Conference organization for 1933; see page 665.)

An amendment to the Constitution, approved by the Executive Committee, was then presented. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to amend Section 5, paragraph (a), of the By-Laws of the Conference by deleting (9) "Public Officials and Administration" and substituting therefor "Administration of Public Social Work."

The purpose of this amendment proposed by Division IX was to give a name to the Division that would be more descriptive of its scope.

Mrs. John M. Glenn, Chairman of the Committee on International Conference of Social Work, reported as follows:

In February, 1931, the Conference *Bulletin* made an explicit statement as to the progress of the Second International Conference of Social Work and of our American Committee. An appeal which went out July 31 carried a statement as to the estimated expenditures and budget of the International Conference. A letter recently received from Dr. Polligkeit speaks with appreciation of the material forwarded to Frankfurt in preparation for the Conference—material in the form of reports and addresses which will be published in the *International Bulletin of Social Work* between now and the sessions to be held in July or used by the general reporters of the six commissions for formulating the questions which will be the basis of discussion at the meetings. Those of you who attended the joint meetings of Division V—Industrial and Economic Problems and the International Conference commissions know the status of the various commission reports, and can realize the amount of time given by the members of the commissions (consisting of about 150 people) to their formulation. Our six commissions are representative of the National Conference of Social Work and are offering to the Frankfurt Conference something of real significance.

Those of you who have read the reports from abroad—from Sweden, from Great Britain, and from other parts of the Continent—will realize that there has been equally

important thinking done abroad in preparation for the coming International Conference. An interesting statement recently received from the General Chairman of the Commission on Social Insurance provides a starting point for a consideration of our common social experiences which will be of value to us in making our own social adjustments. The United States members of the International Conference now number more than 270. They will be getting bulletins as to the data provided by all participating countries which should have definite effect on American social work.

In connection with the meeting at Frankfurt, there will be a preliminary institute for Germans and Americans for an intimate discussion of German social problems. This is an important result of Mr. Knight's trip to Germany.

Those of you who have read what is the estimated budget and income of the International Conference of Social Work published in our *Bulletin* know what financial burden rests upon us of the International Conference Committee of the National Conference of Social Work. There are three obligations: First, to stimulate memberships. As a result of efforts we have a goodly number of members (270 and over) who are also members of the National Conference. Second, to accept the general plan adopted by the Executive Committee of the International Conference whereby a part of the expense for the conduct of the Conference be met by a definite quota accepted by each participating country. The quota for America is approximately \$1,800. Toward that we have in hand \$1,025. We are—two months in advance of the opening of the Conference—\$800 short. Third, to meet our obligation of \$1,500 to the National Conference for the amount expended (through action of the Executive Committee) for Mr. Knight's expenses abroad last summer, and for expenses incidental to the carrying forward of the work of your Committee, including financial appeals. I am privileged by the Executive Committee to appeal to you.

Don't you remember, in Washington nine years ago, at the fiftieth anniversary, being stirred by what Dr. Alice Salomon and Abbe Viollet said? Don't you recall the courage shown by Dr. Salomon as she told of what Europe had endured, and how Abbe Viollet gave us the impression of poise and determination to meet whatever costs readjustment might entail? Some of us made a pledge then to do our part in behalf of international social work. When we went to Paris in 1928, we brought away with us an appreciation of the courage with which the European depression had been met and of the work which had been carried on in spite of it. There is no one at this Conference who is not wondering how he is to meet the problems confronting his own city, or who fails to consider more carefully than ever before what he can afford for luxuries or even for necessities. We are not assuming additional obligations without making an effort to balance our personal and organization budgets. But we are not so poor that we cannot meet the obligations we have assumed morally, if not legally, to go to Frankfurt with \$1,800 as our contribution toward meeting the expectations of Europeans who have faith in us—Dr. Alice Masarykova, Dr. René Sand, Professor Polligkeit. We should meet this primary obligation immediately; and should, before December 30, 1932, be prepared to repay the \$1,500 to the National Conference. Contributions will be received at either Booth 32 or Booth 33. May I add that no sum of money is too small if it represents a democratic effort to do our part. This year Germany celebrates the one-hundredth anniversary of Goethe's death. The International Conference of Social Work is an adventure of the spirit. It is of the nature of such adventures as great souls like Goethe have pursued.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to approve the report of the Committee on International Conference.

Mr. Frank W. Persons presented the report of the Committee on Time and Place. Invitations have been received for the annual meeting for 1934

from Columbus, Ohio; Toronto; Montreal; and Kansas City. After careful consideration, the Committee agrees not to recommend Toronto or Columbus because of their proximity to Detroit, the meeting place for 1933. The Committee feels that in 1934 questions of federal legislation will be so pressing that it would be well to hold the National Conference of Social Work in the United States. It therefore unanimously recommends that Kansas City be the meeting place for 1934 and that the dates be left to the discretion of the Executive Committee. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to approve the report of the Committee on Time and Place.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

Friday, May 20, 1932, 8:30 P.M.

Mr. Dwight Weist, Chairman of the Committee on Tellers, presented the following report:

The following officers have been elected as a result of the election of the preceding Wednesday and Thursday: For President: Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; First Vice-President: Percival Dodge, Detroit; Second Vice-President: Eugene K. Jones, New York City; Third Vice-President: Dorothy C. Kahn, Philadelphia. For members of the Executive Committee: Pierce Atwater, St. Paul; Frank Bane, Chicago; Paul T. Beisser, Baltimore; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Rhoda Kaufman, Atlanta.

The new President, Mr. Frank J. Bruno, was called to the platform and addressed the Conference briefly.

Saturday, May 21, 1932, 1:00 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions, Miss Margaret Rich, Chairman, being called for, was presented as follows:

Since its last meeting the National Conference of Social Work has suffered irreparable loss in the death of four outstanding social workers, two of whom had held the office of Conference president, all of whom had participated actively in the development of the Conference. Each of them had made a remarkable contribution to social work and to social thinking. Their influence transcended the familiar barriers of fields of social work and of national boundaries. It would be superfluous, as it is unnecessary, to enumerate their activities, so closely are their records interwoven with those of the Conference itself.

As a social worker, volunteer and professional, Lee K. Frankel gained the first hand experience which made him a great pioneer in the socialization of business. He combined to an extraordinary degree the qualities of social worker, of scientist, and of man of affairs and put them to effective use in building up the Welfare Department of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. From the vantage point of this position he continued an active participant in social work; and, as he enriched his work in business from his earlier experience in social work, so he later brought to the councils of social work the perspective and experience he gained in business. He refused to think of poverty as natural or inevitable; he was concerned with the economic as well as the health factor in social maladjustment, and initiated and promoted studies of standards of living; he took an active part in the development of preventive measures whose effect is far reaching. The results of his efforts, already apparent, prove him to have been a practical idealist.

Florence Kelley typified that splendid, crusading pioneer spirit which carried the perpetual challenge of youth. Whether her work was that of chief factory inspector of

the state of Illinois—and she was the first woman to be appointed to such a position—or general secretary of the National Consumers League—the position she held from 1899 to the time of her death this winter—whether her interest was in improving hours of labor for women and children, in removing the handicaps under which Negroes and immigrant groups were suffering—always she was possessed by the thing which she was building. She challenged opposition; yet she worked with that quiet faith and patience which is rooted in the conviction that enduring social change comes only through growth. She had faith, too, in her fellow social workers and her fellow citizens—faith that if they could but know the effects of social and industrial injustice they would ally themselves with her crusade. As a social worker and a citizen, she was greater than any institution with which she was connected; but those institutions nevertheless have a share in her greatness.

Julia Lathrop was known best, both in this country and abroad, for her service as first chief of the Federal Children's Bureau. She was president of the National Conference of Social Work in 1919; she was for many years a member of the Illinois State Board of Charities; she was the American representative of the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations. As professional social worker and as private citizen alike, she stood definitely against those three enemies of public welfare—traditional reaction, economic interest, and political selfishness. Her firmness was none the less real because it was clothed in charm and graciousness. Her understanding of human nature and her trenchant wit enabled her to overcome opposition and win support. In her own vigorous personality she exemplified those qualities which she had once suggested as desirable for the good executive—"to be good tempered, to be just, to be patient, to be persistent, to be courageous, and again to be good tempered."

In June, 1931, Hastings H. Hart, then just celebrating his eightieth birthday, spoke to this Conference when it met in the state where he had begun his career as a social worker. He was described at that time as an apostle rather than a prophet. To a degree he combined the qualities of both, but for him prophecy must be based on knowledge and must lead to action. Throughout his career in social work, as soon as he had been able to fire others to effective action he withdrew from the active participation and threw himself with perennially fresh enthusiasm into some other cause whose recommendation to him came not from its popularity but from its urgency. He was active in public and in private social work, in child welfare, in prison reform in penology. He was president of the National Conference in 1893. He not only influenced but achieved legislation in behalf of children, of the insane, of the sick, of the delinquent. In the broadest and finest definition of the term he was preeminently a social worker, combining practical sense, a wide social view, and a freedom from sentimentalism.

Be it therefore

i

Resolved, That the Conference records its sorrow at the loss of these four great leaders and its deep sense of gratitude to them not only for what they did but for what they were; for the gifts they gave to the Conference itself, and to the cause of social work; and above all for their devoted service to the needs of human beings. Knowing the possible, they tried beyond it, into impossible things, unlikely ends, and in so doing set a precedent for vision and achievement which it is our privilege to follow.

WHEREAS, The 1932 National Conference of Social Work has found Philadelphia a city of brotherly love and friendship, and its members and delegates have benefited by the efficient arrangements for the work of the Conference. And

WHEREAS, All who attended the various sessions have enjoyed the fine quality of the timely and inspiring program presented by the various Conference Divisions and in the General Sessions,

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Conference expresses its gratitude to the city of Philadelphia,

through His Honor Mayor J. Hampton Moore, for the city's interest in the purposes and proceedings of this Conference. And be it

Resolved, That this Conference extends to Hon. Roland S. Morris, Chairman of the Philadelphia Committee, and to Miss Ella F. Harris, the Committee's efficient and charming secretary, its deep appreciation of their work in behalf of the Conference members and delegates. This expression of appreciation also includes the efficient chairmen of committees serving with Mr. Morris and Miss Harris; the volunteer workers who have given so freely and graciously of their time and energy in connection with the details of local arrangements; the Philadelphia Hotel Association for the use of Convention Hall; Major Maylin J. Pickering, manager of Convention Hall, for his unfailing patience and courtesy; the Commercial Museum for placing its rooms at the disposal of the Conference; the Philadelphia newspapers for their cooperation in interpreting the sessions of the Conference to the public; Mrs. W. Logan MacCoy, Chairman of the Committee on Hospitality, particularly for her effective work in arranging the Conference Dinner.

Respectfully submitted,

EDITH N. BURLEIGH

JOHN L. SUTTON

MARGARET L. RICH, *Chairman*

The President announced that the final registration at the Conference was 4,401.

At the close of the meeting the Conference adjourned to reassemble in Detroit, June 11-17, 1933.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD R. KNIGHT, *Secretary*

PART IV
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State board and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President, and the Treasurer, ex-officio; the chairmen of all the Division Committees, ex-officio; and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The

President shall be the ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided by the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

1. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

1. Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting, the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the Next Meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the

report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. Program Committee. There shall be a Program Committee which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, and six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference, for terms of three years.

The said Committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various Division and Associate Group Committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

c) To determine, from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

d) To recommend to Division Committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the Division Committees.

e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the Conference program, either General Sessions or Divisions. Where such commitments are made for Division programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the Division involved or with its hearty cooperation and consent, and for not more than two of the five meetings now allowed each division.

f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of Divisions.

g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of Associate Groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions as from time to time may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

5. DIVISIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which the following shall be continuous: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) The Family; (5) Industrial and Economic Problems; (6) Neighborhood and Community Life; (7) Mental Hygiene; (8) Organization of Social Forces; (9) Administration of Public Social Work.

b) Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

c) Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Division members and elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.

d) Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Division shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year elect a Division Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

6. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

7. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such question with its recommendation before final adjournment.

8. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) That he is a member in good standing at the time

of such meeting, and (2) That he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of non-payment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

Any institutional member, or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws, may cast its vote at any annual meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot.

9. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

10. DIVISION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except General Sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairman of Divisions shall preside at section meetings of their Divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Nominating Committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:00 P.M. of the fourth day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the General Session on the evening of the sixth day of the Conference one year in advance of the Conference at which they are to be elected. The list of nominees shall be published in the next succeeding issue of the Conference *Bulletin* following the announcement.

5. Additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee and filed at the Conference office not later than January 1 preceding the Conference at which they are to be elected.

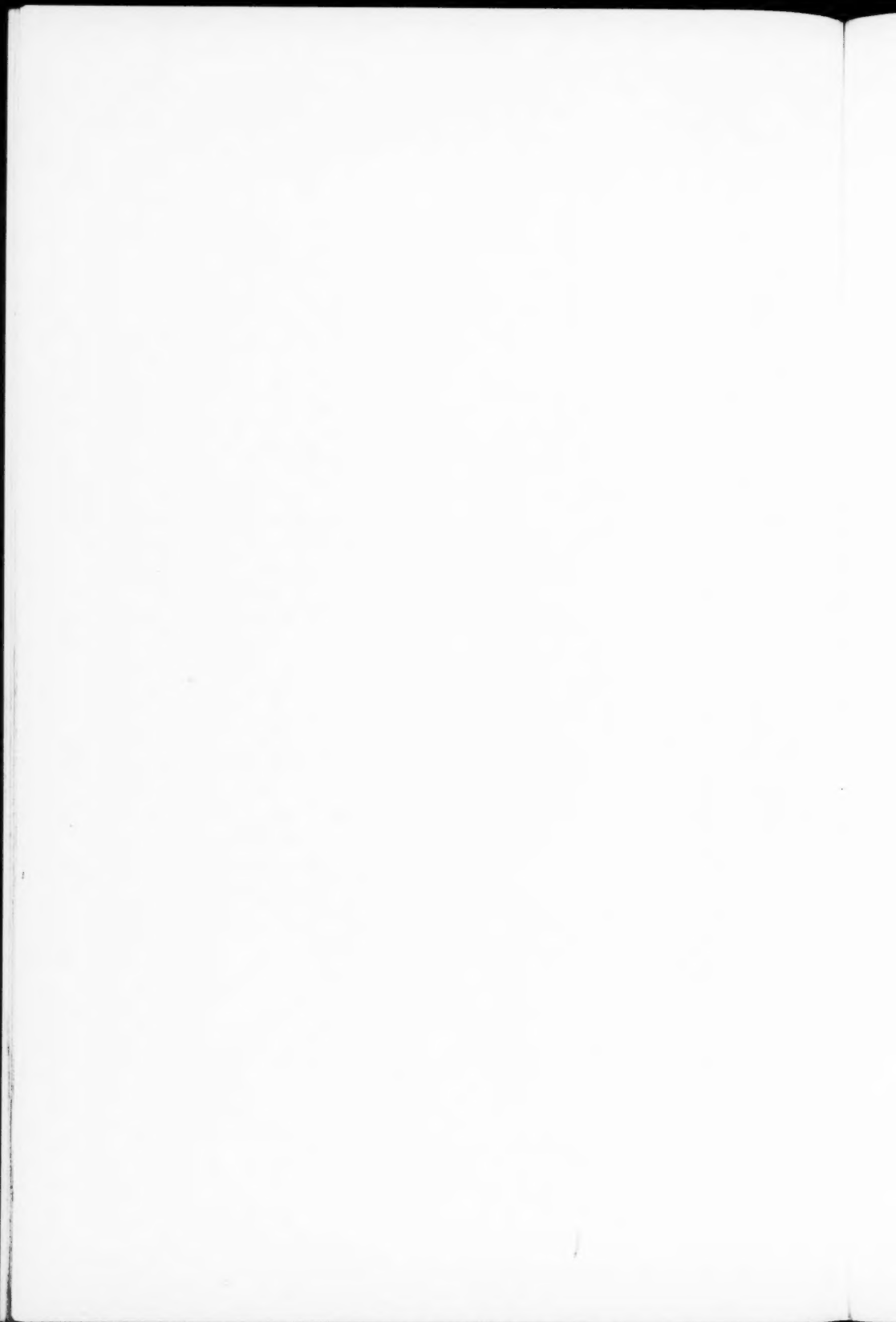
6. A final list of all nominations shall be published in the first issue of the Conference *Bulletin* published after January 1.

7. The official ballot shall be the so called Cleveland ballot, and shall be so prepared that the member may vote for as many candidates as he may desire, in order of preference.

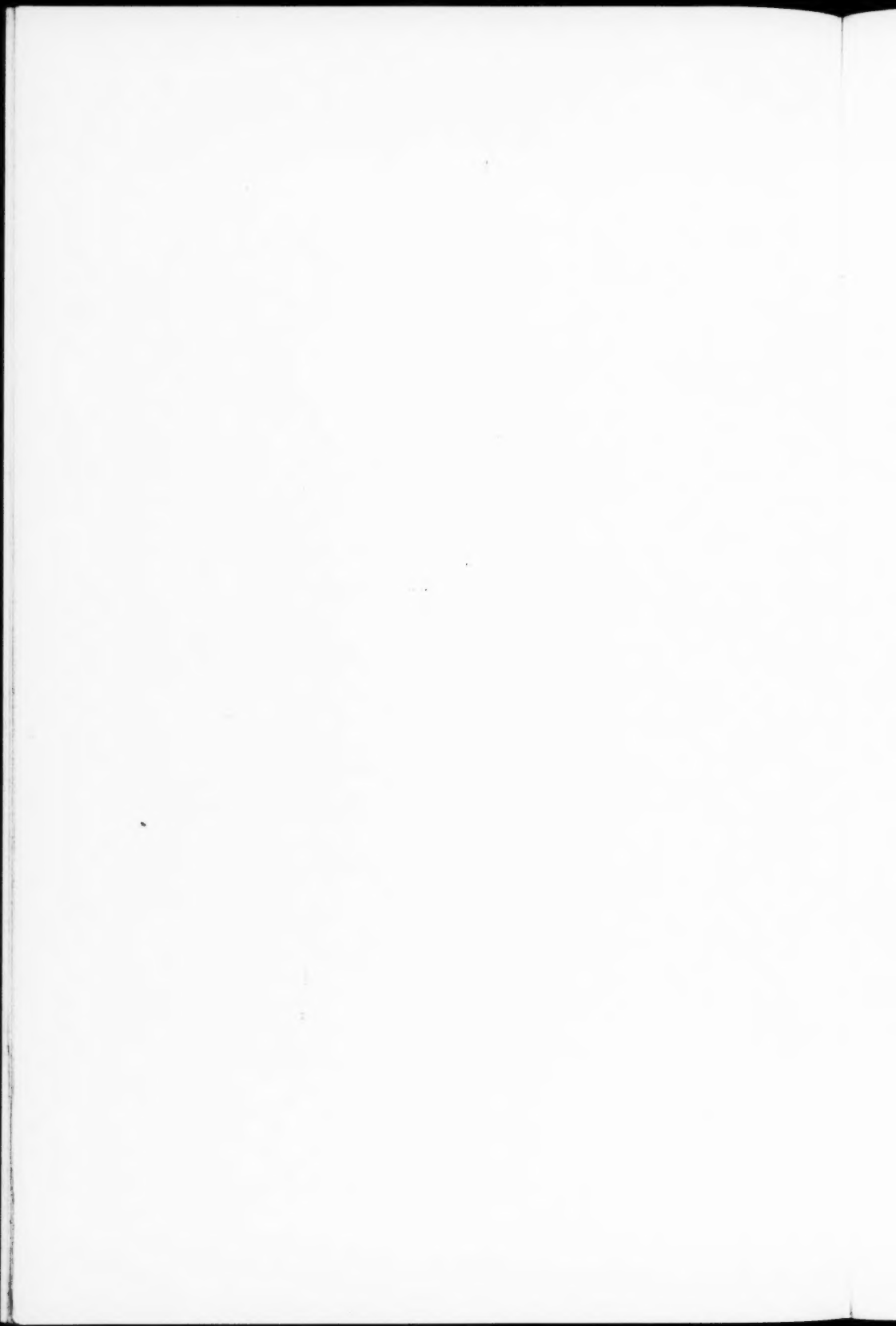
8. The official ballot shall be sent by mail, to their address of record in the Conference office, to all members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by the renewal of membership or otherwise, not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls. Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office, but must be received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the announced date of the first session of the annual Conference; or they may be deposited at the polling place provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period during which said polling place is officially open. Ballots returned by mail must be signed by the voter, and shall be discarded as invalid if received without such signature.

9. A polling place shall be established and maintained on the fourth day of the Conference, to be open for at least four hours, at such times as may be decided upon and announced by the Executive Committee. The polling place shall also be maintained between the hours of 8:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired, the ballots shall be counted by a committee of three tellers appointed by the President, and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. The ballots shall be counted and election determined by the so called Hare method. Regulations for the application of this method shall be developed by the Executive Committee, and shall be furnished to the committee of tellers for their instruction.

10. The Nominating Committee appointed for the Conference year 1931-32 shall prepare a list of nominations for election at the annual Conference of 1932, which election shall be conducted as provided in the Constitution and By-Laws as of June 1, 1931. They shall also prepare a list of nominations for election at the annual Conference of 1933, which election shall be conducted as provided in sections 1-9, above.



INDEX



INDEX

- Abbott, Grace (address), 45
- Administration: of Indian affairs, 602; of Indian property, 627
- Aggression, how turn to social account? 344
- Aichhorn, treatment of neurotic child, 354
- Alexander, Franz, M.D. (paper), 215
- American Association of Social Workers, membership standards, 538
- American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, attitude of, toward treatment of immigrants, 480
- Art: enrichment of life through, 323; the Negro's contribution to American culture in, 315
- Behavior, anti-social, psychological factors in, 215
- Bookman, C. M. (presidential address), 3; presiding at Conference Dinner, 33, 52
- Braucher, Howard (paper), 395
- Breckinridge, Sophonisba P. (paper), 126
- Brown, Esther Lucile (paper), 520
- Brown, Harvey Dee (paper), 145
- Budget, in times of depression, 399
- Cannon, Ida M. (paper), 180
- Cannon, M. Antoinette (paper), 239
- Case work: application of psychology to, 226; changing attitudes toward, 204; limitations of, 205; resources of, 205; time element in mental hygiene therapy, 368
- Case Worker's Rôle in Treatment, Neustaedter, 204
- Certification of social workers, 537
- Chicago, study of nutrition needs in hard times, 169
- Child welfare program of private agencies, 111
- Children: effects upon, of unemployment, 25, 41, 105, 125, 396; mental hygiene work with, 353, 368; neurotic, treatment of, 353
- Children and the Depression, Breckinridge, 126
- Children in National Emergencies, Wilbur, 25
- Children's Federal Bureau: history of, 33; value of, 33
- Christensen, Erwin O. (paper), 323
- Clevenger, Louise (paper), 382
- Cleveland, use of social service exchange by hospitals, 186
- Colby, Mary Ruth (paper), 439
- Collier, John (paper), 627
- Community: child welfare program, 111; control, new trends in, 301; life, enrichment of, through art, 323; planning and the council of social agencies, 402; planning for children's work, history of, 111; planning in coordination of public and private relief, 459; relationships and registration in social service exchange, 180, 186, 193, 198; welfare and state welfare service, 416; welfare program and group agencies, 382
- Community Relationships Involved in 100 Per Cent Registration in Social Service Exchange: From the Standpoint of Hospital Social Service, Cannon, 180, Webb, 186; From the Standpoint of the Nursing Organizations, Tucker, 193; From the Standpoint of Family Welfare Organizations, Wallerstein, 198
- Control, community, trends in, 301
- Cooperation: in times of depression, 401; of public and private social work, 65, 266
- Coordination of public and private unemployment relief, 459

- Council of social agencies and community planning, 402; future of, 407
- Costs of unemployment, 3, 61
- County Jails, Kinsella, 136
- County as a public welfare unit, 439, 450
- Creative Writing in Social Work, Paradise, 575
- Crime: and the immigrant, 509; psychological factors in, 215; study of penology by a state department, 469; Wickersham reports, use of, 546
- Crisis in Social Work, The, Silver, 53
- Davies, Stanley P. (paper), 427
- Davison, R. C. (address), 82
- Dayton, Ohio, social work publicity, 568
- Demonstration of health service in industry, 149
- Deportation legislation, present status of, 477
- Depression (*see also* Unemployment): effects of, upon children, 25, 41, 126; effects of, upon family life, 9, 104, 485; effects of, upon professional standards of social work, 533; effects of, upon social work, 53, 97, 234, 239, 246, 264; effects of, upon social work publicity, 565; effects of, upon young people, 309; mental hygiene and hard times, 338; questions to be faced in times of, 395; nutritional needs of, 167; venereal diseases increasing in, 156
- Desertion and non-support legislation, international and interstate, aspects of, 482
- Diets in hard times, 169
- Divorce: international and interstate conflicts in, 489, 497; history of, 497
- Dunham, Arthur (paper), 459
- Dykstra, C. A. (address), 65
- Economic: activity and social work, 294; costs of unemployment, 5; planning and social work, 294
- Education, professional, of social workers and others, 527
- Effects of the Depression on Professional Standards, Hodson, 533
- England's Experience with Unemployment Insurance and the Dole, Davison, 82
- Etiology of crime, 215
- Exchange, social service: and family welfare organizations, 198; and hospital social work, 180, 186; and nursing organizations, 193
- Family: life affected by federal immigration policy, 482, 497; life and unemployment, 9, 104; welfare organizations and 100 per cent registration in social service exchange, 198; welfare and public unemployment relief, 459
- Financial support of local welfare service by state welfare department, 416
- Freud, Anna, treatment of neurotic child, 359
- Future of council of social agencies, 407
- Future, The Unknown, Lippmann, 234; Cannon, 239; Willits, 246
- Gonorrhea in hard times, 156
- Government, federal: policy toward unemployment, 11, 18; responsibility for public welfare, 254; responsibility in times of unemployment, 72
- Group agencies, part in community welfare program, 382
- Hall, Helen (paper), 309
- Health: departments in smaller industries, 145; hazards of unemployment, 8, 103; nursing, public health, definition of, 193
- Hidden Problems of Hard Times, Parker, 156
- History: of Conference Division of Industrial and Economic Problems, 297; of divorce, 497; of Federal Children's Bureau, 33
- "Hochstapler," treatment of, 354
- Hodson, William (paper), 533
- Hopkins, Ernest Jerome (paper), 509
- Hospital social service and 100 per cent registration in social service exchange, 180, 186

- Human Relationships, The Needs in, Mark, 617
- Illinois, unemployment conditions in, 128
- Immigrants and the police, 509
- Immigration and Naturalization Legislation, Present Status of, Lewis, 475
- Indian Affairs, General Administration of, Rhoads, 602
- Indian, Needs in Administration of Property, Collier, 627
- Indian, Needs in Human Relationships, Mark, 617
- Indian Service Program, The Place of the Social Worker in, Lansdale, 609
- Industrial workers, venereal disease among, 158
- Industry: health departments in the smaller, 145; planning in, and social work, 294; planning in, and unemployment, 250
- Inspection of county jails, 136
- Institutions, child-caring: integration of work of departments, 122; welfare program for, 111
- Insurance, unemployment, 14; in England, 82; in Ohio, 285; in Wisconsin, 275
- Integration of work in institutions for children, 116
- International and Interstate Aspects of Desertion and Non-support Legislation, Rich, 482
- International and Interstate Conflicts in Divorce, Zunsner, 497
- Interpretation (*see also* Publicity): of social agencies' basic program, 594; to public of group agencies, 382
- Interstate aspects of desertion and non-support legislation, 482; conflicts in divorce legislation, 497
- Jails, county, work of Federal Bureau of Prisons for improvement of, 137
- Kinsella, Nina (paper), 136
- Lane, Winthrop D. (paper), 546
- Lansdale, Robert T. (paper), 609
- Lathrop, Julia C., memorial to, 33-51
- Leadership in Public Relief in the Unemployment Emergency: Coordination of Public and Public Relief Work in our Cities, Dunham, 459
- Legislation: desertion and non-support, international and interstate aspects of, 482; divorce, international and interstate conflicts in, 497; unemployment insurance in Ohio, 285; unemployment insurance in Wisconsin, 275
- "Leisure Palls, When," Hall, 309
- Lewis, Read (paper), 475
- Lindeman, Eduard C. (paper), 301
- Lippman, Hyman S., M.D. (paper), 353
- Lippmann, Walter (paper), 234
- Liveright, Mrs. I. Albert (paper), 416
- Locke, Alain (paper), 315
- Lovejoy, Owen R. (address), 97
- Lurie, Harry L. (paper), 253
- McCord, Elizabeth (paper), 266
- McMillen, A. W. (paper), 402
- Magee, Elizabeth S. (paper), 285
- Mandel, Arch (paper), 565
- Marcus, Grace F. (paper), 226
- Mark, Mary Louise (paper), 617
- Mental (*see also* Psychology)
- Mental Hygiene and Hard Times: Out from Confusion, Williams, 338
- Mental Hygiene Therapy as Applied to Social Case Work, The Time Element in, Taft, 368
- Mental Hygiene Work with Children: Direct Treatment, Lippman, 353
- Murphy, J. Prentice (address), 40
- National agencies, part in community program, 382, 400
- National Desertion Bureau, work of, 506
- Naturalization legislation, present status of, 475
- Negro's Contribution in Art to American Culture, Locke, 315
- Neustaedter, Eleanor (paper), 204

- New Jersey, use of county as public welfare unit, 455, 457
- New York City, unemployment conditions, 131
- New York State, personnel of public service, 427
- Non-support legislation, international and interstate aspects of, 482
- Nursing organizations and 100 per cent registration in social service exchange, 193
- Nutrition during Periods of Lower Income? To What Shall We Hold Fast in, Spohn, 167
- Ohio Takes Stock; Magee, 285
- Paradise, Viola (paper), 575
- Parker, Valeria H., M.D. (paper), 156
- Partnership of Public and Private Agencies, Dykstra, 65
- Pennsylvania: child welfare program of, 116; state welfare work in support of local welfare service, 418; use of county as a public welfare unit, 453, 456
- Penological Research in a State Welfare Department, Sellin, 469
- Personality formation, factors in, 220
- Personnel, trained, in public service, 427
- Philadelphia: cooperation between public and private social agencies, 266; health service in smaller industries, 145; use of social service exchange, 198
- Philosophy of social work, 597
- Pinchot, Gifford (address), 90
- Planning: community and the council of social agencies, 402; in coordination of private and public unemployment relief, 459; in industry and unemployment, 251; social, and social work, 294
- Police and The Immigrant, The, Hopkins, 509
- Potter, Ellen C., M.D. (paper), 450
- Poverty and Plenty, Lippmann, 234
- Prisoner, study of, 471
- Prisons, Federal Bureau of, work in county jails, 136
- Private (*see also* Relief, Social Work) agencies, child-caring, program for, 111
- Probation, in desertion and non-support cases, 486
- Profession, social work, and others, 502
- Professional: education of social workers, 527; standards, effect upon, of depression, 533; standards in public service, 427; standards of social workers and registration, 537
- Program: community welfare and group agencies, 382; educational (publicity) content of, 589; public welfare, developments in, 253
- Property of Indians, federal administration of, 627
- Psychological Factors, Contribution to, in Anti-Social Behavior, Alexander, 215
- Psychology, Application of, to Case Work, Marcus, 226
- Public (*see also* Relief, Social Work) welfare unit, the county, 439, 450
- Public and Private Agencies, A Cooperative Experiment between, McCord, 266
- Public and Private Relief Work in Our Cities, Coordinating, Dunham, 459
- Public Welfare Program, Developments in, Lurie, 253
- Publicity (*see also* Interpretation): creative writing, 575; a critical examination of, 565; content of an educational program 589
- Raushenbush, Paul A. (paper), 275
- Recreation agencies, part in community welfare, 382
- Registration: 100 per cent in social service exchange and community relationships, 180, 186, 193, 198; of social workers, 537
- Relief: cooperation of public and private agencies in, 65; in emergency period, 395; standards, changes in, 257; trend from private to public, 90, 253; unemployment, administration of, in New York, 427; unemployment, effect of, upon social work program, 56; unem-

- ployment, coordinating work of public and private agencies, 459
- Research: importance of, in community planning, 405; penological, in state welfare department, 469
- Rhoads, Charles J. (paper), 602
- Rich, Mrs. Kenneth F. (paper), 482
- St. Paul, study of achievements of group agencies, 334
- Salaries: of social workers compared with other professions, 524; of social workers in times of depression, 399
- Schools of social work, 527
- Sellin, Thorsten (paper), 469
- Settlement: study of effects of unemployment, 309; part played in community welfare by, 382
- Silver, Rev. Abba Hillel (address), 53
- Social: agencies, councils of, and community planning, 402; case work, time element in mental hygiene therapy, 368; costs of unemployment, 3; freedom possible through spiritual freedom, 351; insurance, unemployment, 14, 82, 275, 285; research and the public, 474; service exchange, 100 per cent registration and community relationships, 180, 186, 193, 198; service, hospital, and registration in social service exchange, 180, 186
- Social Consequences and Treatment of Unemployment, Bookman, 3
- Social Planning and Social Work, Van Kleeck, 294
- Social work: and social planning, 294; crisis in, 53, 97; need of reorganization, 19; opportunity of, 90; public and participation in council of social agencies, 412; public, need of trained personnel, 427; public, with county as unit, 439, 450; publicity, a critical examination of, 565; publicity, creative writing, 575; publicity, content of educational program, 589; trend from private to public, 90, 253; underlying philosophy of, 597
- Social Work against a Background of Other Professions, Brown, 520
- Social worker: and the depression, 53, 234, 339; and the future, 234, 239, 246, 339; and trend to public relief, 264; changing attitudes of, toward case work, 204; education for profession of, 527; medical, and registration in social service exchange, 180, 186; professional standards of, 427, 520, 533; registration or certification of, 537; salaries of, 399, 524
- Social Workers Face a New World, Lovejoy, 97
- Social Workers in Indian Service Program, The Place of, Lansdale, 609
- Solenberger, Edwin D. (paper), 111
- Spohn, Adelaide (paper), 167
- Standards: in public relief changing, 257; professional, in social work, 427; professional, effect upon of depression, 533
- State: unemployment relief, 258; welfare department, penological research in a, 469; welfare work, importance of, to local welfare, 416
- Statistics, importance of, in community planning, 406
- Stillman, Charles C. (paper), 589
- Study: of coordination of private and public unemployment relief, 459; of effects of unemployment, 309; of penology in state welfare department, 469; of social work publicity, 565
- Syphilis in hard times, 156
- Taft, Jessie (paper), 368
- Taxation, need of reorganization, 78
- Time element in mental hygiene therapy, 368
- Treatment: case worker's rôle in, 204; mental hygiene, 353, 368; of unemployment, 3; penal, study of, 472
- Trend from private to public relief, 90, 253
- Trends in Community Control, New, Lindeman, 301
- Tucker, Katherine (paper), 193
- Unemployment: costs of, 5, 10; dole, 14, 82; effects upon children, 25, 41, 105,

- 126; effects of, upon young people, 309;
federal government policy and, 11, 18;
government responsibility in times of,
72; insurance, 14, 82, 275, 285; relief,
administration of, 427; relief, and so-
cial work policies, 56; relief coordina-
tion of public and private, 459; relief,
state responsibility for, 258; reserve
funds, 14, 60; social consequences and
treatment of, 3
- Unemployment Insurance, Raushenbush,
275; Magee, 285
- Utilization of the Wickersham Reports on
Law Observance and Law Enforce-
ment, Lane, 546
- Van Kleeck, Mary (paper), 294
- Venereal disease in hard times, 156
- Wage earners, venereal diseases among,
158
- Wald, Lillian D. (address), 33
- Wallerstein, Helen (paper), 198
- War, outlawry of, and unemployment,
250
- Webb, Mrs. Charles W. (paper), 186
- West, Walter (paper), 537
- White House Conference on Child Pro-
tection, reference, 37, 41, 112
- Wickersham Reports: utilization of, 546;
reference to, 509, 511
- Wilbur, Ray Lyman, M.D. (address), 25
- Williams, Frankwood E., M.D. (paper),
338
- Willits, Joseph H. (paper), 246
- Wisconsin Unemployment Compensation
Law, Raushenbush, 275
- Zunser, Charles (paper), 497

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-
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5
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on